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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

George Bush

1989
(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1989

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Foreword

The new era in world affairs which we experienced during the first six months of this Administration unleashed forces for change in the succeeding six months which swept out decades of one-party communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe and led to new opportunities for democracy around the globe. The dramatic changes in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe made the second half of 1989 one of the most significant turning points of the century. Few could have anticipated the rapidity with which the promise of democratic change began to be fulfilled.

In these six months, Hungary agreed to destroy the Iron Curtain along its border with Austria. Non-communist governments took office in Poland and Czechoslovakia. A most dramatic step towards freedom was taken on November 9 when the East German government began to dismantle the Berlin Wall and permitted free travel between East and West, allowing German families divided for a generation by the border to rejoin their loved ones.

Throughout this period, the United States took the lead in supporting democratic and economic reform throughout Central and Eastern Europe. I visited Poland and Hungary in July, and we initiated a major economic support package—$1 billion to assist those countries moving towards democracy and market-oriented economics. In response to the desires of the German people, the United States took a strong stand in favor of German unification, a goal we have long shared with them.

Our support of democracy was just as strong near our shores. We saw democracy return to Panama thanks to the skill and courage of the men and women of our Armed Forces.

In September I unveiled a new proposal before the United Nations aimed at ridding the world of the scourge of chemical weapons. I met the next month in San Jose, Costa Rica, with the leaders of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

In December President Gorbachev and I made progress in the areas of arms control, regional conflicts, and bilateral issues during meetings off Malta. We addressed for the first time many issues at the heart of the East-West conflict and set an ambitious agenda for moving beyond containment towards an era of enduring cooperation.

Domestically, we continued to work to build a better America. December marked the 85th month of economic expansion. Inflation remained under control, job creation rose, and our international trade position continued to improve. In September I convened an Education Summit with the Nation's Governors and the Cabinet in Charlottesville, Virginia, at which we resolved to develop national education goals and promote accountability in all education efforts.

In years to come, looking back upon the "Revolution of '89," I believe we will see this time as a period when much of what the Western democracies sought since the end of World War II began to come to fruition. The challenge before us is to remain steadfast in our goals, never settling for less than the better world that is within our reach.

George Bush

Preface

This book contains the papers and speeches of the 41st President of the United States that were issued by the Office of the Press Secretary during the period July 1–December 31, 1989. The material has been compiled and published by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration.

The material is presented in chronological order, and the dates shown in the headings are the dates of the documents or events. In instances when the release date differs from the date of the document itself, that fact is shown in the textnote. Every effort has been made to ensure accuracy: Remarks are checked against a tape recording, and signed documents are checked against the original. Textnotes and cross references have been provided by the editors for purposes of identification or clarity. Speeches were delivered in Washington, DC, unless indicated. The times noted are local times. All materials that are printed full-text in the book have been indexed in the subject and name indexes, and listed in the document categories list.

The Public Papers of the Presidents series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. An extensive compilation of messages and papers of the Presidents covering the period 1789 to 1897 was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then, various private compilations have been issued, but there was no uniform publication comparable to the Congressional Record or the United States Supreme Court Reports. Many Presidential papers could be found only in the form of mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings, addresses, and remarks of a public nature could be made available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506), which may be found in title 1, part 10, of the Code of Federal Regulations.

A companion publication to the Public Papers series, the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, was begun in 1965 to provide a broader range of Presidential materials on a more timely basis to meet the needs of the contemporary reader. Beginning with the administration of Jimmy Carter, the Public Papers series expanded its coverage to include all material as printed in the Weekly Compilation. That coverage provides a listing of the President's daily schedule and meetings, when announced, and other items of general interest issued by the Office of the Press Secretary. Also included are lists of the President's nominations submitted to the Senate, materials released by the Office of the Press Secretary that are not printed full-text in the book, acts approved by the President, and proclamations and Executive orders. This information appears in the appendixes at the end of the book.

Volumes covering the administrations of Presidents Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan are also available.

The Public Papers of the Presidents publication program is under the direction of Gwen H. Estep. The Chief Editor of this book was William King Banks, assisted by E.B. Swidal, Karen Howard Ashlin, and Bill Rozday.

White House liaison was provided by Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President and Press Secretary. The frontispiece and photographs used in the portfolio were supplied by the White House Photo Office. The typography and design of the book were developed by the Government Printing Office under the direction of Robert W. Houk, Public Printer.

Martha L. Girard
Director of the Federal Register

Don W. Wilson
Archivist of the United States

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Secretary of Veterans Affairs	Edward J. Derwinski
Director of the Office of Management and Budget	Richard G. Darman
United States Trade Representative	Carla Anderson Hills

Administration of George Bush

1989

Interview With Polish Journalists
June 30, 1989

The President. Well, let me say at the outset of this interview that this visit is in no way intended to complicate the situation there—rather to show American interest in Poland, to support the general desire that we feel for Poland to have improved relations with the United States and with the West in general. It is, obviously, as I will in every country—give me a chance to give our views freely and openly about freedom and things of that nature, but it is not a visit that is trying to complicate matters between the Soviet Union and Poland, or anything else. It is in keeping with my view that Europe should be whole and free, and in saluting the changes that have taken place, and hopefully in contributing to Poland's quest for more democracy and economic reform. So, we're going in a constructive vein, not in some critical vein or not in some mode of trying to complicate things for somebody else.

President's Visit to Poland

Q. Mr. President, this group here—the composition of this group is actually a testimony to the progress of pluralism, because we have Solidarity here on the Government's side. Yes, and isn't it, Mr. President, very interesting that you were in Poland about 1 year and 9 months ago, and now you are going to Poland again? Is there any particular reason that you make the second trip in such a short time?

The President. Well, in the first visit, we had an opportunity to meet with Mr. Walesa [Solidarity leader], and certainly I was accorded wonderful hospitality by General Jaruzelski [Chairman of Poland's Council of State]. At that time, as you point out, Ziggy, there was no real communication between *Solidarność* and the leadership. And again, I, in that visit, did not try to involve myself in the internal affairs of Poland. But by being there, and by being permitted to speak on the television and say what was in my heart, and able to meet with Jaruzelski—I mean, with Walesa, even though *Solidarność* was then outlawed, it opened up for us a strong feeling for Poland, and you could sense the indications of change.

And now there has been change; there has been an evolution in these relationships. And so, it is appropriate that we go back and talk respectfully to the leaders about their aspirations for economic reform, my aspirations for an era of what we call in our East-West relations "beyond containment," and in terms of the evolution of—the moving of countries toward the West as much as they feel comfortable with.

So, it's a visit that makes sense because things are evolving, things are moving in the direction that we salute. And also, going there as Vice President, I am sure, is quite different than being President. There's only one President, and true, there's only one Vice President. But that isn't seen the same as the President going there to say how much an evolving relationship means to the United States.

Q. So, let me ask maybe more precisely, Mr. President, what would you tell the Polish Nation about the American attitude toward our efforts to achieve self-determination, about all those free elections which took place recently in Poland, about our achievements in gaining free speech and the restoration of our free will in Poland?

The President. Yes, I'd simply say the visit is a symbol of our support for Poland as it moves toward greater democracy. And I had a chance to make that point a couple of years ago and will make it again. So, it's symbolic. I will state that we are encouraged by changes. I'll try not to look like I'm fine-tuning the internal affairs of Poland. I'm not going to do that, but I think I have every right to say I am encouraged by the changes we've seen.

Obviously, we followed the roundtable discussions and agreement, and salute that agreement. As you know, we are committed to representation by the people, of the people. And so, we see changes in the way elected representatives are chosen and go forward to represent their people—we salute that.

So, it will be in this vein, this thematic vein, that I will be talking. And in Poland, you know, there's an historic opportunity now to help end the postwar division of Europe. I mean, Europe has been divided. And if we handle ourselves correctly with the Soviet Union and if the changes continue that we're seeing, we could see a Europe that is freer and more whole.

Q. That's what you said in 1983 in Vienna in your——

The President. Yes, and I talked about differentiation there. And, indeed, that Vienna trip led to my feeling very comfortable going with a similar message to Poland. So, it's evolutionary here.

Foreign Troops Deployed in Europe

Q. Mr. President, already during the first few minutes of this interview, you used, several times, the word "change," because everybody now sees the changes taking place in Poland. For some, the changes are too slow; for some, are too quick.

The President. Yes.

Q. But as a very experienced politician, you certainly know that good policy requires not only change but also some elements of stability that prevent the change from erupting, from being blown up and leading to some kind of a deep crisis. Would you like to comment about what elements of continuity in central and Eastern Europe would you like to see?

The President. Well, I'd like to see respect for the will of the people. And I think as we—I don't want to—well, let me start over. I will stand by that, obviously, but I would like to see—very candidly—I'd like to see Soviet troops—we're talking about Poland now—out. I don't think anyone, anymore, thinks that there's a danger of invasion from the West into Poland, for example. And I would like to see a continuation of the change that would result in the Soviets feeling comfortable in taking their troops out of there.

Having said that, I will not be trying to inflame change so that it does what you're talking about. The people seem to be handling it very nicely now, with elections and with discussions around a table. And I don't want to do something that would inadvertently do what you're talking about, or that you asked about; and that is, to have some crisis that will compel other answers. And I don't want that, and I'm not going to deliberately do anything that is going to cause a crisis.

I am going to feel free to speak out about—as I did right now at the Iwo Jima Monument—about what we hold dear and what Polish-Americans think and what we want to see about a freer, a more whole Europe. And so, I think we can do this, Daniel, without exacerbating tensions that I know exist in Poland. We're realistic; we know there are tensions still.

Q. But this shall mean that—are you in favor of withdrawing foreign troops from all Europe, from all countries?

The President. I would like to see the start be withdrawing of the troops from Poland, because I think there is no danger at all of an invasion of Poland from the West. And I don't think anybody in Poland thinks there's a danger of invasion of Poland from the West.

But what I will do, in answer to your question, is to press forward with a very bold plan that we've laid on the table at NATO which substantially reduces U.S. and Soviet troops deployed outside their borders, and that sends a good signal. And then we go for whatever the next step might be; but as long as we have this tremendous disparity in Soviet-deployed troops or bloc troops versus NATO troops, it's pretty hard to visualize eliminating all troops. But I think we're on the right track, and we're on the right step here. And so, we'll go down that road.

U.S. Assistance for Poland

Q. Mr. President, let me go back to your coming back to Poland, if I may. In September you had a chance to talk to General Jaruzelski, who is both the man who introduced martial law, but also the roundtable talks and the first honest elections since the Second World War. What are you expecting of your conversation, of your forthcoming conversation now, with the General?

The President. Well, obviously, we've got a baseline. We have a point of departure, because with respect, he gave me probably a disproportionate amount of time. I was the Vice President; he was the head of the whole country. And thus, I remember with sincerity what I thought was great courtesy to me. And through that courtesy, we had more than a passing conversation; we had a conversation about a lot of things that now have changed. We even had a chance to talk about *Solidarność* with Jaruzelski, his knowing my view and his making very clear to me his view at the time.

Now there's been an evolution of views. And what I think we ought to do is pick up from where we started and then say: All right, we've come along here. We want to help you in an economic sense. Some of that won't be easy, because the concept of reform—economic reform—to get full cooperation from these international institutions, monetary institutions, is essential. And I expect he'll be saying, I've tried to make reforms, and don't push me too far on all this.

And I'll understand that, but I'll say: Please understand my position. We want to help you with OPIC; we want to help you with privatization; we want to help you in the international institutions and with special trade benefits. But we need to know that you're going to be able to not only continue existing reforms but expand on reforms so that the economic system that works will be given a chance to work unfettered. And that's a big key, and that isn't easy for a lot of regimes all around the world. It's not just Poland and Hungary and Eastern Europe; it's many countries.

And so, I know that what I'll be talking about will not be easy for the regime to accommodate or, indeed, even for those who have been in opposition. And I'm talking now about newly elected people, too. But I think I owe the people with whom I meet our honest assessment, and I owe them my frank view of what we can do, and what it's going to take for us to be able to do it in terms of economic support.

Q. Just pressing this a bit, Mr. President, will you intend to set any specific conditions for the U.S. aid to Poland, and would you like to have control over implementing such conditions, if any?

The President. Not control—we cannot try to control the internal affairs of another country—but we've got to be clear that to get the kind of financial support from the outside world and the kind of private investment that I think can be enormously helpful, that certain reforms must go forward.

But I'm not going there in an arrogant mode, trying to say we've got all the answers. I mean, he might turn around and ask me about our debt—[*laughter*]—and then I'd be embarrassed.

Q. I have, Mr. President——

The President. In fact, he might; and if he did, that would be fine. I'll tell him what we're trying to do about it. And one of the things we're trying to do about it is to live within our means, and that gives us less money available to do many of the things I'd like to be doing around the world, you know. So, then we're kind of on a catch-22 on that one. [*Laughter*]

Q. I sometimes get the impression that both sides, Poland and the Western alliance countries, are expecting too much from each other. The West is expecting from us to change the system, to change the economic system, to introduce pluralistic democracy and, at the same time, to preserve the necessary level of stability and prevent the country from collapse. On the other hand, our country expects from the West such a significant assistance that would make all these changes possible to happen in a country which is so heavily indebted and its economy is in such a mess.

The President. Well, I think you raise a very interesting point—and very carefully phrased, I noticed. But that's why I keep saying I don't want to exacerbate tensions. I don't want to make competing forces move apart inadvertently. I don't want to say something that would complicate the move that is taking place towards democratization and economic reform. I feel confident enough that both of those things are necessary for Poland—for Poles to enjoy the freedoms that I think most Poles aspire to. But I'm not going to say hey, you've got to have a Senate with 100 people and a Congress with 435 and a President and a Vice President and 50 States. I mean, that's our system.

But I am going to say we've got common thoughts here. I think of the Polish people as treasuring freedom. I think of them fighting—having a tough go there in World War II and standing up to the hordes that finally just were too much. I think of the patriotism of Poland. I think of the affection that Americans of Polish heritage have for Poland.

And I'd like to try to have the interlocutors, the people I talk to—whether they're labor or whether they're in the regime—understand that we want to help and that we do admire the changes that have taken place, and not put it into a great East-West mode all the time. We have problems. I'm keeping my eyes open, but we're going to try to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

But I can't look at these outrageous differences in conventional forces, for example, and then say to everybody in the United States, hey, we don't need to be concerned about Soviet intentions. They're modernizing their intercontinental stuff, their nuclear weapons. They've got disproportionate advantage in conventional forces. And so, I'm not going to be naive in suggesting that we have no differences between us, as it relates to the Soviet Union. And when Gorbachev talks about a European house, we say, yes, but let all the doors be open; let it be done so people can move from room to room in that house—and that shouldn't antagonize anybody.

Q. Mr. President, you have been known as a conciliator, as a consensus-builder, as an adversary of extreme solutions. Can we write that George Bush, the President of the United States, is unequivocally in favor of an evolutionary change in Poland without outbursts, without breaking down of the dialog among the different social forces? Can we write that?

The President. Yes, you can write it. I don't want you to write it in such a way that I seem to discourage those who may have differences. In other words, I don't want to discourage those that have felt out and are trying to get in, those who didn't participate over the past many years in elections and are now able to participate. I don't want to endorse the status quo—I mean, that's not my role. Nor do I want to do what you're talking about, that your question asked about, which is exacerbate tensions.

What I want to do is say, "Here's what we stand for." Here's what the United States stands for; and here are our aspirations for a relationship with the Soviet Union, which obviously is the superpower there. And here are my aspirations for Poland that come from my heart, because I can feel it strongly—how those who came to our country from this country feel about their homeland. And I'd leave it there, Ziggy, rather than try to endorse the status quo. But I have to exhort and encourage as much economic reform as possible, as much political freedom as possible. And if I don't do that, I will not be leveling with the Polish people, and I will not be being a good President for my own—for the United States.

So, I don't think it's as delicate as perhaps before, but I—and it's important. You see, I have no hangups when Gorbachev goes to Germany or France—fine, let him go. The better hand he gets and the better he is received there—they're saying, "Atta boy! Keep it up!" Keep what up? Keep reforming up; keep changing up. Who would have thought you'd hear lively debates in their own political process 2 years ago? So, it doesn't bother me as President of the United States that he gets a good standing on the applause meters over there in Western Europe. Nor should it bother him when I take this message of freedom and democracy to Eastern Europe. In my view, that doesn't come under the heading of his business, just as it doesn't come under the heading of mine if he goes to France or Germany.

And so, it's in that vein I go to—not competitively. Saying you want one house? Fine. Let's get all the rooms open so we can all move around in there. And let's find out what works in the economy, what works in terms of free unions, what works in terms of free politics. And we think we can speak to that because we've had some success. We're not saying we have no problems in the United States, but in these things—moving around, freedom to say what you think, freedom to form a union, freedom to have a voice in the politics by the people—we think we know what we're talking about there. We want to share it with you. So, it's in that spirit that we'll be going.

Q. Mr. President, I think that Daniel has one personal question for you. Just one.

Q. Mr. President, last question of a little personal character. If you were a young Pole, would you now queue in front of an American consulate to emigrate to the United States, or would you rather stay in Poland and fight the difficult fight there?

The President. Well, I don't know what a young Pole would be thinking, but what I think—what I'd like to think he'd be thinking—is, look, I'm living in a time of dynamic change. This is the time of most hope for my country in a long, long time. And I want to be a part of it, and I want to participate. I want to run for election; I want to join a free association; I want to be a part of a government to bring economic relief to my people. And I want to see Poland appreciated around the world—its art, its culture, its heroism. And I want—I, young guy Stanislaw, whatever my name is, at 21 years old—I want to be a part of this. And that's the way I'd like to do it—that's the way I would hope that some young kid could look at it.

Now, maybe that's a little much, because in economically difficult times, people kind of think, hey, the grass looks a little greener over there; the ocean doesn't look quite so wide. If I could just make it to Chicago, maybe I could do something. But even if he makes it to Chicago, he's got to have, beating in his heart, the love of his homeland. And so, I would hope that most would say, look, I want to be a part of the change that I feel in the air, you see.

Q. Thank you.

The President. Thank you all.

Note: The interview began at 10:10 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Daniel Passent of Polityka, Zygmunt Broniarek of Trybuna Ludu, and Andrew Krajewski of Nowy Dziennik interviewed the President. The interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 3. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the interview.

Statement on the Supreme Court's Decision on Abortion
July 3, 1989

We welcome this decision. By upholding the Missouri statute, the Court appears to have begun to restore to the people the ability to protect the unborn. We continue to believe that *Roe* v. *Wade* was incorrectly decided and should be reversed.

Americans obviously differ over the difficult issue underlying this case—the morality and appropriate legal status of abortion. Any decision in this area will stir strong feelings. Nevertheless, I have confidence that the American people will continue to express their deeply held convictions on this subject within the bounds of civility and our legal institutions.

Note: In "Webster v. Reproductive Health Services" the Supreme Court ruled that States had the power to restrict abortion on demand.

Statement on the Death of Andrey Gromyko
July 3, 1989

The President and Mrs. Bush extend their sympathies to the family of Andrey Gromyko and to Mrs. Gromyko. Andrey Gromyko's career paralleled the course of U.S.-Soviet relations for nearly 50 years. As Ambassador to the United States, as one of the architects of the United Nations, as Foreign Minister for nearly three decades, and finally as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Gromyko knew every U.S. President from Franklin Roosevelt to George Bush and every Secretary of State from Cordell Hull to James Baker. Andrey Gromyko's death marks the passing of a generation that witnessed many of the most historic events of this century.

The U.S. Government extends its condolences to the Government and people of the Soviet Union and to Mrs. Gromyko.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Ronald Reagan's Riding Accident
July 4, 1989

Following is a statement by Mark Weinberg, press secretary to former President Reagan, issued this afternoon in Los Angeles:

"President Reagan was examined at Bliss Medical Center in Sierra Vista, Arizona, today following a minor riding accident at a private ranch in Mexico. The horse President Reagan was riding bucked wildly several times on a rocky downhill slope and eventually stumbled. X rays taken today revealed no serious injuries, and physicians who examined President Reagan report he is in excellent condition. President Reagan is comfortable and in good spirits and joked that the incident was 'my own private rodeo.' At Bliss Medical Center, Mrs. Reagan was visited by June Scobee, wife of *Challenger* pilot Dick Scobee, who came by to wish the Reagans well and to tell Mrs. Reagan how much she appreciated her support and special kindness at the time of the *Challenger* accident. President Reagan will return to the ranch today, where he will celebrate Mrs. Reagan's birthday, Thursday, before returning to Los Angeles at the end of the week."

President Bush was notified of President Reagan's riding accident earlier this afternoon by the Secret Service before he left for afternoon boating. The information was sketchy at that time, but President Bush was assured that President Reagan had received only minor injuries. President Bush is obviously relieved that President Reagan's injuries are minor and that current plans are for President Reagan to be released from the hospital today. President Bush will call President Reagan at the appropriate time. President Bush remains boating at this time, 6:15 p.m., but is expected to return soon to Walker's Point. Mrs. Bush has also been informed of the incident.

Statement on the Media Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America

July 5, 1989

I welcome the news that the Media Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America is increasing its educational efforts against the use of illegal drugs. The partnership, under the leadership of Jim Burke, has pledged to increase its level of donated advertising to a value of $1 million a day by September 1, 1989.

This private effort delivered approximately $150 million last year in donated time and space for advertising aimed at reducing the demand for illegal drugs. Such voluntary support from the media to help educate the American people about the dangers of drug abuse will have a significant and positive impact, as we work together to overcome this insidious problem.

Nomination of Linda M. Combs To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

July 5, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Linda M. Combs to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Management). She would succeed Jill E. Kent.

Since 1988 Dr. Combs has served as Acting Associate Deputy Administrator for Management at the Veterans Administration in Washington, DC, and holds the position of Deputy Associate Deputy Administrator for Management, 1987 to present. Prior to this she served as Governor Jim Martin's educational adviser in Raleigh, NC, 1986–1987. She has served as Deputy Under Secretary for Management at the Department of Education, 1984–1986; Executive Secretariat of the Department of Education, 1983–1984; and Deputy Executive Secretariat, 1982–1983. In addition, she was an elected member of the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Board of Education.

Dr. Combs received a master's degree from Appalachian State University and a doctorate from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. She was born in Lenoir, NC. She is married to David M. Combs, and they reside in Maryland.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom

July 6, 1989

I've really been looking forward to one of the most distinguished duties of this office: the privilege of presenting this nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. And I will make a few comments about each of the recipients before going forward with the formal citation and the presentation of the medal.

The first Presidential Medal recipients were chosen by President Kennedy. But soon after his death, they were awarded by President Johnson, along with some of the choices made by President Kennedy. And some of the first winners included Marian Anderson, Felix Frankfurter and, of course, a posthumous medal to President Kennedy—all American heroes. And today I find myself standing with four more heroes who embody the achievement, vision, and dedication that is the greatness of this country. You have left an indelible mark as you've enriched this nation, and America is grateful.

Each one here today, indeed all five recipients, are pioneers. General James Doolittle, a trailblazer in modern aviation. Ambassador George Kennan, truly a visionary who foresaw the future of Soviet-American relations. Senator Margaret Chase Smith, a bold achiever who stood alone against the tide of extremism. Secretary Douglas Dillon, an unparalleled public servant who shaped American foreign and economic policy. And finally, a fifth great American who is not with us, the late Lucille Ball, First Lady of Television to uncountable millions, worldwide.

General Jimmy Doolittle is an American war hero, a recordbreaking pilot, and an innovator in modern aviation. After serving his country as a flying cadet in World War I, he made the first cross-country flight with only one refueling stop. He set land and seaplane speed records. He was the first to fly blind, by instruments only. Indeed, Jimmy Doolittle was the master of the calculated risk. And when the United States entered World War II, General Doolittle was assigned a top-secret mission that was perhaps the most daring combined operation of the whole war. He led the first offensive aerial strike on the Japanese mainland after Pearl Harbor. This courageous, one-way mission electrified the world and gave America's war—the hopes that we had—a terrific lift. During the war, General Doolittle also directed U.S. air power in the invasion of Africa and participated in 25 missions, including the first attack on Rome. General Doolittle is truly the father of modern aviation. For his dedication above and beyond the call of duty, for his bravery and valor, and for his innovation and daring, the Nation thanks him.

As a 27-year career diplomat, a renowned historian, astute professor, George Kennan has shaped the way Americans have thought about foreign policy in the postwar era. As head of the State Department's policy planning staff and as Counselor of the Department, and then as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, he helped our nation understand the dangers that it faced. He contributed mightily to the political and economic reconstruction of Europe.

And after his retirement from government, Ambassador Kennan joined the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and turned his formidable talents to scholarship. His many books, which earned him the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award, among other honors, document the diplomatic history of our modern age. And through his writings and his guidance in the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, he has added more to our understanding of the relationship with the Soviet Union than perhaps any other individual American. Today we stand on the threshold of a new era, a new era in our relationship with the Soviet Union, one that looks beyond the successful strategy of containment which George Kennan did so much to develop. And so, for his unique contributions to the national security of this country, the United States honors Ambassador George Kennan.

Margaret Chase Smith was the first woman in American history to be elected to both Houses of Congress, serving for 32 years, holding office under six Presidents beginning with Franklin Roosevelt. Her talent, intellect, and distinguished service to this country resulted in her becoming the first woman to have her name placed in nomination for President by a major political party. Senator Smith's finest hour came when she issued the "Declaration of Conscience," an historic and courageous speech denouncing McCarthyism, and she spoke out when so many others remained silent. Senator Smith was instrumental in improving the status of women in the armed services and was an outspoken advocate of a strong nuclear deterrent in the face of the Soviet threat. We honor Senator Smith today for her commitment to truth and honesty in government and in America and to strengthening America at home and abroad. She looked beyond the politics of the time to see the future of America, and made us all better for it.

The brilliant achievements of Douglas Dillon raise the nobility of public service to new heights. He began his career as a businessman who later served in the Navy during World War II. While serving in the Eisenhower administration as Ambassador to France, and later as Under Secretary of State, Mr. Dillon pioneered an ambitious foreign aid policy. And in Latin America, his work with struggling economies strengthened the democratic forces there. In Western Europe, his determined foreign aid strategies led to the economic and military unity among the allies.

Douglas Dillon also served President Kennedy as Secretary of the Treasury and became one of the most influential members of that Cabinet. The Kennedy tax policy was revolutionary at the time, and Douglas Dillon was the man who developed those policies of lower taxes and policies that worked. But Douglas Dillon's dedication went beyond serving his nation as a public servant. Under his leadership as chairman, the Metropolitan Museum of Art became the second largest museum in the world after the Louvre. And Douglas Dillon dedicated himself to making America stronger as a diplomat, a public servant, businessman, and philanthropist—truly a renaissance man. And for this, his countrymen salute him.

Lucille Ball was known as the First Lady of Television—one of America's greatest comediennes. The series "I Love Lucy" quickly made her a household name and kept generations of Americans laughing. In fact, according to TV Guide, her face was seen by more people more often than the face of any human being who ever lived. "I Love Lucy"—that ran in over 80 countries, and the cumulative audience runs in the tens of billions. Who can forget Lucy? She was like everyone's next-door neighbor, only funnier. [*Laughter*] Her secret, she said, was to take everyday things and exaggerate them to funny absurdity—and it worked. And she became an American success story and a brilliant businesswoman. Lucille Ball was a national treasure who brought laughter to us all. Love Lucy? Sure. This nation is grateful to her, and we will miss her dearly.

And now I am pleased to present the citations—have the citations read and present the medals to our distinguished recipients. So, first, General Doolittle, if I could ask you to come forward, sir?

Aviation pioneer and military hero, James H. Doolittle is a symbol of vision and courage. His numerous contributions to aeronautical science, often at great personal hazard, extend from the earliest achievements in long-distance flying to the age of rockets. In the uniform of his country, General Doolittle's heroic leadership inspired the American people during the darkest hours of the Second World War. In public service, he continued to foster American advances in aeronautics, the cause to which he devoted his life. For extraordinary service to country, the American people salute one of their foremost heroes.

Now, Ambassador Kennan, if you would come forward, sir. May I say, welcome.

Career diplomat, historian, educator, George Kennan has helped shape American foreign policy since 1933. His many years in government service and a lifetime of scholarly writings revealed a deep insight into East-West relations, a recognition of the challenges of totalitarian expansion, as well as a man of extraordinary sensitivity. For his success in advancing our national security and for his many contributions to the study of international affairs, George Kennan's fellow Americans proudly honor him.

Senator Smith.

As the United States Representative for 8 years, as a three-term Senator, Margaret Chase Smith served the people of Maine and the Nation with distinction. She influenced greatly the development of our postwar foreign and domestic policies, and her abilities and independent spirit made her one of the most admired women in America. A firm believer in a strong national defense, her efforts to improve the status of women in the Navy earned her the affectionate title Mother of the Waves. And for many years of outstanding public service, America proudly honors her.

[C. Douglas Dillon.]

In a lifetime of responsible positions, C. Douglas Dillon has dedicated himself to bettering America and the world. By fostering European economic and military unity, he furthered the cause of democracy. Through his leadership on economic issues, he helped make possible the material advance of a generation. Through his dedication to the Alliance for Progress, he made real for millions America's determination to promote social development. For service to three Presidents and for commitment to his fellow man, America honors Mr. Dillon.

Gary, can I ask you to come forward—Mr. Gary Morton—you know Bar.

A gifted comedienne known and loved by generations of audiences around the world, Lucille Ball left a lasting impression of American entertainment. For over 50 years, she warmed the hearts of millions with her humor, both in films and later on television, where no program was better named than "I Love Lucy." As president of her own production company, she set an example with her commitment to programming of quality for family enjoyment. Lucy's work continues to bring joy and laughter into American homes. And a grateful nation remembers her with love and appreciation.

And now I will present the medal to her husband, Gary Morton.

That concludes this brief, but heartfelt, ceremony. And we're delighted you all are here, and thank all of you for coming to honor these five individuals. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:58 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a luncheon in the Residence for the recipients.

The President's News Conference With Journalists From the Economic Summit Countries

July 6, 1989

The President. First I have a brief statement, and then I'd be glad to take your questions.

Our trip will take us first to Poland, then Hungary, two countries engaged in unprecedented efforts toward economic and political reform. The next stop, Paris, to join in the celebration of France's bicentennial and to participate in the 15th economic summit. Finally, our journey ends in The Netherlands for the first-ever visit by an American President to one of our oldest and closest allies.

In Poland and Hungary, our strong support for the democratic course these nations have chosen will be clear. Their efforts are not only a new beginning in their own countries but can be the beginning of an historic process of European reconciliation, of ending the artificial division of Europe. We want to help these countries toward an alternative future, a democratic alternative, and to help create a Europe that is whole and free.

Certainly, Poland and Hungary face serious economic problems, and no amount of outside assistance can substitute for their own sustained efforts. Our challenge is to help create the condition under which the Poles and the Hungarians can recover economically and make a successful transition towards democracy. And therefore, immediately following this session today, there's going to be a White House symposium on Eastern Europe. And our aim is to involve American private-sector leaders in the support of change in Poland and Hungary. In the long run, their participation is essential if a democracy is to succeed in Eastern Europe.

Our efforts during the economic summit in Paris are just as critical in helping end the economic and political division of Europe, and that's why we will propose ways to work together to assist economic recovery and democratic change in Poland and Hungary. We believe the Western democracies must coordinate their economic and technical assistance programs to provide real help at a time of historic change in these two countries, and help reintegrate their economies into the global economy.

Our key economic objective at the summit is to sustain noninflationary growth. And in order to move the international trading system into the next century, we need to commit to conclude the Uruguay round negotiations with substantial results in all areas, including agriculture, by the end of 1990.

We've already announced new measures to strengthen the international debt strategy through the Brady plan, with its emphasis on economic growth and investment.

And to fulfill our commitment at the Toronto economic summit, beginning October 1, the U.S. Government will forgive official development loans of the Sub-Saharan countries.

There are other challenges that need to be met. It is time that a summit address our natural heritage. And let Paris then be known as the summit which accepted the environmental challenge. The U.S. leads the world in environmental protection and research. We invite others to join in our efforts and to support our goal of a cleaner, healthier global environment.

Our trip is going to conclude with a visit to The Netherlands, where we will discuss with Dutch leaders our broad range of shared interests. This will also be an occasion for celebrating America's longest unbroken diplomatic relationship and for reaffirming the vitality of America's roots in Europe and the strength of our transatlantic ties. I'll be glad to take questions.

Short-Range Nuclear Forces in Europe

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Gorbachev challenged you again today to negotiate to eliminate short-range missiles in Europe. Is the answer still no and always no?

The President. The answer is to please read carefully what happened at Brussels, to look at the united NATO position and to go forward—and we've had encouraging sounds from the Soviets on this—go forward with the agenda at hand. And that will be the message. And I don't want to get off-track by reopening the SNF question when we have a good package that has wide support. The big thing on the post-NATO action is to move forward in meeting our timetables. And in fairness, I should say I was very pleased that Mr. Gorbachev made a comment—I believe it was in Germany—that timetable was not too ambitious.

Q. Sir, can I follow up on the same question? Mr. Gorbachev is asking about these tactical forces, who needs them? And the question does arise: What, if anything, NATO has to fear from accepting his offer of unilateral cuts on his side, considering that during the course of any such negotiations NATO would presumably retain its own tactical capability, as you have suggested, pending conventional cuts?

The President. If your question is: Would we welcome unilateral cuts on his side?—certainly. Maybe that wasn't the question, but that's the answer. [*Laughter*] You left yourself open by leaving that part of it. Sure, we'd welcome that. That wasn't what he said, however, over there.

Environmental Issues

Q. From your remarks, sir, you say you want the Paris summit to accept the environmental challenge. You want polluters to pay. Does that mean that you are going with budgetary commitments and you want the other six nations as well to make budgetary commitments to make polluters pay?

The President. Well, I'm not sure we're going to get into that. I've given our proposals here in the United States for revisions of the Clean Air Act and things that we feel are important domestically. But we do support negotiations on other subjects, leading towards a framework, for example, a framework convention on global warming. We can focus our efforts on reducing or preventing pollution at the outset rather than cleaning it up afterwards. These are the broad questions we're going to be talking about.

I'm concerned about deforestation and tried to show some support for that in a trip I took to North Dakota and working with the head of our environment on reforestation. And I think here's a question that's going to have enormous interest in the summit. So, it's going to be on these broad tactics rather than trying to indicate to our European partners how they should handle their own domestic pollution problems.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, despite your recent success at the NATO summit, Mr. Gorbachev seems to enjoy far greater popularity in Western Europe than you do. Why do you think that is, and what can you do about it?

The President. You know something? I don't really care about that. I'm not interested in that. I am delighted that he enjoys popularity in Europe. I am delighted when he goes to Germany. I am pleased when he goes to France. It is good for world peace that he takes those trips. And I expect he will be delighted when I go to Poland and when I go to Hungary, for we will be well-received in those countries.

So, we shouldn't view the relationships between East and West or between the United States and the Soviet Union on who seems to be popular at the moment. We're not going to get into the international poll business, even though I read with keen interest a recent poll taken by the U.S. Information Agency or somebody of that nature pointing out that the standing of the United States—I'll try to be modest—was pretty darn good in Europe following the NATO summit. But I would make a tremendous mistake as President of the United States if I was concerned about Mr. Gorbachev's popularity, vis-a-vis my own, in terms of some poll; it's irrelevant.

What's important is how are we going to handle these major questions that were asked here: arms control or economic recovery, and freedom and democracy in Eastern Europe. These are the questions. And I might add parenthetically—you mentioned those figures or standings—I don't know whether you're accurate or not. But even if they are, it doesn't mean I ought to go to Eastern Europe to try to go one-up, try to establish a popularity level in Poland or Hungary. That's not what sound foreign policy is about. We want to see these countries in Eastern Europe move more down the road towards democracy, down the road towards freedom.

And so, I have to resist getting into this popularity thing, other than to say I'm pleased—I mean it—I am very pleased that his standing is good in Europe, because that enables us then to work not only bilaterally but through NATO and the Pact to improve things for the people. So, it doesn't really concern me.

Polish Reforms and Western Assistance

Q. Mr. President, Solidarity has asked for Western aid of some $10 billion over 3 years to fend off what they call economic disaster. Is there any realistic prospect of the Paris summit coming up with that kind of sum from the West?

The President. I do not want to go into sums, but I doubt that there will be an instant grant of any $10 billion. But the summit, the G–7, will be addressing itself, themselves, to this concept of what do we do to help economic recovery. But I said in these countries—as I said in my opening statement—though, I think there must be a recognition on the part of the *Solidarność* leaders and the part of the Government leaders from all stripes in Poland that economic reform is essential if the West, through multilateral institutions or bilaterally, can do its utmost. Economic reform is essential if we're going to be able to help the way we'd like. But I hadn't heard the $10 billion figure from *Solidarność,* but I don't want to raise expectations by saying I think we can achieve such a number, something of that nature.

Q. Solidarity began as a trade union organization. Do you see any realistic form of economic reform that is not going to include the kind of unemployment and inflation which would damage the interest of its trade union members?

The President. Well, I would hope I could foresee a kind of reform that would not include higher inflation. And I think we've seen in our own country reasoned positions by trade unionists, and I would hope that those positions would set some example for others. So, economic reform must not encompass ever-higher inflation. It's got to go just the other way, and that means a restraint on some demands at some place along the line. And I have a feeling that the *Solidarność* leaders understand that—Solidarity leaders—and I expect we will be discussing that.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that——

The President. No Americans. [*Laughter*] Two Americans—go ahead. [*Laughter*]

Eastern European Reforms

Q. Do you think, Mr. President, that in Paris the G–7 can reach a common position on encouraging democratic reforms in Eastern Europe? And in your opinion, sir, what should this position be?

The President. Well, I think we can have accommodation. But the last thing we ought to do is appear to be dictating and fine-tuning the political processes in these countries. I have a respect, built on some experience in foreign affairs, for the internal affairs of another country. So, what we ought to do in the summit, and what I ought to do as President of the United States when I go to Poland and to Hungary, is say here's what we aspire to. We find that privatization is the best way. We find that more market forces in the economy is the best way. Here's our record; here's why we feel it is best. Clearly, if there's lingering questions of human rights and exodus of people and these questions that the United States and our Western allies feel very strongly about, we ought to articulate those. But we ought to stop short of telling them—because we couldn't get agreement between ourselves, I might add—on how the political process works.

I'm not going to go over and say, now, what you need is a Democratic Party and a Republican Party, and you people over here be in one and you in another. I don't want to do that, and I don't want to be a part of that at the summit. But in terms of principles, we ought to say: Here's what works; here's what has been effective. And then I can be saying to myself—and it's objectively right that you lighten up as much as you possibly can on human rights—that you have as much participation as possible by the people in the political process.

So, it is a fine line here of spelling out what we find, as the G–7, the best politics and the best way without, on the other hand, dictating on the internals of Poland and Hungary as they lead the pack in Eastern Europe towards reform. We want to keep it going, in other words. So, it's a good, tough question, and I'd leave it fairly general in how we exhort those to go forward with change.

Unfair Japanese Trade Practices

Q. Sir, the polls show that the Japanese people are rather upset about your naming Japan as the Super 301 [provision of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988] priority country. Do you still think the Super 301 process is worth the risk of antagonizing the people of Japan, for example?

The President. Well, certainly, we don't want to antagonize the people in Japan. I have certain responsibilities under our law, and I've fulfilled those responsibilities, I think.

But let me say this to the Japanese people, if you will. I am convinced that we can avoid further tension through serious negotiation on this whole subject—301 matters. I'm convinced that if we negotiate openly and fairly that we can avoid any exacerbation of these difficulties that you properly say exist. We have plenty of problems with Japan in terms of access to market. And neither you nor I have enough time to spell them all out here. But it is because we have these difficulties in getting access to Japanese markets, for example—that doesn't mean that we are going to be in some big sulk around here.

What we're going to try to do is sit down through serious negotiations and work out the difficulties. And I'm confident that we can do that. The Japanese-U.S. relationship is very, very important to the United States. And my interest has to be, above all, what is in the national interest of the U.S. And one thing that's in the interest of the U.S. is a strong relationship with Japan.

So, I don't worry about it. I don't like it when we have difficulties that arise on this case or that or in, as you raise, this whole matter of 301. But we can overcome that. We're friends, and we've been through a lot together, and that relationship will be strong tomorrow.

U.S. Assistance for Poland and Hungary

Q. Mr. President, what kind of specific economic measures will you be taking to Poland and Hungary?

The President. I have to defer because we're not quite ready to talk about the specific package that I'll be discussing with both of those countries—not finished yet, not signed off on it yet.

Yes, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]?

Oliver North

Q. Surprise, Mr. President—Oliver North. What did you think of the——

The President. Hungarian? Is this a question about Hungary, Poland, Europe? [*Laughter*]

Q. What did you think of the sentence imposed on Oliver North? Are you happy he's not going to jail? Have you ever considered a pardon?

The President. One, I'm happy he's not going to jail. Two, I'm not going to comment further because this matter is under appeal and it is in the Federal courts.

Short-Range Nuclear Forces in Europe

Q. Mr. President, how long do you think—can you stick with your SNF position if we take into consideration that the pressure of our peoples on both sides of the Atlantic could increase dramatically on this issue because the allowing of [a] third zero option is very popular—it's growing more and more popular?

The President. I think as long as we have a solid front in NATO, as long as the Germans have joined in with the other countries in NATO behind this common position, we should go forward to try to implement that common position. And that isn't to say that someday, at some point, that other issue will be addressed. But we've got a good agenda, an agenda that will be strongly welcomed by the German people. This was an agreement that was hammered out, as you know, from night-long discussions that went on into the night. And I see no reason to stand here and try to change a collective decision taken by NATO.

East German-U.S. Relations

Q. You are going to improve your relations with Poland and Hungary. Do you see any preconditions to improved relationships with the German Democratic Republic in the foreseeable future?

The President. Yes, I do see preconditions.

Q. What are they?

The President. A little more democracy; a little more freedom; a little more openness—come along with the flow. Things are changing in Eastern Europe. Don't be lagging way behind; get out front. Don't be afraid of democracy and freedom. It ain't going to hurt anybody, indeed, it's going to help your people—that kind of free advice. And if that happens, why, the United States will be there. And the same could be said for Czechoslovakia or Romania or Yugoslavia, of course, having moved in some ways already.

So, we're looking for change. We have this policy that we call differentiation. And it's simply a policy that says, look, if you can move down that path towards democracy and openness and freedom of the political process some, why, we'll be there to try to help you, and so will others in the West.

You know, it troubles me in a sense, because I don't want to, again, get dictating the internal affairs, and yet there are some principles involved. And I can represent the United States, and I can say to the leaders in these various countries: If you can move in these directions, then we can do more with you. And if you can't, we can't do more with you, and we won't do more with you.

So, it's trying to find this common ground and catch this wave, this wave that's moving through Eastern Europe and, indeed, around the world, of freedom and democracy and things of that nature.

Environmental Issues

Q. Mr. President, you say that America is leading the way in environmental issues.

The President. Yes.

Q. All the time, we hear about polluted beaches and air that's not fit to breathe in the cities. What sort of challenges can you take to Paris that will be credible?

The President. I will take the package that I put forward for domestic consumption, the revisions of the Clean Air Act, which I think from our preliminary feel have been widely accepted and received in the countries whose leaders I'll be meeting with. I will say: Look, we all have to do a better job. And I think the fact that we have been out front on technology—I'm not just talking about the billions that we've already spent trying to clean up the environment and the success we've had in reduction of emissions, for example—but I'm just talking about our whole application of science; our whole approach to science has been out on the cutting edge of environmental reform and making things better. Again, not preaching or lecturing, but saying we want to share this.

I've instructed the head of our EPA, Bill Reilly, a sound conservationist, to convene a group at the technological level of scientists and high-tech people to see whether, through sharing information, we can make things better for countries that can't afford the science and technology. So, it's in this vein that we'll be talking about it, saying, look, we've got some polluted beaches. We're trying to do better in tracing the flow of illegal dumping, for example. We're trying to do better, but here's what we've done; here's how we have approached this problem. If you have similar problems, we want to share our advice with you, and we'd like to have you give us your advice. So, it will be in that spirit that I approach the summit in terms of the environment.

U.S. Trade Barriers

Q. Mr. President, on that trade and Super 301, a number of your summit partners objected to the American actions on the grounds that America itself maintains a number of trade barriers. I wonder if you would be able to demonstrate your free trade credentials by assuring them that you will be reducing trade barriers, in particular, the steel quotas—whether you will be eliminating them or reducing them.

The President. I will be discussing our desire to move toward free trade by a complete success at the Uruguay round [multilateral trade negotiations]. And there's nobody pure in this field, not the United States, not France, not Germany, not England, not any other country—no one is pure. Nor Japan, sir—I don't want to leave you out—[*laughter*]—when it comes to free trade. But we think we do better than most, and we will continue to press for the elimination of barriers, including steel. But we've got to be sure that that playing field is level.

One that I really want to discuss over there is this question—is agriculture; that one is key. And I think we can make some real progress there, and I'm very pleased that the negotiators got agriculture put on the agenda.

So, I think they have every right to raise the VRA's [voluntary restraint agreements], and then we are loaded with 25 cases over here. And then our big message is going to be: Come on, let's get rid of all this stuff. Let's be successful at the Uruguay round; let's compete one with the other without barriers. And we go there with a little vulnerability, but also with an awful lot of strength compared to some of our trading partners, in terms of this question of who is pure on free and fair trade. That's the open approach—take a few shots, deliver a few. We're not getting anywhere here; let's make this Uruguay round successful.

Last one, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Gorbachev has rejected your call for a Soviet military troop withdrawal from Poland as purely propaganda. How do you plead to that? Is it a dead letter now, or where do you go with it?

The President. I didn't know that he rejected it; I just thought he said it was propaganda.

Q. Well, you don't take that as a rejection?

The President. Well, a lack of enthusiasm, perhaps—[*laughter*]—I wouldn't say rejection. I mean, he's just taken troops out of Hungary. And who would have said 2 years ago that that would happen? We salute that; we think that is good. And so, I'm not trying to exacerbate problems for him in Poland. I think I was asked the question, would you like to see the day when there are no troops in Poland, or something of that nature? And I said yes, and he viewed that as political. It's not political; it's a visceral feeling I have on the question. I think it would be nice to aspire to that kind of a situation—where he wouldn't feel troops were necessary—put it that way. And I would have a feeling that, at some point, the Polish people might feel that way.

But we're not trying to, as I say, make things more difficult for him, just as when he goes to France and Germany I don't think he's trying to make things more difficult for the United States. We're in a very interesting period of change, and I have said we want to see *perestroika* succeed, and I want to see *glasnost* succeed. And I'll repeat it here. And my trip over there is not to try to—through that statement or anything else—drive wedges between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; that's not what 1989 diplomacy is about. He's talking about a European home. And I'm saying that's a good concept, but let's be sure a guy can move from room to room. Let's be sure it's open. Let's be sure people can move around in this home.

So, we can discuss all these things, and I'm sorry he misinterpreted or elected to characterize my view as what you say is political. But that doesn't change my view, and I don't expect it changes the view of the people of Poland. But we're not going to be there trying to raise tensions. We're going to be there trying to help the Polish people, to encourage Poland towards reform, to express the friendship and affection for Poland that exists in a tremendous quantity here in the United States.

And we will be carefully, very carefully, discussing these other relationships, mainly, I might add, with our European partners, as we did at the NATO summit. But we'll see eye-to-eye on that; it's going to take a little while. This is the last one. The moving last question. Yes?

President's Visit to Eastern Europe

Q. Mr. President, don't you feel that there is a problem because the President in Poland has not been elected yet, and you arrive with a—really, a chief of state there?

The President. Slight complication—but, no, that's a Polish affair. That's a matter for Poland to decide. It's not a matter for the United States to say, "I'm not going there until you have this all ironclad, worked out." It's not our business. We will deal with the Polish leadership. And it complicates—you know, your question is a very good one—knowing what Mr. Jaruzelski's [Chairman of Poland's Council of State] plans may be with finality. But we'll have good discussions there with whoever our interlocutors are, because we're not trying to sort out those internal developments. That's not the role of the President of the United States. My role is along the lines of my answer to my last question—to extend to them whatever help we can, to tell them we identify with reform and political openness, to salute the fact that *Solidarność*—that was outlawed when I was in Poland not so many months ago, is now legal—and to see how we can work with them as they move forward towards more reform and more openness.

So, I have to deal with what's there, with who is there, and do it with respect, and not look like, well, if you don't have all your internal political matters sorted out as you begin this march down democracy's road, well, we won't come to Poland. I mean, I'm going to deal with who's over there.

And I salute them—these are difficult changes as they sort out who's going to stand for President and who's not. We've got to understand that in this country. And we've taken a long, long time to get to where we are, in terms of the stability that comes from elections every 4 years. But we can't impose or say if you don't agree with us on this formulation, that we're going to hold back or be reluctant to discuss with you the political situation with whoever you tell us, say, is going to come meet me or deal with us.

I really am looking forward to that. I'm looking forward to our trip to Hungary very, very much. And for those of you who may be new here, the affection for Poland and the affection for Hungary in broad communities in the United States is really high. It's really strong. And if I can do nothing else but explain that and say we want for you to succeed in the exchanges, that visit will be worthwhile, even if they haven't sorted out their internal political situation with every "t" crossed and every "i" dotted. It's going to be a good trip.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President's 17th news conference began at 2 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Nomination of Eric M. Javits To Be United States Ambassador to Venezuela

July 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Eric M. Javits to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Venezuela. He would succeed Otto J. Reich.

Mr. Javits currently serves as a senior partner with the firm of Javits, Robinson, Brog, Leinwand and Reich, P.C., and has been an attorney with the law firm of Javits and Javits since 1958. He is actively involved in several civic organizations. In 1981 Mr. Javits received Spain's Isabela La Catolica decoration from King Juan Carlos.

Mr. Javits graduated from Columbia College (A.B., 1952) and Columbia Law School (J.D., 1955). He was born May 24, 1931, in New York, NY. He is married, has two children, and resides in New York City.

Nomination of Michael G. Sotirhos To Be United States Ambassador to Greece

July 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Michael G. Sotirhos to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Greece. He would succeed Robert Vossler Keeley.

Since 1985 Mr. Sotirhos has served as Ambassador to Jamaica. He served as a member of the National Advisory Council of the Small Business Administration, 1976, and as a member of the National Voluntary Service Advisory Council, 1973–1975. He is founder and former chairman of Ariston Group, Inc., an international commercial interior design firm.

Mr. Sotirhos graduated from City College of New York (B.B.A., 1950). He was born November 12, 1928, in New York. Mr. Sotirhos is married and has two children.

Remarks at a White House Symposium on Eastern Europe

July 6, 1989

Please be seated, and let me just welcome you to the White House for what we consider a very important get-together. Now, this Sunday, as you know, I'm going to sail forth on Air Force One heading for Warsaw, going to a couple of stops in Poland and then to Hungary. And this is an extraordinary time in east-central Europe, a time, that you know better than I, I'm sure, of unprecedented change and, I'd say, unparalleled opportunity in East-West affairs. Certainly, I view it as a time of unparalleled opportunity for the United States, with our interest in Poland and our interest in Hungary as it is.

And Poland—we've just witnessed the freest elections in the postwar era and then the creation of this freely elected Senate in which candidates backed by *Solidarność* swept—what was it, 99 out of the 100 seats. Under the terms of the roundtable agreement, these developments mark a true new beginning in the political affairs of Poland. And they hold promise for the transfer of Poland towards democracy, national self-determination.

Hungary also is on the path to democratic reform. The pattern is different. Really, they've been out front on the economic side of Eastern European countries, but the changes there are just as fundamental, equally as promising. And as the Communist Party undertakes a profound reappraisal of its role in Hungary, the outlines of a multiparty system—genuine political pluralism—are taking shape. The Hungarian economy, already the most open in Eastern Europe, is moving toward a free market, toward rejoining the whole world economy.

So, these are historic times. And what's at stake is not just movement towards economic and political liberalization in Poland and Hungary but the prospect of ending the postwar division of Europe. And Poland and Hungary—yes, they're leading the way, but they face enormous economic and political problems. And they need our support in their efforts if they are to succeed. Simply showing our sympathy and our encouragement is not enough. We cannot solve all the problems that the Poles and Hungarians face, but we've got to be actively engaged. And we need to hold out the promise of an alternative future for central and Eastern Europe, a peaceful transition that should be our goal, a peaceful transition to a democratic future. And we need to back up that promise with some practical assistance.

So, in just a few days, I'm going to be speaking to the people of Poland and Hungary about what more the United States and other Western governments can do to help. But my message to you today is simply this: The movement toward democracy takes more than governments alone. Democracy's great strength lies in its private and public institutions, the institutions that you all—almost to a man and a woman—represent. What you do can make the difference for democracy in Hungary and Poland; it's what you do. And I've asked you here because all of you can help open avenues of cooperation between East and West.

And I call on the American business community to encourage the movement toward free markets by working with private sector enterprises in Hungary and Poland. Private enterprise has been the engine of economic growth in the United States, and it can be the key to prosperity in Poland and Hungary. So, help it thrive. And I call on those of you in the educational community and with these private foundations to expand our exchanges with Hungary and Poland. Open the lines of communication between American universities and the great centers of learning in Budapest and Warsaw or Krakow, and let's learn from each other.

I want to see workers in Hungary, as well as those in Poland, benefit from the support of American trade unions. American labor and *Solidarność* have forged a strong relationship, a great chapter in the history of international labor. But there's more work to do, and it will be vitally important to the successful transformation of Poland and Hungary.

Together, right in this room, there is a cross-section of the institutions that make democracy work and that give meaning, really, if you will, to the word "democracy." You're freedom in action, and you can help others along the path to freedom and democracy.

And so, in a few minutes you're going to hear from members of my administration, from some of the leading experts on Eastern Europe. And I'm going to be in real trouble for this, but in addition to the leaders here—Carla, our very able USTR, and Brent Scowcroft—I think he comes on at the end of all this—and our other leaders here—the top spokesman for the NSC, top spokesman for the State Department, we have a top spokesman for the OPIC sitting in the front row, Mr. Fred Zeder. But in addition to those who will be speaking as part of the administration, I do want to thank Zbig Brzezinski, who has earned his spurs in this national security arena, served with great distinction, and I understand he has agreed to share a few thoughts with you. So, when Bob and Larry and Carla and Brent and Fred get through, you'll have interspersed a nonofficial, but a man who knows an awful lot about what he is going to talk to you about.

So, I'm looking forward to this trip. I hope you'll find the next couple of hours exciting. And as I look back and sit [sit back and look] at the world and we see the difficulties in China, we see emerging opportunities in the Soviet Union. I think, with the Soviet Union, the focus quickly gets to Eastern Europe. And the feeling that many of you have as Hungarian-Americans or Polish-Americans must really be going through some sensational vibrations these days, because there is great opportunity. And our administration wants to be a part of the answer.

And so, I go to Europe not trying to complicate things for Mr. Gorbachev or try to seek advantage one way or the other. We're going there because we believe in reform and democracy and private markets and the ideas that have worked to help elevate the standards of living for people all over the world.

So, we need your help. We appreciate your interest in coming here. And I will try to represent the heartbeat of those in the room with great spirit when I go to Hungary and Poland. Thank you all very, very much for coming today. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 3:23 p.m. in Room 450 at the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Zbigniew Brzezinski, author and former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (1977–1981); Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for European and Soviet Affairs; Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Deputy Secretary of State; and Carla A. Hills, U.S. Trade Representative.

Remarks on Signing the Proclamation Commemorating the Bicentennial of Bastille Day, the French Revolution, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen

July 7, 1989

The President. Well, let me just say that I am very pleased to see Ambassador de Margerie here, especially in the company of Senator Mathias. I'm looking forward very much to visiting France next week for the bicentennial—this marvelous celebration that I will be privileged to witness and be a part of—and then, of course, looking forward to the economic summit that will follow.

I want to thank Senator Mathias, whose committee has done this outstanding work in encouraging Americans to celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution. And this proclamation that I'm about to sign commemorates both the bicentennial of the taking of the Bastille and the close ties between our two countries.

And one example of these ties is the close connection between our Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. And the themes of liberty and human rights which run through these two documents are fundamental to our two nations and to the people of Eastern Europe, where I'm going to be visiting next week, as well.

And so, today, as 200 years ago, France and America are still partners in liberty. And thank you, Mr. Ambassador, thank you, Senator, for all you are doing to demonstrate this to the whole world.

And now I might sit—we sign this first, I think.

[*At this point, the President signed the proclamation.*]

Reporter. Mr. President, would you take one question on your trip?

The President. Nope. [*Laughter*] I took 30 of them yesterday. Come on.

Q. But not from us.

Ambassador de Margerie. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. I really look forward to it.

Q. The Polish officials are afraid of inciting a riot in Poland. Any comment on that?

The President. We'll be well received in Poland—no riot.

Thank you, sir.

Note: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Emmanuel Jacquin de Margerie, French Ambassador to the United States. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Legislation To Eliminate Congressional Honoraria

July 7, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am pleased to submit for your consideration and enactment the "Honoraria Reform Act of 1989." This legislation would eliminate congressional honoraria over time by reducing the statutory ceiling on honoraria by 50 percent for calendar year 1990, and by eliminating honoraria altogether beginning January 1, 1991. Enactment of this legislation would put the legislative and executive branches on equal footing with regard to honoraria.

I have previously recommended a 25 percent pay increase for Federal judges, and today I am submitting separate legislation calling for pay increases for certain specialized professionals and other senior officials in the executive branch. The legislation to eliminate honoraria being proposed today is linked to the enactment by the Congress of a pay increase for Members of Congress. I will work with the Congress toward this end.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed Legislation To Eliminate Congressional Honoraria

July 7, 1989

Today the President submitted to the Congress legislation to ban congressional honoraria. The proposal calls for the elimination of honoraria over 18 months, with a 50-percent reduction in the statutory ceiling on honoraria in calendar year 1990 and a total ban effective January 1, 1991. Enactment of this legislation would result in the next Congress being honoraria-free.

Approximately $19 million in honoraria was paid to Members of Congress over the last 2 years. The most common form of honoraria are fees accepted by Members of Congress from interest groups for speeches and appearances. Hidden honoraria also come in the form of payments for travel, meals, and lodging. Moreover, under current law, honoraria in excess of the amounts allowable may be donated by Members to charities.

By Federal statute, Members of Congress are currently permitted to accept honoraria in any calendar year in an amount equal to 40 percent of their calendar year congressional salary. Members of the House are further subject to House rules which limit their total outside earned income, including honoraria, to 30 percent of their congressional salaries.

The proposal submitted by the President today would limit acceptance of honoraria by all Members of Congress to 20 percent of their congressional salaries effective January 1, 1990, and would institute a flat prohibition on honoraria after January 1, 1991.

Under the legislation being proposed today, as of January 1, 1991, Members of Congress and their staff would become subject to the same honoraria ban that currently applies to the executive branch. This would prohibit Members of Congress from diverting excess honoraria to charities and, absent specific statutory authorization, from accepting payment for travel, meals, and lodging.

The President has previously recommended a 25-percent pay increase for Federal judges, and today he is submitting separate legislation calling for pay increases for certain specialized professionals and other senior officials in the executive branch. The proposal being made today to ban honoraria is linked to the enactment by Congress of a pay increase for its Members. The President will work with Congress toward this end.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Legislation To Increase Federal Senior Executive Salaries

July 7, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am submitting for your consideration and enactment the "Senior Executives Salary Act of 1989." This legislation would provide higher salaries to a small number of employees in positions requiring specialized and critical skills. It also provides for salary increases ranging from 8 percent to 25 percent for senior executive branch officials. In addition, the bill links receipt of the higher salaries to effective job performance.

The bill is the executive branch counterpart to the judicial salary proposal (the "Judicial Salary Act of 1989"), which I submitted to the Congress in April calling for a 25 percent increase in the pay of Justices and judges.

The pay of senior Government officials has eroded significantly in relation to the pay of executives in comparable jobs in the private and not-for-profit sectors of the economy. This pay gap is affecting the Federal Government's ability to attract and retain the skilled and motivated senior executives necessary to direct the complex, wide-ranging, and critical functions of the Federal Government.

Prompt legislative action is needed to address pay deficiencies for employees with exceptional qualifications and to make pay more competitive at the senior levels of Government. It is equally important that we resolve issues connected with congressional pay and honoraria. I am also submitting today a proposal to ban congressional honoraria, and I want to work with the Congress to address compensation in all three branches of Government.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed Legislation To Increase Federal Senior Executive Salaries

July 7, 1989

The President submitted to the Congress today legislation providing for higher salaries for a small number of employees in positions requiring specialized and critical skills. The legislation also provides for salary increases ranging from 8 percent to 25 percent for senior executive branch officials. In addition, the bill links receipt of the higher salaries to effective job performance. The bill is the executive branch counterpart to the judicial salary proposal submitted by the President to Congress last April (the Judicial Salary Act of 1989) calling for a 25-percent increase in the pay of Justices and judges.

The pay of senior government officials has eroded significantly in relation to the pay of executives in comparable jobs in the private and not-for-profit sectors of the economy. Over the past 20 years, for example, the pay of Executive Level II (Deputy Cabinet head, such as the Deputy Secretary of Defense) has slipped from 66 percent to 39 percent of the pay of the lower range of private corporation executives. Key scientific, medical, and acquisition jobs remain unfilled due to uncompetitive pay, thus jeopardizing successful fulfillment of priority government tasks. In past years, the Government has been able to attract a number of Nobel laureates to Federal employment, but without adequate incentives, this critical expertise will be lost to the Nation.

The President is taking this action because of his concern over the effect the pay gap is having on the Federal Government's ability to attract and retain the skilled and motivated senior executives necessary to direct the complex, wide-ranging, and critical functions of the Federal Government.

Failure to provide competitive pay is also impeding recruitment and retention of the most qualified persons at the senior levels of government. A number of highly qualified candidates for sub-Cabinet positions in the Bush administration have declined acceptance because of low pay and family sacrifices. Departments and agencies, such as NASA, have lost highly skilled and experienced senior executives, in part because of inadequate and noncompetitive pay. High ranking local government officials in large metropolitan areas, such as school superintendents, now make more than key government leaders such as the Director of the National Institutes of Health, who is responsible for research on cancer and heart disease.

While strongly supportive of pay increases for senior government executives, the President also believes the higher salaries must be accompanied by a strengthened relationship between pay and job performance, and a higher level of accountability. This bill accomplishes those objectives by establishing a process in which senior government executives could continue to hold their positions only if they met a requirement to demonstrate excellent job performance. The bill also provides for due process and Merit Systems Protection Board appeal so as to ensure that the new recertification provisions are not used for political or other proscribed purposes.

Description of Legislative Pay Proposal

The proposed legislation addresses three basic areas:

- *Higher salaries for specialized positions.* Salaries not to exceed the rate for Level I of the Executive Schedule will be paid to not more than 200 critical positions in the executive branch that require unique qualifications and sustained exceptional performance in order to carry out effectively the functions of the position. The number of positions qualifying for the special salary rates would be allocated to the Departments and Agencies by the Office of Management and Budget, in consultation with the Office of Personnel Management, based on demonstrated evidence of need. Beginning in fiscal year 1991, the maximum salary payable would be adjusted annually by the same percentage as that applicable to Executive Schedule salaries.

- *Salary increases for senior executive branch officials.* The following table shows existing rates as well as the rates proposed to be effective on the first day of the first pay period on or after January 1, 1990:

	Existing	Proposed
Vice President of the United States	$115,000	$143,800
Offices and positions under the Executive Schedule in subchapter II of Chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code:		
Positions at level I	99,500	124,400
Positions at level II	89,500	111,900
Positions at level III	82,500	103,100
Positions at level IV	80,700	100,900
Positions at level V	75,500	94,400
Positions in the Senior Executive Service under subchapter VIII of Chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code. (These new pay levels would also apply to the Senior Foreign Service):		
Positions at ES–6	80,700	100,900
Positions at ES–5	78,600	93,700
Positions at ES–4	76,400	87,500
Positions at ES–3	74,900	82,700
Positions at ES–2	71,800	78,100
Positions at ES–1	68,700	74,500

- *Requirement for effective performance.* As a condition for the higher salaries provided for in this bill, an employee holding a position under the Executive Schedule or the Senior Executive Service (except for Cabinet officers, agency heads, and those serving in positions in which they can be removed only for cause) will be required to receive every 3 years a certification of acceptable performance from his/her supervisor. Those judged not to be performing in the excellent manner expected of persons occupying senior executive positions would be reduced in pay if a noncareer employee, or reduced to the highest step of grade 15 of the General Schedule and placed in another position if a career employee. Career personnel not certified will have limited appeal rights to the Merit Systems Protection Board to ensure that the action was not a result of political, racial, nationality, gender, disability, or religious bias.

The President will be working with the Congress on passage of this legislation and to achieve a more rational pay structure for senior-level positions in all three branches of government, in conjunction with elimination of honoraria proposed under separate legislation.

Remarks at a White House Ceremony Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of Little League Baseball

July 7, 1989

Welcome to the White House! And we're looking for the person that's in charge of the weather—a little warm out here—not for you sluggers. But Doctor Hale and Mr. Keene, my old friend Bill Shea, Stan Musial, Mike Schmidt, Brooks Robinson, Joe

Morgan, Jim Palmer, Gary Carter, Ted Sizemore, Little League players, coaches, officials, and fellow ball fans, welcome again to the White House. For today we celebrate the 50th anniversary of Little League baseball.

And in that spirit, let me recall a story about a baseball great. Forty-two years ago, the city of St. Louis held a Yogi Berra Day for its native son and Yankees catcher. And as usual, the noted philosopher proved equal to the occasion. Yogi began his remarks by saying: "My friends, I want to thank all the people who made this night necessary." [*Laughter*] Well, I want to thank all of you for making this day necessary.

And first, let me salute the more than 4,000 Little Leaguers who are with us here this afternoon. And my special thanks to the seven busloads of Pennsylvanians who came down here today. I hear they've renamed Routes 15 and 83 the "Williamsport Express." Welcome.

And I want to thank Creighton Hale, the president of Little League baseball, and Bill Shea, the president of the Little League Foundation, and such veteran officials as Luke LaPorta, Beverly Gray, John Lindenmuth, Fred Crabtree—and a special tip of the cap to Jack Lundy. Fifty years ago, Jack sponsored the very first Little League team, and today, he's still contributing to America's love affair with baseball.

For me, this affair has been a lifelong pastime. For like these Little Leaguers, I played baseball when I was a kid and followed the game and memorized those box scores and saved the ball cards. And my favorite player, I've got to admit, was Lou Gehrig, the former first baseman of the New York Yankees. And some time later, I went to college and batted eighth—you know, the second cleanup hitter. And it was there at Yale University that another Yankee hero had an impact on my life. One day in 1948, Babe Ruth came to present his papers, and I received his papers on Yale's behalf. And I'll never forget that moment. Nor the day, 1 year earlier, when the Babe, then dying of cancer, told the crowd at Yankee Stadium: "You know, the only real game in the world, I think, is baseball. You've got to start from way down, when you're 6 or 7 years old, and if you try hard enough, you're bound to come out on top."

My friends, in that unforgettable speech, surrounded by the kids he loved, Babe Ruth defined why Little League baseball has become an American—indeed, an international—institution. And it all started—and, Jack, you'll remember this—with barely three dozen players and a handful of adult volunteers in Williamsport. Uniforms for all three teams cost $35 at the local store. And that first diamond had bases made out of old feed bags stuffed with straw.

Well, since then the Little League has grown into the world's largest organized youth sports program. And at last count, more than 20 million youngsters have played in Little League, and countless other Americans have served as adult volunteer helpers—and among them, several people who now live in this house. My four boys played it, I coached it, and Barbara—back there when tens of thousands of Texas kids were in Little League—and I'll confess, there were times when I thought Barbara was carpooling every single one of them. [*Laughter*] And not many nonbaseball players could properly score a baseball game. Well, Barbara Bush did that—keeping that scorecard on most of the games. She did it to perfection, inning after inning.

And so, you see, like you I know what makes Little League so special. It's a feeling of sportsmanship, generosity, teamwork, a feeling of family—fathers and daughters and mothers and sons. And around the globe, this feeling is bringing kids of all ages together—this year alone, more than 2,500,000 players in 33 nations and 750,000 adult volunteers. They're learning or relearning the values of doing unto others and doing your best, and in the process, learning why perhaps nothing is more American than Little League baseball.

Over the next week, I'm going to be in several of those countries for the annual economic summit, and while there, I'm going to have the pleasure of officially helping import to Poland the program which helped produce such Americans as Bill Bradley and Tom Selleck and *Discovery* astronaut George Nelson. Little League came to Poland only earlier this year, but already it has more than a thousand players. And I know thousands more will come to love the game of champions, champions like two Polish-Americans that I'd like to salute today: Stan Musial, who is here in this audience—standing over here, one of the greatest hitters who ever lived. And let me also mention my friend Carl Yastrzemski, number 8, Boston Red Sox, who 16 days from now will become the first former Little Leaguer inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

So, now I want to consult this handy-size book of statistics. You guys can't live without some book like this. But let me tell you just a little bit about it. I looked it up here coming in here today: Stan Musial—3,026 ball games he played in, lifetime batting average—.331. In 1948 this guy hit .376, 39 home runs—a great champion. And you want me to look up "Yaz" for you? Okay. [*Laughter*] Here he is. You know when he was born? I've got it right here: August 22, 1939. In 1967 the guy hits .326 with 44 homers. Lifetime—he played in a total of 3,308 games, 452 home runs. We honor the "Yaz" and Stan Musial today, and I'm going to be talking about them all over Poland about 2 or 3 days from now.

"Yaz" knew—and so did "Stan the Man" and so will those kids in Poland—how baseball is the most democratic of sports. And of course, it's also the most Republican. [*Laughter*] For in baseball, in the Little League, all that matters is the size of your heart and of your dreams. And ask these kids about it. Ask any of these youngsters here today.

On the field, some dream of becoming another Mike Schmidt or another Gary Carter—former Little Leaguers. And others may dazzle them with their glove work—good field, no hit. Believe me, I'm an expert on that. And still others dream of being big league pitchers like Little League alumni Jim Palmer and Nolan Ryan. And if so, remember Lefty Gomez' secret to pitching success: "It's easy—clean living and a fast outfield." Of course, a great infield also helps. And ask three other men who were with us: Brooks Robinson and Ted Sizemore and Joe Morgan. And, yes, dreams are the essence of America and of baseball, and Little League can propel those dreams.

But in the end, what matters is how we conduct ourselves off as well as on the field. And that's where Little League really connects by building courage and character. It belts a grand slam home run by doing those two things. That first year of Little League, 1939, future Hall of Fame manager Joe McCarthy observed: "Give a boy a bat and a ball and a place to play, and you'll have a good citizen."

Well, Little League is America's ambassador of good will. And I am truly delighted to salute its golden anniversary. Thank you for coming. And let me leave you with two of the most beautiful words in any language: Play ball!

And now Dr. Hale and Jack Lundy, please step forward. Creighton, please accept this bat on behalf of Little League baseball. And Jack, your bat marks the half-century of service to all that Little League embodies. Thank you all. Fight for your own. Delighted to have you. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:04 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House.

Nomination of Arthur W. Fort To Be an Assistant Secretary of State

July 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Arthur W. Fort to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Administration). He would succeed Sheldon J. Krys.

Mr. Fort has served as Commander of the Pacific division of the Naval Facilities Engineering Command and Commander of the Pacific Fleet Seabees. He has served as Director of Construction for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Commander of all Navy Seabee operations in the Atlantic Ocean/Mediterranean area, and as an Assistant Commander of Construction and Contracts for the Naval Facilities Engineering Command. He has also served as an operations officer, executive officer, and commanding officer of a Seabee construction battalion.

Mr. Fort graduated from Auburn University (B.S., 1958) and Stanford University (M.S., 1967).

Nomination of Milton James Wilkinson To Be Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations Security Council

July 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Milton James Wilkinson to be Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations Security Council, with the rank of Ambassador. He would succeed Patricia Mary Byrne.

Since 1985 Mr. Wilkinson has been Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, serving also as Special Cyprus Coordinator. He entered the Foreign Service in 1962 and served initial tours in Canberra, Australia; Munich, Germany; and Bangkok, Thailand. In the mid-1970's, Mr. Wilkinson worked for 6 years on United States-Soviet relations, including 2 years at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. After a second tour in Thailand as political counselor from 1979 to 1983, he was assigned as deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Berlin.

Mr. Wilkinson graduated from the California Institute of Technology in 1958. He was born December 3, 1937, in Lancaster, NH. He served in the U.S. Army, 1959–1962. Mr. Wilkinson is married and has two children.

Nomination of John E. Frohnmayer To Be Chairperson of the National Endowment for the Arts

July 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John E. Frohnmayer to be Chairperson of the National Endowment for the Arts, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, for a term of 4 years. He would succeed Francis S.M. Hodsoll.

Mr. Frohnmayer practiced law with the firm of Johnson, Harrang and Mercer in Eugene, OR, 1972–1975. He joined the law firm of Tonkon, Torp, Galen, Marmaduke and Booth in Portland, OR. In addition, he is an accomplished singer, having appeared in recital, oratorio, and musical comedy in New York City, Chicago, Palo Alto, and throughout Oregon. He was director of the International Sculpture Symposium in Eugene, OR, 1974, and a member of the Oregon Arts Commission, 1978–1985, and chairman, 1980–1984. He has served on the National Endowment's Opera and Musical Theatre Panel, 1982–1983.

Mr. Frohnmayer was born in Medford, OR, in 1942. He graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1964), University of Chicago (M.A., 1969), and the University of Oregon (J.D., 1972). From 1964 to 1965, he was a Rockefeller fellow attending Union Theological Seminary in New York. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1966–1969. He is married, has two children, and resides in Portland, OR.

Interview With Hungarian Journalists
July 6, 1989

President's Visit to Hungary

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. And I don't have to tell you how much we all appreciate this possibility of your time.

As you probably know, the Hungarian people are looking forward with great anticipation and, I have to tell you, with great expectations to this first visit of an acting American President. And being a sentimental nation, as we are, I would like to lead up with the first question. I was wondering, as most Hungarians are, what ideas come to your mind when you think of our nation, our country, which actually never played a significant role in American policy? Does your visit signify a change in American policy toward Hungary?

The President. Well, it does signify a change in the sense that it is important that an American President salute the Hungarian people and salute the changes that are taking place in Hungary. It is not an American President's role to say to those in another country, you have to have your system this way, matching our system, or else we can't do business with you. That is not my role. I have respect for, and enough experience to have respect for, the internal affairs of another country.

But as we see the movement towards more openness, if you will, and towards participation by the people more in the political process, and by the movement towards an economic system that we think eventually will benefit the people of Hungary, we should salute that change. So, it's historic in the sense of an affection level for the people of Hungary to those that focus on it being here. Nobody's ever challenged that recognition that Hungary went through times where officially we had great differences. But then as things move forward in terms of reform and change and openness, we salute that.

I have a combination of things in my mind as we move into this visit, just as I did when I was Vice President, but the evolution since then is even more marked. And I'm looking forward to meeting those of the new leadership that I don't know—three out of the four that I do not know. Mr. Grósz [General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party], I met, of course, as you know, when he was here.

And I noticed the passing of Mr. Kadar [former First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party]. Well, there were mixed feelings about Mr. Kadar in the Hungarian-American community in this country. But as you look at the whole record, one points out the area where we had differences; but then one points also, in his death, with respect to the changes that he was able to implement. And we might get all kinds of argument in our political right or our political left about Mr. Kadar, but I look at him as a man who served his country. There was a time when we were frustrated and at odds back in the midfifties, as we all know. There's no point hiding that. But in death, give the man the credit for the things that he did accomplish. And he was most hospitable to me and able to discuss frankly the changes that were going there.

And so, I would hope to conduct myself as President not to exacerbate differences but to look to the future and where we can work in more openness together.

Hungary-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, President Gorbachev had a very similar statement yesterday by saying that the Soviet Union is ready to accept the political system, whatever the Hungarian and the Polish people want. So, my question is that the United States would support with the same enthusiasm a new Hungarian government next year after free election if this government will be a leftist Communist-Socialist coalition, let's say?

The President. I have respect for the internal affairs of a country. We are not about to try to dictate how a demonstrably free election should come out. That's a matter for the people of Hungary. And I will, as President of the United States, deal with whoever is freely and openly elected and, in the process, welcome the fact that there will be evolution of the election process and party process, whatever happens. But it would be inappropriate for the President of the United States to try to fine-tune for the people of Hungary how they ought to eat—how the cow ought to eat the cabbage, as we say in the United States. That's up to your people, and we will deal with whoever is elected.

Now, I also think that you have to recognize that as the economic system evolves towards more openness and more privatization, for example, that makes it much easier for the United States to be a full partner in economic development and economic reform.

Eastern Europe-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, the differentiation policy of the United States is basically—it was basically a strategy of fighting communism in that part of the world. Now a new type of government is being formed in Hungary and also in Poland. My question is whether—is there a possibility to develop this policy of differentiation into a policy of support and contribution to East European democracies?

The President. Yes, and I think you've already seen that. And as I say, I salute Hungary for being in the forefront of the change that resulted in our stated policy of differentiation. So, I would say that the changes in Poland in an economic sense are coming, but they're coming after what Hungary has done. There are other countries in Eastern Europe who have not begun to reflect the kind of change that we see in Hungary in the forefront, and with Poland coming along very strong now.

And what I would like to do is keep our standards, the way we keep our principles in shape—say this is what we aspire to for peoples all over the world in terms of freedom and democracy and these things, but then draw a fine line on—here's the internal affair of Hungary now; here's the internal affair of Poland. Respect it; but still encourage the kinds of economic formulation that will result in our ability to help more. But I'd say the answer to your question is a simple yes. We will move forward with countries that can do what Hungary has done and is trying to do.

Incidentally—I don't think I'm betraying a confidence—I had a very interesting phone call last night from [Australian] Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who has just been in Hungary. And I must say, he was very complimentary of the leaders with whom he met. And he was encouraging me, as the President of the United States, to go with an entirely open mind. And then he said: "If you conclude as I have that there is an enormous opportunity for more closeness between Hungary and the West, or countries like Australia and the United States, let's all pitch in together and do what we can to help."

I think it would be a tribute to the people in Hungary and the government officials that he came away with such a very positive view of what he had seen and what his conversations led to. It was unsolicited. He just called me and said: "You're going to Hungary. I want you to know how strongly I feel about it." And, of course, you know how I feel about Bob Hawke, because he was here and I had a chance to say it publicly.

Conventional Arms Reductions in Europe

Q. Mr. President, 2 months ago in Brussels, you made sweeping proposals to release conventional arms. How does Eastern Europe and Hungary fit into your security assessment, and how does it fit into the Soviet-American relationship?

The President. Well, I think what we proposed at NATO—total solidarity agreeing to the U.S. initiative that quickly became the NATO proposal. I think with that on the table, it should be very reassuring to the people of Hungary. And it is a proposal that has received a reasonable comment from Mr. Gorbachev. It is a proposal that offers great hope for reducing tensions in Europe, and in both East and West. And it is a proposal that I look forward to discussing with the leaders in Hungary because I will convince them, I think, that it is in the interest of all countries, West and East, to see us promptly—and I use that word very carefully—but promptly, with these reductions in all these categoric conventional arms. They're the most expensive. They are destabilizing if you have lack of parity there.

And I'm very excited about the challenge that lies ahead. And the challenge is to meet these timetables and to move these troops out. And some of it's U.S. troops coming home; and some of it is Soviet troops going out. Because I think if you have a balance between Soviet and U.S., the two largest powers, that reduces tension more than if it's just a reduction of Eastern forces or Western forces. So, it's an exciting proposal, and very candidly, I'm pleased the way the Soviets have received it, although they obviously have not endorsed it the way we put it on the table.

Economic Assistance for Eastern Europe

Q. Mr. President, a question that intrigues most Hungarians—and Poles, for that matter, too: It seems, so far, the expectations and the need for short- and long-term Western financial economic aid might exceed by far the amount that the West is willing, or can do at the moment. I was wondering, are there merely economic restraints on your side, or also political considerations?

The President. There are no political constraints today that I can see. There's none that I can't handle as President of the United States with the Congress. And I say that with great confidence; and I don't say that about many subjects because Congress, as you know, can be very recalcitrant—but the only constraints are economic. And, yes, we are burdened with our own economic problems here that I'm not going to ask the Hungarian people to be sympathetic to because we're a very wealthy country. But I'm going to be sure that your leaders know that there are certain confines within which I have to operate, but they are not political as it relates to Congress.

I think support for what's happening in Hungary is strong in the United States Congress. And that the borders—what's happening when the tearing down of the barriers on the borders has gotten wide acclaim in this country—I mean, strong support. The trying on the part of Hungary to move towards more of a market-oriented economy—that has been receiving, and will continue to receive, strong support. The fact that Hungary is moving in its own way with political reform is getting strong support.

So, I don't think there is any problem in terms of support from the Congress, as it relates to Hungary politically. Now, people want to see performance. Those that are in charge of the purse strings on Capitol Hill want to be sure that the economic performance matches our expectations if we're going to give money or other countries are going to give money.

But I don't think Poland is looking for a handout. They're looking for a hand up, and I wish that I was going to be in a freefall in terms of the funds that we could bring to bear on the problem. We aren't. But we will try to have some ideas and some funds that can be helpful in some way to Hungary.

Eastern European and Soviet Reforms

Q. Mr. President, but there is one particular problem with Congress. Countries are put in different baskets, and Hungary is still in the basket of no-market economics—countries with no-market economies, countries with nondemocratic system, and so on. And Hungary is approaching now a status when these labels are somewhat different now. And can you foresee a time when a Warsaw Pact country can be called as a free, democratic system with a free-market economy?

The President. Well, I can certainly foresee such a time with great hope in my heart, and we're seeing dynamic change taking place today. We keep talking about Hungary and Poland, but they're the most visible example of this, Hungary having been in the forefront of the economic change, before Poland. But I can foresee that day, and I can foresee a rapid recognition of this change by the Congress, who has, as you say, with the support of administrations, placed these differentiating barriers on the various countries.

But we have our principles, and I don't think they're very much different than what the man on the street aspires to in Hungary. And I will be holding high our principles and saying, look, to the degree change can accommodate privatization or more market for us or more openness towards the West, then we can do more. And I think I have to do that. I don't want to go there and look like—that there are no differences at all.

But I'm an optimist about the developments in Eastern Europe—and with the Soviet Union, I might add. I'm an optimist, and I will do my best as President of the United States to help facilitate change. I want to see *perestroika* succeed in the Soviet Union. We're not dragging our feet on it. I'll use this occasion with you leading journalists to make the point: I want to see it succeed. And I am not going to Hungary to try to complicate life for Mr. Gorbachev. And nor do I suspect when he goes to Paris that he is there simply to complicate life for the United States. He is not, and I know that.

So, I will be there talking, however, about what we believe in. We're the United States, and I am the President of the United States, and I feel strongly on certain things that relate to the rights of the people to be heard and all of that. They don't want me to come there with some subdued message. I'm going there with a strong message.

Eastern Europe-U.S. Relations

Q. At least twice in its modern history, the Hungary people turned for help to the people of the United States—at least twice. It was in 1848 and in 1956, and frankly saying, the American reaction was disappointing in those cases. My—maybe a little apathetic—question is——

The President. No, no.

Q. ——does this great country feel any kind of responsibility for the future of East Europe and for the future of Hungary?

The President. I can't say responsibility for—I've got to be careful on translation. No, I don't feel a responsibility for it, but I do feel a great empathy for the change and an affection for the heartbeat of the Hungarian people.

You mentioned 1956, and I know exactly what you're talking about, and I'm old enough to remember. A lot of our kids don't remember this—people standing up for their freedoms and all. On the other hand, I think a country like the United States ought not to overpromise, ought not to overexhort for others to be like us, and thus cause problems to be worse for the people.

And I don't know what was expected in 1956 by the man on the street, but if the expectation was military confrontation with the Soviet Union, that expectation was, regrettably, too high. And yet we can identify with the kids that were at the barricades. We can identify with the aspiration for more freedom or more voice in their system; so can the people in the Soviet Union. Look at the changes that are taking place. So, my goal is not to go back and relive those times in the past but to salute the change in the present and then look into the future. And that's how I feel about it.

They asked me a question in the interview with the Polish journalists about young people who aspire to come to this country. And, look, we want people to aspire to come to the United States. I want the Statue of Liberty to stand for something all over the world. So it was the Statue of Liberty that momentarily held her arm up there in Tiananmen Square. But I also would say to the kids in Eastern Europe: Look, you're living in an exciting time. You're living in a time of dynamic change. And you love your country. And you're Hungarian, or you're Polish. And, yes, our doors are going to be open, and God forbid the day that they slam closed. But you've got an exciting future now, you 21-year-old guy at some university there in Hungary, and be part of the change, be part of what's happening in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union.

And I say that hopefully, without looking like the welcome mat will be pulled back, because it won't be. But if I were a kid, 21 now and were living in Hungary, I'd say, God, this is exciting. I can be a part of all this. I might even get to be President.

Mr. Fitzwater. We've going to have to break, I'm afraid. A final question.

Q. May I have a last one?

The President. Yes.

Economic Assistance for Eastern Europe

Q. Mr. President, after your Budapest visit, you will stop in Paris with the seven nations to discuss how to help the Polish and Hungarian economy. Would you give us an idea what you expect and how the West together help these two nations?

The President. Well, I feel funny talking about it before I've met with them because the leaders of the G–7 [the group of seven nations participating in the economic summit] are all very conscious of their own responsibilities and for their own economies and for working together—for a decision coming out of the G–7 to be a joint decision. So, I don't want to get out in front of the others.

But I would say this: that how the West can interact with Hungary or with Poland will be a star item on our agenda. And it isn't something that the U.S. is forcing on to the agenda, as strong as I feel about it. It's something that we touched on at the last NATO meeting, actually, and that subsequently other leaders have indicated to us that they want to continue to discuss. So, it will be treated there. I can't tell you what I think will happen. A lot of the discussion will revolve around the multilateral support, I'm sure, through multilateral agencies. And again, we come up against two thoughts. One is, what kinds of reforms are necessary for us to give all-out support from these multilateral institutions? And then the other one is: How much money is available; what are the funds?

Q. Mr. President, by thanking you, let me ask a very last question.

The President. You got it.

Q. Like Sarah McClendon.

The President. But you don't shout and wave your arms around.

Hungarian Political Reforms

Q. You said the cold war began in Eastern Europe; it will end there. What can we do for the Americans and your new junior partner, Hungary, to have the cold war really end in Eastern Europe?

The President. Continue the kinds of changes and openness that is taking place. When Bob Hawke told me he met with opposition leaders and they were fully engaged with the Government in terms of discussion about the freedom of the election process to come—all of that is strong; all of that is good.

We've got a two-party system—sometimes it seems like a twenty-party system, all the factions in the Republican Party, all in the Democratic. We're not going to say to you the only way you can have good relations with the United States is to have a two-party system and call one of them Republicans and another Democrats. I wouldn't inflict that on anybody. But I do think that, as the dynamics of the political change takes place, why, this plays right into the enthusiastic, welcoming hands of the United States, of our Congress, and of our administration.

So, my thing is: Keep it going. Keep it going, and it doesn't have to be to the detriment of anybody else. It's just what is best for the people in Hungary; what is the best for that surge of freedom and independence that Hungarians feel and have always felt. I mean, how do they participate the most and fulfill their dreams?

I can't wait to get there.

Note: The interview began at 10:22 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The following journalists participated in the interview: Miklós Blahó of Magyar Nemzet, Pál Bokor of Magyar Hirlap, András Heltai of MTI-Hungarian News Agency, and András Kereszty of Népszabadság. Marlin Fitzwater was Press Secretary to the President. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the interview. The interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 9.

Advance Text of Remarks Upon Departure for Europe
July 9, 1989

This morning, I depart for Europe, my second visit in 2 months to a continent in the midst of change, a time of unprecedented opportunity for peace, prosperity, and freedom. I'm especially pleased to make my trip at this time. Just 5 days ago, we celebrated the birth of our nation. Just 5 days from now, France will celebrate its rebirth as a modern nation—the 14th of July. This year, it's a special celebration: the bicentennial of Bastille Day.

Two hundred years ago, the democratic revolution that began here in America crossed the Atlantic. The gates of the Bastille opened onto a new era, the era of the rights of man. In Europe, as in America, an idea was unleashed that would change the face of history, an idea that is still shaping our world today. That idea is democracy.

Then and now, freedom finds its allies everywhere. Lafayette and Rochambeau, Kosciuszko and Pulaski—these names are engraved in American history, patriots not only in their own countries but in America as well. And the Revolution of 1789 had its roots in the spirit of 1776. Remember what James Monroe said about the French who fought at our side for America's independence: "They caught the spirit of liberty here and carried it home with them." Today that spirit of liberty remains strong, and the United States remains the friend of any nation, any people, who love freedom and cherish the rights of man.

This morning I begin a journey that will take me to Europe—East and West—a journey that underscores the tremendous changes, challenges, and opportunities ahead of us. I travel first to Poland and Hungary, nations on the threshold of a new era, nations where the spirit of freedom is strong. In both countries, we're witnessing remarkable changes, welcome developments no one would have thought possible even a year ago. New voices are shaping the course of national affairs, and both countries are on the path towards economic rebirth and political pluralism. My visit underscores the growing importance our nation sees in the changing face of central Europe.

I will travel from Poland and Hungary to France, to join leaders from the six major industrial democracies in my first economic summit as President. Together, we are working to spread the benefits of political freedom and economic prosperity around the world. The summit is a unique opportunity to assess our progress. It's also an opportunity to show that we can forge a common response to new challenges, such as the need to protect the global environment.

Our agenda at the economic summit will include both political and economic issues of global impact. We will review the international economic scene, and we'll identify where we can improve coordination. We'll focus on the problem of debt in the developing world. I expect summit leaders to make a firm commitment to complete the Uruguay round of trade negotiations by December 1990.

And we will discuss ways of dealing with a number of critical environmental issues that affect us all, problems including global warming, deforestation, and the pollution of the world's oceans. We know there are no easy solutions. Provided we work together, I'm confident we can find common solutions to problems none of us can solve alone.

And finally, before returning home, I will visit an old and honored ally, the Netherlands. Our friendship with the Dutch is older than our own Constitution, with a nation whose long tradition of union and liberty shaped and inspired our own. Today our two nations are partners in commerce and common defense, and the common values that bind us have never been stronger.

Europe is at a turning point. A continent cruelly divided for more than four decades now dreams of being whole and free. Our task is clear: to see that we mend old divisions, that we fulfill the decades-old dream, and that the new Europe emerges secure, prosperous, peaceful, and free.

Note: The President spoke at 7:10 a.m. on the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base, MD. The remarks as delivered were not released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony in Warsaw

July 9, 1989

Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your hospitable and gracious words of welcome. To you and to the people of Poland, friends and cousins of so many in my homeland, we extend the heartfelt best wishes of the American people. And here in the heart of Europe, the American people have a fervent wish—that Europe be whole and free.

In my first moments as President, I told my countrymen that a new breeze was blowing across the world. And the winds of change have surely touched the land here, where so much has happened since my last visit. It is wonderful to be back at such an exciting time. History, which has so often conspired with geography to deny the Polish people their freedom, now offers up a new and brighter future for Poland.

I listened carefully, sir, to your words of welcome, and yes, Poland has started along an ascending path of change—democratic change. And this climb is exhilarating, but not always easy, and will require further sacrifices. But, if followed, it will lead to a renaissance for this remarkable nation.

These are great days for Poland. Solidarity is legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new Parliament is in place. The Polish Senate has been restored through free and fair elections. And Poland is making its own history—and America, and the whole world, is watching. The Government of Poland and you, Mr. Chairman, have shown wisdom and courage in taking the path of those roundtable accords. And the world is inspired by what is happening here.

Mr. Chairman, we do look forward to our talks with you and other representatives of the Polish Government, with the democratic opposition as well. While in your country, I want to hear the many voices of the people of Poland.

And as we begin these discussions, I carry with me many happy memories of my first visit to Poland. And my thoughts turn on this Sunday to the memory of another Sunday outside Warsaw, when we attended morning Mass at St. Margaret's Church in Lomianki. The cracks of her historic walls were filled with flowers, and the church itself was filled to overflowing with your countrymen, their devoted faces touched by tears of joy. And it reminds me of other churches that I've visited since that morning at St. Margaret's, churches like St. Adalbert's in Philadelphia, St. Hyacinth's in Chicago, churches built by Polish hands and nurtured by Polish dreams. In America and in Poland those dreams are as ancient and as fundamental as the courageous spirit of the Polish people.

And as we meet this evening in Warsaw, the Sun still shines on those churches across the sea. It's still Sunday afternoon there, and America's churches are filled with people in prayer. And as we begin these discussions—and as your country continues its hard journey up the path it has chosen—my prayers and the prayers of the American people remain with Poland, as they have throughout its long struggle. And, yes, there is a good deal of work to be done, and we will work together to gain new ground, to expand our common ground and U.S.-Polish ties.

So, thank you again, sir, for this warm welcome. Rest well on this Sunday night. And long live Poland! Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:25 p.m. on the tarmac at Okecie Airport. In his remarks, the President referred to Wojciech

Jaruzelski, Chairman of Poland's Council of State. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the Parkowa Guest House.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Polish Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski in Warsaw

July 10, 1989

President Bush and General Jaruzelski talked for more than 2 hours this morning, from 9:45 to 12:05, and discussed a full range of bilateral and international issues. President Bush outlined the economic program [proposals] that he will make to the Polish Parliament this afternoon. The President also discussed his conventional arms proposal made at the NATO summit. General Jaruzelski said the Warsaw Pact applauded the President's proposal and felt the timetable was achievable. General Jaruzelski spent a good deal of the time discussing the internal political situation in Poland. President Bush reiterated the United States desire to be helpful in Poland's reform efforts without being intrusive.

In the plenary session, Secretary of State Baker and Poland's Foreign Minister Olechowski amplified these same themes. Secretary Baker referred to the close and historic bonds between the two peoples. The Secretary outlined in some detail the President's economic incentives. The two Ministers discussed the full range of bilateral issues, including increased dialog between U.S. and Polish officials, technical and scientific exchanges, trade increases, environmental improvements, international fishing clarifications, and various economic prospects. President Bush felt the meeting was quite productive and friendly.

Note: At their meeting at Belweder Palace, the President and Chairman Jaruzelski signed agreements rescheduling Poland's debt payments.

Toasts at a Luncheon at the United States Ambassador's Residence in Warsaw

July 10, 1989

The President. First, my thanks to our host and hostess, our able Ambassador and his wife, for this informal, lovely luncheon. It's an honor and privilege to be with you here today.

Some of us met 2 years ago in Warsaw, and so much has changed. These are hopeful times for Poland. It's a special moment in Poland's history, perhaps the most profoundly challenging period in many decades. I told Chairman Jaruzelski this morning that my country and the world are inspired by Poland's success at the roundtable and by the implementation of the roundtable's provisions. And I hope you've noticed that today we are all sitting at round tables. [*Laughter*]

But look, we are also aware of the many difficulties and the economic pressures that lie ahead. And your challenge is to rise above the mistrust, to bring the Polish people together for a common purpose. The United States will stand with Poland; we will support Poland's hopeful mission, unparalleled in your history.

And so, with deep respect for you, Mr. Chairman, and your colleagues and for Solidarity and for the roundtable process and for all the guests at this luncheon that made that process work, I would like to lift my glass—if I can find it—[*laughter*]—to the Nation and the people of Poland.

Chairman Jaruzelski. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, Mr. Ambassador, Mrs. Davis, let me, first of all, thank you very much for this nice hospitality and for the fact that we could meet in this beautiful scenery and have this excellent lunch.

I have been taken by surprise by your President with the offer to come and speak to you. So, let me just share with you a few loose observations. But I consider as a significant fact that it is here at the residence of the U.S. Ambassador we could meet in such a pluralistic company. What is more, we were able to meet in a friendly atmosphere, and I believe we have felt well together.

One other personal reflection for me: I live perhaps 50 or 80 meters away from here for 16 years, and it is for the first time that I have come to this building and this residence. [*Laughter*] I think it is also a sign of time, and I and Mrs. Jaruzelski doubly appreciate this meeting.

Thank you, Mr. President, for your kind and well-wishing words. I value very highly these long conversations today with you. I believe they allowed us to better come to know each other and better understand each other, and I have no doubt that it will benefit the cooperation and friendship between our two countries and people.

Once again, thank you very much for this meeting today, and I wish you all the best. I know that the important person in this company according to the protocol is the U.S. President, but may I be allowed to fracture the protocol and follow the old Polish tradition of offering to everybody to raise our glasses to the good health of Barbara Bush and all the ladies present with us here today.

Mr. Geremek. Mr. President of the United States and Mr. Chairman, even this very beginning tells us of what Poland stands for now. A man from Solidarity, a member of Solidarity, I, who have been in this house several times in the past—even though I don't live that far from it—I can admit and say openly that something new is arising, emerging, in the ties between Poland and the United States.

Roughly 2 years ago, the Vice President of the United States and Mrs. Barbara Bush talked with members of Solidarity right in this house. And even though at that time we heard words of hope, I believe that none of us at that time expected that we would meet in 2 years in a situation like the present. Poland is still divided, but it's possible that what's taking place right now is actually taking place, that together we have the representatives of Solidarity, of the opposition, and of the authorities. We feel that what's happening now, what's taking place—the political and economic reform, all of that, is in the interest of Poland, not just one particular side. And at moments like these, we think of the Founding Fathers of the United States, whose message about freedom has not lost any of its current significance.

First of all and above all, we seek understanding for what is happening in our country. The future of Polish reforms depends on Poles alone. We do not expect that they will be carried at somebody else's cost or by others' hands. But we believe that these reforms will be understood the world over as serving the whole world: serving the purposes of not only Poland but also of Czechoslovakia and Hungary and the interests of that part of the world and the whole world itself.

And in this house, the house of Helen and John Davis, who have done so much for the Polish cause, let me say that this is exactly what we expected from the President of the United States. The words he uttered, that the United States will support the reforms taking place in Poland, are the words that we were hoping for. And for that, let me propose a toast to the President of the United States and the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. on the patio of the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his remarks, he referred to Ambassador and Mrs. John R. Davis, Jr.; Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of Poland's Council of State; and Bronislaw Geremek, parliamentary opposition leader and a senior adviser for Solidarity. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks to the Polish National Assembly in Warsaw
July 10, 1989

Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshalls Kozakiewicz and Stelmachowski, Prime Minister Rakowski, and senators and delegates, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am honored to greet the newly elected representatives of the Polish Parliament. To be here with you on this occasion is proof that we live in extraordinary, indeed, thrilling times.

The power and potential of this moment was first made clear to me when I saw a photo, a worldwide photo, flashed all around the world: a photo of General Jaruzelski, senator leader Lech Walesa, shoulder-to-shoulder—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa—shoulder-to-shoulder at the opening session of this Parliament, committed to new progress in Poland. Believe me, that sent a wonderful signal all around the world.

Poland and the United States are bound, it is often said, by ties of kinship and culture. But our peoples are linked by more than sentiment. The May 3d Constitution of 1791 set Poland ahead of her peers, ahead of her time, in the pursuit of freedom and democratic ideas, just as our Constitution, the American Constitution of 1787, set new standards for protection of the rights of the individual. For decades, beginning with the Versailles Peace Conference, the United States has stood for Polish independence, freedom, prosperity. And we are proud of our early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. As America's President, I am here today to reaffirm that proud commitment.

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my own public service in the American Congress. Democratically chosen legislatures are among mankind's greatest forums for debate and dialog. And while I've been to Poland before, I did not expect to return so soon nor to such altered circumstances in your country. And so, too, perhaps many of you didn't expect to be here, serving in this or any Polish Parliament, and your achievement has surpassed all expectation and has earned all our admiration.

Our meeting today bears witness to the character of our age. Some 450 years ago, when the Polish astronomer Copernicus came to understand the natural order of the planets and had the courage to question accepted wisdom, the world was changed forever. From this year forward, as Poland works to reaffirm the natural order of man and government, so, too, will Poland be changed forever. For today the scope of political and economic change in Poland is indeed Copernican—a fundamental change in perspective that places the people at the center, a new understanding that the governed are the true source of lasting social peace and economic prosperity around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

Poland has a rich democratic heritage. The May 3d Constitution was a stroke of genius. Today, at the dawn of that document's third century, you're called upon to match its genius with contemporary action, to make a peaceful transition toward political and economic renewal through representative government that expresses the will of the people.

I said a few weeks ago, here in Europe, that East and West have arrived at the end of one era and at the beginning of another. Chairman Jaruzelski recently said of Poland that "the life of the Nation has undergone deep changes; society has the full right to ask when a ray of sun will shine over Poland." In truth, this applies not just to Poland but to the entirety of relations between East and West.

A profound cycle of turmoil and great change is sweeping the world from Poland to the Pacific. It is sometimes inspiring, as here in Warsaw, and sometimes it's agonizing, as in China today. But the magnitude of change we sense around the world compels us to look within ourselves and to God to forge a rare alloy of courage and restraint.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland and Hungary find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. The people of these nations and the courage of their leaders command our admiration. The way is hard; but the moment is right, both internally and internationally, for Poland to walk its own path. On the day Solidarity was restored, I spoke of my support and admiration for the political experiment just getting underway in Poland. You've since proceeded further along that road, including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean not just for Poland but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here—right here, in Poland—50 years ago this summer. Your country, and then nearly all of Europe, was first besieged and then occupied by totalitarian, despotic forces. A courageous Poland was our ally. And in that fearful time, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill devised the Atlantic Charter, which outlined principles on which we hoped to build a better world, including freedom from want and fear, and the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. But as you know better than anyone, the world that we sought then was not to be. Stalinist systems were imposed over a third of a continent—the cold war began. The countries of the West organized themselves in defense of democratic principles, and we proposed that the Marshall plan include Eastern Europe, but again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy, our strategy of containment, was a means but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe, and we did not forget the frustrated and lost hopes of 1945 nor the promise of a better world—neither did the Polish people. You have been a crucible of conflict; you're now becoming a vessel for change. Poland is where the cold war began, and now the people of Poland can help bring the division of Europe to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to a world too long deferred, a better world.

And now, at long last, two developments have allowed us to redeem the principles of the Atlantic Charter for which the United States and Poland fought as allies. One is the manifest failure of the classic Stalinist system; and the other is the indomitable will of the people—through leaders in Poland and Hungary, who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity and, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

And now, in part because of what you are doing here, the genuine opportunity exists for all of us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940's. That Europe, the Europe of our children, will be open, whole, and free. We can make it so in two ways.

First, a new East-West relationship must rest on greatly reduced levels of arms. I notice what General Jaruzelski said on that point, and I support him. We in the West have proposed dramatic reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops and tanks and aircraft and other categories of weapons gives us hope that the negotiations in Vienna will succeed. A good beginning has been made. Constructive proposals are being offered on both sides. We are determined to push hard for an early and successful conclusion to these talks.

Second, reductions in military forces will go further and be more sustainable if they take place in parallel with political change. Excessive levels of arms, we believe, are the symptom, and not the source, of political tensions. In Europe those tensions spring from an unnatural and cruel division. Poland's decision to embrace political reform and Hungary's movement in the same direction thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will—by that, your reforms can be the foundation of stability, security, and prosperity not just here but in all of Europe, now and into the next century.

Mikhail Gorbachev has written: "Universal security rests on the recognition of the right of every nation to choose its own path of social development and on the renunciation of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. A nation may choose either capitalism or socialism. This is its sovereign right." In principle, I agree, but I might well have said that the people of a nation may freely choose either a free-market economy or socialism--that is their right. And so, the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security but to help forge closer and enduring ties between Poland and the rest of Europe.

As a result of the roundtable accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands, and there it must ever remain. Your responsibility for your country's future is immense. Poland's friends, including the American people, want Poland to be free, prosperous, democratic, independent—true to the best tradition of your nation's past. And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage in a time of great difficulty and challenge. Lech Walesa and Solidarity are deeply committed to institutions in Poland that will serve all its people. This Parliament, by its very existence, is advancing pluralism, and the church has served as a source of spiritual guidance and unity in turbulent times. But above all, there are the people of Poland, people who are steadfastly working toward productive change.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponents. But its virtue is that it grants legitimacy to leaders and their policies; it gives governments and societies the mandate to make hard choices. And through their involvement, it gives the people a stake in the choices that are made.

For over 200 years, Americans have wrestled over political and economic interests, over individual and civil rights, and the role of a loyal opposition. Democracy is not a conclusion; it's a process, and perfecting it never ends. But history has taught Americans one very clear lesson: Democracy works.

We understand in my country the enormous economic problems you face. Economic privation is a danger that can threaten any great democratic experiment. And I must speak honestly: Economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government: how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation; how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit; how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency; how to handle the painful disruptions of change for the sake of productivity, for the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents an historic challenge. There can be no substitute for Poland's own efforts, but I want to stress to you today that Poland is not alone. Given the enormity of this moment, the United States stands ready to help as you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, 3 months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. I proposed specific steps, carefully chosen, to recognize the reforms underway here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on dynamic interplay of progress in Poland and Western engagement, and not on unsound credits made without regard to necessary reforms. That was the record of the 1970's; Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland. We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck, and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through Generalized Systems of Preferences and that will authorize our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, providing investment insurance and setting up missions to stimulate U.S. investment and joint ventures here. The United States is proposing a private business agreement that will promote contacts between Poland's growing private business sector and its American counterparts. We hope to conclude an agreement soon to build on what promises to be an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment, trade, and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

I've said that as Poland reforms itself, the U.S. will respond. Much has happened even in the short time since Hamtramck. So, today I'm pleased to announce that we plan to do more and go farther for the sake of a stable and prosperous Poland.

First, I will propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit, that Summit Seven, intensify their coordination and concerted action to promote democratic reform in Poland and Hungary and to help manage compassionately the process of change. We will work with our partners at the summit, moving quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance. This concerted action will complement existing institutions like the World Bank, the Paris Club, and IMF [International Monetary Fund], and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

Second, I will ask the United States Congress to provide a $100 million fund to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector, and we will encourage parallel contributions from other nations of the economic summit.

Third, I will encourage the World Bank to move ahead with $325 million in economically viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of.

And fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt. This could provide deferral of debt payments amounting to about $5 billion this year if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering liberalized terms. I plan to discuss this issue with my colleagues at the Paris summit.

Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of our common heritage, our common inheritance—the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries, and this concern is worldwide. Almost 2 years ago, I visited Krakow, your former royal capital, a city recognized by UNESCO as an international treasure. Today Krakow is under siege by pollution; its priceless monuments are being destroyed. Krakow must be reclaimed, and the United States will help. And I'll ask the Congress for $15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I begin my remarks—when I began them, I mentioned the shared cultured heritage of our two nations. Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a cultural and information center in Warsaw, and we'll ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States. This will be the first time that either of our two countries will be able to conduct educational and cultural programs outside of our Embassies and consulates.

The elections which brought us—all of us—together here today mean that the path the Polish people have chosen is that of political pluralism and economic rebirth. The road ahead is a long one, but it is the only road which leads to prosperity and social peace. Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe, an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people and other peoples of this region.

Democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Like all forms of government, though it may be defended, democracy can never be imposed. We believe in democracy—for without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, the destiny of man.

Two hundred years ago, democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful influence of the Enlightenment, as a testament to ideas that endure. The American Constitution was first and has stood the test of history for over 200 years of our existence as a republic. Constitutional democracy in France began two centuries ago this summer, and in a few days, leaders from all over the world will be in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

On May 3, 1991, the Polish Constitution will also be 200 years old. Your Constitution of 1791 was crushed, but never forgotten. And now this generation's calling is to redeem the promise of a free Polish Republic. Poland has not been lost so long as the Polish spirit lives.

America wishes you well as you face the tough problems today. I salute General Jaruzelski for his leadership and his extraordinary hospitality to me. I salute the leaders and members of these two great legislative bodies. God, in His infinite wisdom and love, is with us in this chamber. May God bless you and your efforts. Long live Poland! Long live Poland! Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:28 p.m. in the main chamber of the Parliament Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Council of State; Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Speaker of the Lower House of the National Assembly; Andrzej Stelmachowski, Speaker of the Senate; and Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The Paris Club was a group of major Western industrialized nations that lent money to developing countries.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed Assistance for Poland and Hungary

July 10, 1989

In his speech today to the Polish Parliament, the President presented a comprehensive package of six measures to help Poland meet the historic challenges of the 1990's. The measures take into account the ongoing, hopeful, democratic change in Poland.

The measures recognize that successful market economic reform and democratization in Poland, and elsewhere in East Central Europe, can lay the basis for European stability and security.

The package of measures consists of the following:

INTENSIFIED CONCERTED WESTERN ACTION FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY

Proposal

The President is proposing that nations of the Summit Seven intensify their concerted action to support economic reforms based on political pluralism in Poland and Hungary. Complementary efforts by leading industrial democracies will provide a powerful impetus to economic recovery and progress in these nations as they face a turning point. Other interested countries could contribute to this process as well.

Scope

Efforts will involve work with the Polish and Hungarian Governments, and with other official and independent organizations in those countries, to gather information and provide feedback on issues of mutual concern. Involved governments will also work as appropriate with representatives of the IMF, World Bank, EC Commission, and other multilateral and private sector institutions.

Specific issues addressed could include:

- Needed economic reforms;
- Timing and conditions for new credits; and
- Concrete support for privatization and private business, environmental projects, management and training initiatives, social safety nets to accompany restructuring, housing, etc.

These efforts would not undercut or replace existing institutions such as the World Bank, Paris Club, or IMF.

Next Steps

The President will discuss this proposal in

Paris with the leaders of the other Summit Seven nations—the United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, Italy, and Canada.

POLISH-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUND

Proposal

Poland's economic recovery will require a strong entrepreneurial sector, growing fast and generating wealth to benefit the whole nation. To support this process, the President has proposed the U.S. and Poland establish a Polish-American Enterprise Fund. The President is asking Congress to provide $100 million for this initiative. The Fund will be managed by a board of distinguished U.S. and Polish representatives.

Purpose

The Fund will promote the development of the private sector in Poland. It will be empowered to disburse hard currency loans or venture capital grants for approved projects, including:

- Private sector development (business loans/grants, possible establishment of a private sector development bank);
- Privatization of state firms (e.g., provide funding for entrepreneurs to buy into state firms);
- Technical assistance or training programs in support of or run by Poland's private sector;
- Funding of export projects partly or wholly private;
- Joint ventures between private Polish and American investors (e.g., encourage participation of private Polish firms in joint ventures).

WORLD BANK LOANS

Proposal

The President will encourage the World Bank to approve two economically viable project loans for Poland totaling $325 million. The loans for industrial restructuring and agricultural industrial development are intended to improve the competitiveness of Poland's exports.

Background

- The industrial restructuring loan ($250 million) is to be used for import of technology and equipment used in restructuring projects in plants producing chemical fibers, petrochemicals, polypropylene for packaging, particle board, and nitrogen; and the foreign currency costs associated with outside technical assistance for these projects.
- The agricultural industrial development loan ($75 million) would be used for purchase of equipment and technology licensing abroad, and foreign exchange costs for technical assistance for plants engaged in frozen fruit and vegetable processing, meat and other food processing.
- The loans are for 17 years with a 6-year period of grace before repayment begins.
- A Polish bank will relend the money to individual firms. These loans to and repayment by sub-borrowers will be in dollars—facilitating repayment of the overall loan to the World Bank.

U.S.-POLAND BILATERAL RESCHEDULING AGREEMENTS

Proposal

The President will ask his counterparts in the Paris Club to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt.

Background

Poland's foreign debt of nearly $40 billion is owed mainly to Western government creditors.

- The United States Government's share of this debt is about $2.2 billion, mostly in the form of credit guarantees extended by the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Export-Import Bank.
- The Paris Club agreed to reschedule Poland's debt service to official creditors 4 times in the past 8 years.
- However, until March 1989, Poland had not proceeded to negotiate and sign the bilateral agreements from the last two reschedulings, in late 1985 and 1987.
- Negotiations on the two outstanding bilaterals were revived earlier this year when the Government of Poland sought to resolve this issue with its creditors.

The Agreements and Next Steps

On July 10, the U.S. and Poland will sign the two pending bilateral agreements covering the 1985 and 1987 reschedulings.

- This paves the way for further agreements between Poland and its creditors on rescheduling the country's official debt.
- A Paris Club rescheduling on debt service obligations falling due in 1989 would allow Poland to defer payments of about $5 billion.
- A new Paris Club rescheduling agreement would normalize Poland's financial relations and would provide export credit agencies a legal basis for resumption of credit if governments decide such credits are warranted.

ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVES

Proposal

The President has stressed the need for fresh international efforts to preserve and improve the environment, humanity's common heritage. Following up on his Mainz speech, which singled out East-West cooperation on the environment, the President has proposed three environmental initiatives for Poland totaling $15 million, concentrated in the magnificent medieval capital of Krakow. This splendid city, designated by UNESCO as a world monument, is suffering from severe pollution.

Retrofit an Existing Coal-Fired Plant

This is a $10 million initiative to retrofit an existing coal-fired plant in the Krakow area with advanced clean coal technology. This retrofit will reduce sulphur dioxide emissions from a 100 MW plant by 60 to 65 apercent. Nitrogen oxide emissions will also be reduced.

- The initial phase of the project will include an assessment of the major coal-fired plants in the Krakow region to determine the best control strategies for these facilities. A specific plant would then be selected and the optimal technology for installation at this facility would be chosen.
- Following selection, the project will proceed into the design phase. This would involve the fabrication and installation of the equipment.
- The final phase of the project would include operation and analysis of the data. It is assumed that Poland will take over responsibility for the operation of the project and that the data would be made available to the U.S. The U.S. will provide technical support to Poland as needed.

Air Quality Monitoring Network

This is a $1 million project for an air quality monitoring network in the Krakow metropolitan area, as part of Poland's national air monitoring network, to include monitors and related equipment for measuring sulphur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide, particulate, carbon monoxide, ozone, and lead; and data storage/processing equipment.

Water Quality and Availability

This is a $4 million initiative to improve water quality and availability in Krakow.

- Using the city's 1986–2010 program of environmental protection and water economy as a guide, EPA and Polish experts will perform a comprehensive assessment of Krakow's current and future drinking water and wastewater needs to select and test treatment methods best suited to local conditions.
- To determine the optimal, least-cost engineering solutions, the program will examine streamflow records and data on the health of a variety of aquatic species, test for stream and drinking water purity, and identify water quality standards according to use.
- The program will emphasize recycling, pollution prevention, and low-cost approaches such as land treatment of effluents.

AGREEMENT ON EXCHANGE OF CULTURAL CENTERS

Purpose

The President has called for the U.S. to support imaginative educational and cultural programs with Poland. The agreement signed on July 10 will allow the U.S. to establish a cultural and information center in Warsaw and allow Poland the right to establish a similar center in the United States.

Background

This will be the first time either country will be able to conduct public information and cultural programs at a site physically removed from the Embassies or consulates. The centers still will be considered an integral part of the diplomatic services of the two countries.

- The American center in Poland will be under the direction of the U.S. Information Agency, which operates similar centers in many countries around the world.
- A site in Warsaw still must be identified and renovated for the new American center, but we would hope to open it sometime in early 1990. First-year construction and operational costs are expected to be $1.1 million.

Operation

The centers will serve as focal points for a wide range of cultural and information activities, including:

- Operating a full-service library including reference use and lending of books, periodicals, films, videocassettes, and other materials;
- Sponsoring of concerts, recitals, exhibits, film, television, and video showings;
- Seminars featuring professionals, scientists, and cultural personalities from various fields;
- Courses of English or Polish language.

Note: The Paris Club was a group of major Western industrialized nations that lent money to developing countries.

Remarks to Polish Little League Baseball Players in Warsaw

July 10, 1989

Hey, listen, you guys sit down now! Everybody sit down. I'm not going to be that long, but it's more comfortable sitting.

First, I want to thank Ambassador and Mrs. Davis and Dr. Hale, who you just heard from—Ann Kokoshko over here, who is the founder of the Polish Little League Foundation. And I really came to thank all of you, because I've been looking forward to this very much.

The Little League program has now come to Poland. And listen to these words from the Little League pledge: "I trust in God. I love my country and will respect its laws. I will play fair to strive to win. But win or lose, I will always do my best." Remember those words, because their spirit is Poland's spirit.

You know, I don't know how closely you follow big league baseball in the United States, but I think of some great Polish-American ballplayers when I'm here today, legends in American sports: Ted Kluszewski, Greg Luzinski, Tony Kubek—either he's pronouncing it wrong or I am—I don't know which one. [*Laughter*] You remember the Niekro brothers? Does that ring a bell with any of you guys—Phil and Joe? These are Polish guys. They won more games than any pair of brothers in big league history. I'm indebted to Rawlings for bringing this equipment. I want to thank the coaches that were here. And again, I want to thank Stan back here, of Windham, Connecticut, who is just—his whole life is baseball.

You know, 13 days from now, in the United States, is a big day. For on that day, America's Baseball Hall of Fame will induct the first former Little Leaguer—first guy to play Little League now going into the Hall of Fame. He's a Polish-American—Carl Yastrzemski. [*Laughter*] He's a great ballplayer for the Boston Red Sox. We got any Red Sox uniforms? No, okay—but anyway, a great player for the Red Sox. And in that Hall of Fame—which is the big thing for our game—he's joining three other Polish-Americans: Al Simmons, Stan Coveleski, and then Stan Musial. You know, he's been here in Poland. Last time I was here, I saw him here. That guy was already climbing toward Major League fame when the Little

League began—a humble winner, a gracious loser, a man of self-discipline and pride. And really, he became perhaps the most famous Polish-American athlete—Stan Musial. And he put it very simply. He said: "My greatest thrill was just putting on my uniform every day."

So, I just came on over to wish you well. I hope you feel the same way about baseball as Stan Musial did. And I just have a wonderful feeling that if I don't see you in the Olympics, I'm going to see some of you guys in the big leagues in the United States.

Good luck to you. All right, let's go over there now. Who's the best pitcher out here? [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 4:22 p.m. on the patio of the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his opening remarks, he referred to Creighton Hale, president of the U.S. Little League Foundation.

Toast at the State Dinner in Warsaw
July 10, 1989

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, and members of the Polish delegation, thank you for your hospitality tonight and throughout our stay. We are very pleased and honored to be here.

The American people have a special and enduring interest in Poland. And in recent months, we have watched remarkable events unfold here. And so, this is not an ordinary visit, for in Poland these are not ordinary times. When I was last here, almost 2 years ago, our relations had just emerged from a long, chilly period. But we have made great progress and covered many issues: cultural, commercial, consular, scientific, communications, human rights, and others.

Mr. Chairman, the rewards for successful effort are, as always, more and greater challenges. Poland is entering a new era; it is beginning once again to command its own destiny. Polish energy and creativity are being tapped, and great steps have been taken already—the remarkable roundtable accords, Solidarity's legalization, the holding of fair elections, the restoration of a freely elected Polish Senate. And more steps await on the road ahead. Poland has surpassed all expectations, and we respect you for that.

Reform is a difficult process, as you well know. And there are neither easy answers nor cost-free solutions, but there is a sound basis for hope. And today you have the good will of an expectant and hopeful world. We see hope not only for a new beginning in Poland but for the beginning of Europe's reconciliation—for making Europe whole and free and at peace with itself. We want Poland to succeed in this historic effort, and we have outlined ways in which the United States can help Poland help itself. Both our governments have a great deal of work to do.

Our hearts, as always, will be filled with the abiding commitment the American people feel for this land and for her people. You know, over the past 2 years, we have celebrated the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution, and yet not every American knows that a short time later the world's second written constitution was adopted by the Polish Parliament. And today I believe the spirit that produced the 3d May Constitution lives in Warsaw, in Krakow, and in Gdansk. And my wish for you is that 2 years from now, on the bicentennial of your Constitution, the Polish people will have achieved the kind of political transformation so long awaited, so long deferred.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, let us lift our glasses to the progress we have made in relations and to our determination to proceed toward the better days and great achievements still to come. And may I say in closing to you and Mrs. Jaruzelski, our heartfelt thanks for your superb hospitality and the warmth of your welcome to me, to Barbara, and to all that are traveling with me.

Thank you. Long live Poland! To your health, sir.

Note: The President spoke at 8:55 p.m. in the Green Marble Dining Room at Radziwill Palace. In his opening remarks, he referred to Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Council of State, and Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Following the dinner, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Parkowa Guest House.

Letter to Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney on the Report on the Defense Management Review

July 10, 1989

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The Report of the Defense Management Review you submitted to me provides a blueprint for significant improvements in the management of the Department of Defense and in the Defense acquisition process. You will have my strong support in implementing its recommendations.

The American people need strong, capable armed forces that can protect our country, our allies, and our interests around the world. The American people also need to be sure that the tax dollars they devote to the Nation's defense are spent wisely. The reforms identified in your Report will help achieve these requirements through a stronger and more efficient Department of Defense.

I know you will ensure that the recommendations of the Defense Management Review are quickly and effectively implemented. The principal recommendations of the Report should be incorporated into my Management by Objectives (MBO) Program and you should propose specific actions that will be achieved in specified timeframes. I will look forward to quarterly reports and to periodic discussions to assess progress, and to identify additional actions that may be desirable. We should also move forward quickly with proposals to the Congress that are needed to implement the Report's key recommendations.

Successful implementation of the Report's recommendations will be a major step forward in fulfilling our promise to the American people to maintain our nation's strength and bring greater efficiency to government.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Report on the Defense Management Review

July 10, 1989

*Dear*_________*:*

I am pleased to forward to you the Report on the Defense Management Review that Secretary Cheney has submitted to me.

This Report provides a basis for significant additional improvements in the management of the Department of Defense and in the defense acquisition process. Its recommendations have my strong personal support and I ask for your cooperation in their implementation.

Principal recommendations include continued reforms of the defense acquisition system, use of commercial products where feasible, streamlining and reducing regulatory and reporting guidance, and implementing a more flexible civilian compensation system for acquisition personnel. They also include eliminating unnecessary management layers and activities, a reform that will yield significant savings which can be applied to essential defense programs.

I have asked Secretary Cheney to propose detailed and substantive implementing actions to be achieved in specified timeframes, and plan to meet with him periodically to assess progress. I also will propose to the Congress specific legislation that is needed to implement the Report's key recommendations.

The Congress shares with us the responsibility to ensure that our nation has strong defense capabilities, efficient defense management and effective defense strategies. No amount of change within the Department of Defense or improvements in the performance of defense contractors will achieve our goals unless Congress also does its part. So, I ask for your help in making a sustained effort to move forward quickly with these needed improvements.

More specifically, I ask that the Congress:

—Create a more stable funding environment for Defense programs by adopting a biennial Defense Budget process.

—Increase the number of programs that qualify for multiyear procurement by eliminating Congressionally defined cost savings threshold requirements.

—Streamline, simplify, and consolidate existing federal procurement laws into a single statute.

—Reduce micromanagement of Defense programs and ease the burden on the Department of Defense created by onerous and unneeded reporting requirements that have grown dramatically in recent years.

We will shortly be providing you with additional details on these and other specific initiatives that Congress can take to make our Defense programs more responsive to national security needs while remaining within tightly constrained resources. We will need to work closely together and not allow the current problems, many of which are longstanding, to remain unsolved.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; George J. Mitchell and Robert Dole, majority and minority leaders of the Senate; and Richard A. Gephardt and Robert H. Michel, majority and minority leaders of the House of Representatives.

Continuation of Robert B. Barker as an Assistant Secretary of Defense

July 10, 1989

The President today announced that Robert B. Barker will continue to serve as Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy at the Department of Defense.

Since 1986 Dr. Barker has served as Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy. Prior to this he was Deputy Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for Verification and Intelligence, 1983–1986. He was Assistant Associate Director for Arms Control at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) in Livermore, CA, 1982–1983, and manager of the LLNL special projects division, 1978–1982. In addition, he designed, established, and ran the LLNL planning and evaluation division, 1973–1978; managed the LLNL strategic nuclear warhead design activities, 1971–1973; and served in several capacities at the LLNL from 1966 to 1973.

Dr. Barker graduated from Dartmouth College in 1960 and received a doctoral degree in physics from Syracuse University in 1966. He is married, has three children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Remarks to American Embassy Employees and Their Families in Warsaw

July 11, 1989

Thank you all very much, and Barbara and I are delighted with this wonderful trip that we've been on. I know Susan and Jim Baker feel exactly the same way. So, we ought to start by singling out our Ambassador and his wife, who have done a superb job in all these deadly arrangements that go into a trip of this nature. [*Laughter*] I've never seen such wonderful hospitality and such a wonderful way of making people feel at home here. And so, I am grateful to both of them, and it's a great pleasure to be back here at this time of momentous change in Poland.

I want to thank everybody in the Embassy for the support of this visit. And as I keep pointing out as I travel abroad, I've been in an Embassy on the receiving end of a visit almost this bad—[*laughter*]—because, you see, I was in China when Henry Kissinger came to China. And you think we're bad and overdemanding and overloading your circuits? Try that on for size over in China. [*Laughter*]

But I know it does take a lot of work. I don't know who the admin officer is here. Right over here? Still speaking to us—albeit through dark glasses. [*Laughter*] But I want to say thank you, sir, to you and your people, all the communicators, the political office and commercial office, and all those wrestling with the finances of the United States and Poland as we try to hopefully interact on a positive plane there.

I want to thank the Polish nationals that are here. Hold up your hands. Do we have some from here? I knew we did. [*Laughter*] And look, you're Poles; you are loyal to Poland. But you are a part of the American Embassy, and we are very grateful for what you do to make us a better Embassy. So, thank you very much for your terrific support—the Ambassador telling me how much he relies on so many of you for the functions of this Embassy. So, we're a team, and I am grateful to recognize the team as one that's going forward and operating well. If the Little Leaguers I saw yesterday can turn out to be as good a team as this Embassy team, Poland may well win the Olympics in baseball a few years from now. [*Laughter*]

But, thank you, we're off now to Gdansk. I will say, for those who have been dealing with the political substance of this visit, that the talks I've had with Chairman Jaruzelski and the Solidarity leaders right here have been extraordinarily useful. I know the Secretary of State feels exactly the same way. We look to Ambassador Davis as the expert, and he told me that he is relatively pleased with the way things have gone so far. We recognize that the U.S. has a unique role to play in, hopefully, elevating the fortunes of Poland. But I think there is an understanding that—on the part of the Polish leadership—that continued reform is absolutely essential if we are going to be able to help Poland as much as we feel in our hearts we would like to help Poland.

So, substantively, the visit has gone very well. I must say I was very moved by the greeting yesterday by both houses of their legislature. It was a very touching thing for an American President to be received with such warmth. And when they sang "A Hundred Years," Mr. Jaruzelski pointed out to me that this had never been done for a political leader before—de Gaulle and Khrushchev and Brezhnev having spoken in that interesting body. [*Laughter*] And so, it was quite an honor for our country. And you could feel not only the emotion of it, but you could feel the friendship that exists between Poland and the United States.

So, thank you all very much for what you've done. I promised everybody at the Embassy, in my heart, that I would leave on time, and thus you could breathe one collective sigh of relief. [*Laughter*] So, if I talk on longer I will violate that promise. But listen, Barbara and I are delighted and indebted to every single one of you for your part in this visit that we consider so successful. Thank you all very, very much.

And now maybe we can have all the children come up here so we can get a picture. Who is going to take—here, David—David takes the picture. You guys come up here, all you little guys. Anybody under—how old are you? Under 12? Come up here. [*Laughter*] Come on, all you guys over here. You—hey, come on, bring your flags. Come on, you guys: You've got to get over here. Face David, here we go, over here, here we are. Everybody look at David over here. Ready? Can you see? Wave your flag. We got it. Okay, thank you all. We'll send you these pictures—to the Ambassador.

Note: The President spoke at 9:18 a.m. on the lawn of the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his remarks, the President referred to Secretary of State and Mrs. James A. Baker III; U.S. Ambassador and Mrs. John R. Davis, Jr.; Mark Lijek, Administrative Counselor for the Embassy; and David Valdez, Director of the White House Photo Office. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Gdansk, Poland.

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following a Luncheon With Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk

July 11, 1989

Q. Come this way.

Q. We can't hear you. How about coming over?

The President. He said he can't hear us. I'm not sure we want him to, do we?

Mr. Walesa. Mr. President, I am ready. I'll walk up.

The President. All right.

Q. What did you talk about?

The President. She wants to know what we talked about.

Q. And what did you decide?

Mr. Walesa. If that's what you need, I can briefly tell you. Poland has had major achievements now—politically, but the problem centers on matching political reform with economic reform. Let's take the example of China, where the economic topics were not lined up properly with political ones. In Poland, there is a danger, too, but it's in reverse. Here the political problems have gotten ahead of the economic ones.

Meeting with the head of a superpower, a superpower in all areas—in other words, a superpower economically and politically—we hope that in this situation we have a chance to adjust our situation. We're not after any loans; we're after cooperation—cooperation in which one partner would be $10 billion. If we succeed in opening branches of Western banks which would keep $10 billion and could strike a good deal in Poland, that would fix our economic problems. And this is what I asked Mr. President about, and that was my primary appeal and request.

Q. What about this $10 billion, Mr. President? What about it?

The President. You heard carefully what he said. He is not asking for $10 billion; he's asking for investment and the potential to build through the private sector to the tune of American banks being in Poland carrying $10 billion. That could be American banks, other banks. And to me it's interesting and quite different than the interpretation that I've seen placed on this figure by other people.

We had a very good luncheon in the sense that it was—having met Mr. Walesa before, I really rejoiced in his hospitality, he and his Danuta, giving us the hospitality of being in their home. And we talked about a wide array of issues. I clearly salute today, as I have in the past, his contribution to the enormous political reforms that have taken place, and I have told him that I want to work with him and with Poland in every way possible on the economic reforms.

So, now I will go to the economic summit. I will take with me the detail—he gave me a detailed paper—the details of his proposals, and we'll see where we come out. But in terms of his emphasis on the private sector and on job opportunity through private investment and private and competitive business practice, I must say I can give strong support to that—standing right here in his yard.

Note: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. at the Walesa residence. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks at the Solidarity Workers Monument in Gdansk
July 11, 1989

The President. Hello, Lech Walesa! Hello, *Solidarność!* Hello, *Polska!* And congratulations on what you've done since I last visited: the first free elections in modern *Polska.* Poland has a special place in the American heart and in my heart. And when you hurt, we feel pain. And when you dream, we feel hope. And when you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond diplomatic relations; it's more like family relations—and coming to Poland is like coming home. This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream—a recurring dream—the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people more than a thousand years ago. And the spirit of the Poles has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans, a dream that would not die.

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years ago this summer, the predawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by the thunder from the 15-inch guns of Nazi warship Schlewswig-Holstein. Within the hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier, and Europe was plunged into darkness that would engulf the world. For Poland the choices were few: surrender to tyranny or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. In World War II, Poland lost everything—except her honor, except her dreams.

Before Poland fell, you gave the allies "Enigma," the Nazis' secret coding machine. Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of allied lives, of American lives; and for this, you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. And ultimately, "Enigma" and freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The cold war brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship—and the dream was again denied. And yet there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And a patriotic electrician clambered over these iron gates and emerged as one of the heroes of our times—Lech Walesa. And above your streets a graceful monument rose, in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty, to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of hope.

But the hope, like the dawn, proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world.

But still the dream would not die. In the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages, of your cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you—the Polish people and your leaders—turned despair into hope, turned darkness into dreams.

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds, confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of possibilities; its time of responsibilities. It is Poland's time of destiny, a time when dreams can live again—Solidarity reborn, productive negotiations between the Government of

Poland and the Polish people, and the first fruits of democracy, elections. At another time, in another city, where the human spirit was being tested, a great American President spoke eloquently about the struggle for liberty. Today the world watches the inevitable outcome of that struggle.

Today, to those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed, I say: Let them look at Poland! To those who think that freedom can be forever denied, I say: Let them look at Poland! And to those who think that dreams can be forever repressed, I say: Look at Poland! For here in Poland, the dream is alive.

Yes, today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope, a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know Poland is not alone. America stands with you.

Audience members. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. Because Americans are so free to dream, we feel a special kinship with those who dream of a better future. Here in Poland, the United States supports the roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity, and patience of one of Poland's great leaders—Lech Walesa. And again——

Audience members. Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa!

The President. And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world. That movement is *Solidarność*. And we applaud those who have made this progress possible: the Polish people. We recognize, too, that the Polish Government has shown wisdom and creativity and courage in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe and to redeem the promise that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free. A more democratic Poland can be a more prosperous Poland. The roundtable provisions, as they continue to be carried out, can liberate the energy of a dynamic people to work together to build a better life.

We understand the legacy of distrust and shattered dreams as Poles of all political complexions travel together down the path of negotiation and compromise. Your challenge is to rise above distrust and bring the Polish people together toward a common purpose.

Speaking before the new Parliament and the Senate—your freely elected Senate—I outlined steps that America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path of reform. It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and restraint before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and determination. But the Polish people are no strangers to hard work and have taught the world about determination.

So, I say follow your dream of a better life for you and for your children. You can see a new and prosperous Poland not overnight, not in a year—but, yes, a new and prosperous Poland in your lifetime. It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called America and built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it can be done by Polish people again. But this time, it will be done in Poland.

Just before I left a few days ago, I was asked in my beautiful Oval Office in the White House by one of your journalists if I would leave Poland and go to America, were I a young Pole. And I answered that in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity, I would want to stay in Poland and be a part of it, help make the dream come true for all the Polish people. The magic of America——

Audience members. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. And, yes, our country has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty—ample timber and ore and water and coal, abundant agriculture potential—and a talented, creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, the magic of America is in an idea. I described it in my first moments as President of the United States: "We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous land for man on Earth." And today you can rediscover a new land—a land of your dreams, a land of your own making, a Poland strong and proud.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where, and why, the cold war got started. And it is here, in Poland, where we can work to end the division of Europe. It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican, so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your quest for a better future for yourselves and for those wonderful children that I saw coming in from the airport—in that quest America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity. Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. The dream is a Poland reborn, and the dream is alive.

Poland is not lost while Poles still live. I came here to assure you we will help Poland. Goodbye, God bless you, and God save this wonderful country of Poland!

Note: The President spoke at 2:32 p.m. outside the Lenin Shipyard. In his remarks, he referred to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Earlier, the President participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the monument.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Technical Assistance for Poland

July 11, 1989

The President today announced a decision to provide technical assistance to Polish independent trade unionists, government officials, and employers to ease the burden of adjustment during the period of economic transition and reform. The workers of Poland will ultimately benefit from their country's reform efforts, but the difficult transition period could jeopardize the reform process, with unemployment possibly being a particularly acute problem.

The Department of Labor, working with the AFL–CIO and American business, will assist Poland in eight areas: training and retraining; job search and employment services; unemployment insurance; entrepreneurial development, self-employment and employee ownership; labor-management relations; labor statistics; worker safety and health, including mine safety; and women in the work force.

The Department of Labor will provide a mix of in-country technical assistance and U.S. domestic activities and, along with other U.S. Government agencies, will help develop policies and programs to set up an effective labor safety net in each of the eight priority areas. The cost of the initiative is approximately $4 million.

Advance Text of Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Gdansk

July 11, 1989

This has been the first visit of an American President to Poland in almost 12 years. That, in itself, is something of a milestone. And it has been a great honor to be here. But what has made this visit most noteworthy, in my mind, are the extraordinary opportunities and challenges now faced by Poland and her people. In my 2 days here, I met with leaders of a government that is both responsive and responsible, and determined that Poland shall find her own road to recovery.

I met with the chairman of the Free Solidarity Trade Union, Lech Walesa, whose courage and moral guidance have carried Poland's people from the dark of night to the threshold of a brilliant future. I met with Senators and parliamentary leaders of a democratic opposition, now legalized. We discussed their new and weighty responsibilities as Poland enters a new era. And I met with Polish citizens from all walks of life, including the citizens of the great city of Gdansk, at a monument to courage and freedom.

Poland is blazing her own path to a better life for all of her people. With every meeting, with every conversation, we have had meaningful discussions about the possibilities and challenges of Poland's unique experiment in reform. I have explained that the United States will respond with specific, appropriate measures designed to encourage future economic and political reform, reform that is crucial to Poland's long-term economic health. But the real work begins now, as Poland joins the community of nations committed to open elections and open markets and the open exchange of ideas.

I add my voice to those of so many around the world who are impressed with Poland's courage and committed to help a great nation fulfill its destiny. Poland's wisdom and strength will be tested. But such a nation, fully engaged in such an enterprise, need only summon the will of her people to succeed. The world watches, confident that they will triumph.

Note: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. on the tarmac at Gdansk Airport. The remarks as delivered were not released by the Office of the Press Secretary. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Budapest, Hungary.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony in Budapest
July 11, 1989

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Mr. President. Is somebody going to translate this? I'm going to take this speech, and I'm going to tear it up. You've been out here too long.

Let me just speak to you from the heart, and I'll be brief—tear that thing up. [*Applause*] Thank you. You've been standing here long enough. But Barbara and I feel the warmth of this welcome, and the rain doesn't make a darn bit of difference. We feel at home right here in this great capital.

And I salute the leaders of Hungary; I salute the reforms and change that is taking place in this wonderful country. And I want you to know that I am here as President of the United States because we have in our country a special affection and feeling for the people of Hungary. We are delighted to be here. We're only here for 2 nights and 1 day, but I am looking forward to my consultations and my discussions with the leaders of this great country. And I will be bringing them the warm greetings from the American people and the conviction of the people of the United States that we must work with Hungary. We want to work with Hungary to continue the changes and the reforms that are going forward in your great country as of today.

So, thank you very much for this welcome. You'll have to listen to me tomorrow, I'm sure, at some drier time and drier place. But once again, once again, long after this rain is gone, I'm going to remember the warmth of the welcome from the people of Hungary.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless your great country. Thank you very much. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 7:45 p.m. in Kossuth Square. In his remarks, he referred to Bruno Straub, President of Hungary's Presidential Council.

Toast at the State Dinner in Budapest
July 11, 1989

Well, thank you, sir, for those very warm words of welcome. And I'm delighted to have this opportunity to visit Hungary once again, to see firsthand the remarkable changes taking place here.

We live at a great moment in human affairs, an era when change is shaking the existing order. From Beijing to Budapest, from Tiananmen Square to the long delayed day of healing in Heroes Square less than a month ago, we're witnessing the expression of democratic idea whose appeal is universal, whose impact is worldwide. And here in the heart of central Europe, Hungary is at the center of change. Your nation is involved in an unprecedented experiment: a Communist system seeking to evolve towards a more open economy, towards a more open and pluralistic political system.

No one now denies that reform is the path of the future. In nation after nation, decades of experience have proven beyond any doubt the poverty of an idea: the idea that progress is the product of the state. On the contrary, progress is the product of the people. And state control simply cannot provide sustained economic growth, nor can it provide a regime the political legitimacy it needs to govern. Most of all, the state is in constant conflict with human liberty.

In Hungary today, there is a deepening consensus on the direction that reform must take, on a new model for state and society: in economics, the competitive market; in politics, pluralism and human rights.

The key to economic success is letting the market do its work, and that means an end to inefficient government intervention in the marketplace, an end to the dead weight that drags down overall economic growth. It means factories and enterprises of all kinds playing by the rules of the marketplace, according to the laws of supply and demand—in other words, rules that work for the individual and the common good.

And economic competition has a parallel in the political sphere. Pluralism is nothing more than an open and honest competition between parties, a competition between points of view. Pluralism is what we in the West call the marketplace of ideas. The open elections that Hungary has promised will mark a great advance and allow your great nation to enjoy the benefits of pluralism. The hopeful process of Helsinki points the way to the enhancement of freedom in central Europe, to a new basis for security and cooperation in all of Europe.

All Hungarians should look to the future with confidence in what Hungary can be. This is only the beginning. I see in Hungary's future a country of hundreds of thousands of small enterprises—sources of innovation, productivity, and prosperity. And I see in Hungary's future new voices speaking out, shaping the course of national affairs. I see a Hungary at peace with itself, a Hungary assuming its rightful place as a vital part of an emerging Europe—a Europe whole and free.

The road ahead will be difficult. There's no denying that. But I believe in Hungary; I believe in her ability to meet and master the challenge: to make reform succeed. The key is Hungary's most precious resource—her people. Each individual is an infinity of possibilities, and in the capacity of those individual talents lies the future of your nation. So, now let us raise our glasses: To the future of Hungarian reform; to the friendship, the genuine friendship, between the American and the Hungarian people. And thank you for this warm welcome.

Note: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. in Hunters Hall at the National Parliament Building. In his opening remarks, he re-

ferred to Rezsö Nyers, Chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. The President also referred to Heroes Square, the site where former Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy, leader of the 1956 uprising against Soviet domination, was posthumously honored. Following the dinner, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the Hungarian Government Guest House, their residence during their stay in Budapest.

Nomination of Martin C. Faga To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force

July 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Martin C. Faga to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Space Policy), Department of Defense. He would succeed Tidal W. McCoy.

Mr. Faga served as a research and development officer in the U.S. Air Force from 1963 to 1968, working in the field of infrared reconnaissance equipment and the application of laser technology to reconnaissance. He worked briefly for the Perkin-Elmer Corp. in customer liaison before joining the MITRE Corp. in 1969 as a member of the technical staff working in the field of seismic and magnetic remote sensors. In 1972 Mr. Faga joined the Office of Development and Engineering at the Central Intelligence Agency, where he worked on advanced systems for intelligence collection by technical means. In 1977 Mr. Faga became a member of the professional staff of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States House of Representatives. He was assigned to the Program and Budget Authorization Subcommittee during that time, serving since 1984 as the head of the staff assigned to the subcommittee.

Mr. Faga graduated from Lehigh University with a bachelor's degree in 1963 and a master's degree in 1964. He was born on June 11, 1941, in Bethlehem, PA. Mr. Faga is married, has two children, and currently resides in Virginia.

Nomination of Raymond Charles Ewing To Be United States Ambassador to Ghana

July 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Raymond Charles Ewing to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Ghana. He is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, and he would succeed Stephen R. Lyne.

Mr. Ewing entered the Foreign Service in 1957. From 1958 to 1959, he served as staff assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, followed by an assignment as staff aide at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo in 1959. He was the political officer at the U.S. Mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, 1962–1964, and was then detailed to the U.S. Information Agency and served as executive assistant in Lahore from 1964 to 1966. He returned to the Department of State in 1967 and was an international economist in the trade agreements division. Following a year of graduate study in economics at Harvard University from 1969 to 1970, he was posted to the U.S. Embassy in Rome as economic officer. He was the counselor for economic and commercial affairs, Bern, Switzerland, 1973–1975. In 1975 he returned to Washington and served as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; Deputy Director, Office of Southern European Affairs, 1976–1977; Director, Office of Southern European Affairs, 1977–1979; member of the Executive Seminar in National and International Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, 1979–1980; and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, 1980–1981. In 1981 Mr. Ewing was appointed Ambassador to Cyprus. From 1985 to 1987, he was the dean of the school of language studies at the Foreign Service Institute; and since 1987 Mr. Ewing has been serving as the Director, Office of Foreign Service Career Development and Assignments, Bureau of Personnel.

Mr. Ewing graduated from Occidental College with an A.B. in 1957 and received his master's degree in public administration from Harvard University in 1970. He was born September 7, 1936, in Cleveland, OH. Mr. Ewing is married, has four children, and currently resides in Virginia.

Continuation of Abraham D. Sofaer as Legal Adviser at the Department of State

July 11, 1989

The President today announced that Abraham D. Sofaer will continue to serve as Legal Adviser at the Department of State.

Since 1979 Judge Sofaer has served as a U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of New York. He served as hearing officer for New York State in an action by the department of environmental conservation from 1975 to 1976. Judge Sofaer served as an Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, 1967–1969, and as a law clerk to the Honorable William J. Brennan, Jr., of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1966–1967.

Judge Sofaer graduated from Yeshiva College (B.A., 1962) and New York University (LL.B., 1965). He served on active duty in the U.S. Air Force, 1956–1959. Judge Sofaer was born on May 6, 1938, in Bombay, India. He is married, has four children, and resides in New York.

Appointment of Ronna Romney as a Member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships, and Designation as Chairman

July 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Ronna Romney as a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. She will succeed James B. Stockdale. Upon her appointment Ms. Romney will be designated Chairman.

Ms. Romney is currently a senior partner at the law firm of Honigman Miller Schwartz and Cohn and has served as Chairman of the White House Commission on Presidential Scholars since 1985. She recently served as a Republican National Committeewoman, elected in 1984 and reelected in 1988. Ms. Romney was also involved in the Bush for President Campaign in 1988 as a member of the national steering committee, and as a Michigan cochairman in charge of finance. In 1986 she was active at the Fund For America's Future, serving as cochairman for Michigan, treasurer for Michigan, and a member of the national finance steering committee. Ms. Romney became the first member of the Republican National Committee in the country to endorse George Bush for President in 1985 and was active in Reagan/Bush '84 as a cochair of finance in Michigan and as a charter member of GO-PAC. In 1982 she was cochairman and head of finance for the Headlee for Governor Campaign. From 1982 to 1985, Ms. Romney also served as Commissioner of the President's National Advisory Council on Adult Education.

Ms. Romney graduated from Stanford University, Michigan State University, and Harvard University. She was born on September 24, 1943, in Detroit, MI. Ms. Romney is married, has five children, and resides in Michigan.

Remarks to Students and Faculty at Karl Marx University in Budapest

July 12, 1989

Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Németh, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. and Mrs. Csaki, it is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to be back in Budapest. And I am very proud to be the first American President to visit Hungary. Some might find it ironic that I am speaking at a university named after Karl Marx. [*Laughter*] If you don't find it ironic in Hungary, try it on for size in the United States. But the fact that I am here today is less a cause for surprise than proof that America welcomes the unfettered competition of ideas. And I understand that 50 or so of the faculty from this great university have been as either students or teachers in the United States of America. And that is a very good thing for my country, and I'm glad you came our way.

The university's principal task is to promote a competition—an unfettered competition of ideas. And that is the spirit that brings us together—a spirit that guided a great teacher at Karl Marx University whose name was Imre Nagy. As his funeral proceeded in Heroes Square a few weeks ago, the rising voice of Hungary was heard reciting the "Szozat." And in this simple, somber ceremony, the world saw something more than a dignified act, an act of reconciliation: We witnessed an act of truth. It is on this foundation of truth, more solid than stone, that Hungarians have begun to build a new future. A generation waited to honor Imre Nagy's courage; may a hundred generations remember it.

While Hungary rediscovers its natural role in the affairs of Europe, the world again looks to you for inspiration. A popular nonfiction book in my country today is entitled "Budapest 1900." Dr. John Lukacs lovingly describes the Budapest of memory, with its proud stock exchange and great opera, a time when Europe's first electric subway ran underneath the handsome shops of Andrassy Avenue. A city that rivaled Paris in its splendor, Vienna in its music, London in its literature—a center of learning that enlightened the world and gave America one kind of genius in Joseph Pulitzer, another in Béla Bartók. But for four decades, this great city, this great nation—so central to the continent in every respect—has been separated from Europe and the West.

And today Hungary is opening again to the West, becoming a beacon of light in European culture. And I see people in motion—color, creativity, experimentation. I see a new beginning for Hungary. The very atmosphere of this city, the very atmosphere of Budapest, is electric and alive with optimism. Your people and your leaders—government and opposition alike—are not afraid to break with the past, to act in the spirit of truth.

And what better example of this could there be than one simple fact: Karl Marx University has dropped "Das Kapital" from its required reading list. Some historians argue that Marxism arose out of a humane impulse. But Karl Marx traced only one thread of human existence and missed the rest of the tapestry—the colorful and varied tapestry of humanity. He regarded man as hapless, unable to shape his environment or destiny. But man is not driven by impersonal economic forces; he's not simply an object acted upon by mechanical laws of history. Rather, man is imaginative and inventive. He is artistic, with an innate need to create and enjoy beauty. He is a loving member of a family and a loyal patriot to his people. Man is dynamic, determined to shape his own future.

The creative genius of the Hungarian people, long suppressed, is again flourishing in your schools, your businesses, your churches. And this is more than a fleeting season of freedom; it is Hungary returning to its normal, traditional values. It is Hungary returning home; voices long stilled are being heard again. An independent daily newspaper is now sold on the streets. Commercial radio and television stations will broadcast everything from the news to the music of Stevie Wonder. And Radio Free Europe is opening its first Eastern European bureau right here in Budapest.

Along your border with Austria, the ugly symbol of Europe's division and Hungary's isolation is coming down, as the barbed wire fences are rolled and stacked into bales. For the first time, the Iron Curtain has begun to part. And Hungary, your great country, is leading the way.

The Soviet Union has withdrawn troops, which I also take as a step in overcoming Europe's division. And as those forces leave, let the Soviet leaders know they have everything to gain and nothing to lose or fear from peaceful change. We can—and I am determined that we will—work together to move beyond containment, beyond the cold war.

One of the key steps in moving beyond containment is easing the military confrontation in Europe. To this end, the NATO allies joined, at the May summit meeting, in my proposal of a comprehensive conventional arms control initiative, an initiative that would cut the number of tanks, armored troop carriers, artillery, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, as well as United States and Soviet troops stationed on foreign soil in Europe—all to lower, equal levels. The issues may be complex; but we're working, day and night, to get a solid, historic agreement to strengthen stability in Europe and reduce the risk of war. And we are determined to get it soon.

No, there is no mistaking the fact that we are on the threshold of a new era. And there's also no mistaking the fact that Hungary is at the threshold of great and historic change. You're writing a real constitution, and you're moving toward democratic, multiparty elections. And this is partly possible because brave men and women have formed opposition parties. And this is possible because Hungarian leaders are going to show the ultimate political courage: the courage to submit to the choice of the people in free elections.

But to succeed in reform, you'll need partners—partners to help promote lasting change in Hungary. And I am here today to offer Hungary the partnership of the United States of America. Three vital spheres stand out in our partnerships: economics, the environment, and democratic and cultural exchange. The United States believes in the acceleration of productive change, not in its delay. So, this is our guiding principle: The United States will offer assistance not to prop up the status quo but to propel reform.

Of course, the weight of the past still burdens Hungarian enterprise. There are remnants of the Stalinist economy—huge, inefficient industrial plants and a bewildering price system that is hard for anyone to understand, and the massive subsidies that cloud economic decisions. All of this slows what you could otherwise achieve. It's an economic Rubik's Cone [Cube] that defies solution.

To make the transition to a productive economy will test your mettle as a people. The prices of some commodities may rise. Some inefficient businesses and factories will close. But the Hungarian Government is increasingly leaving the business of running the shops to the shopkeepers, the farms to the farmers. And the creative drive of the people, once unleashed, will create momentum of its own. And this will bring you a greater treasure than simply the riches you create. It'll give each of you control over your own destiny—a Hungarian destiny. And as I said, the United States will be your partner in this transformation to a successful economy.

Last Thursday at the White House, I invited leaders from business, education, labor, and other fields to come to the White House and discuss the new private sector opportunities opening up in Hungary; and their response was enthusiastic. This was especially true of Hungarian-Americans, so proud to be building a bridge between their new country and their motherland. As long as our two governments ease the way, the people of America and Hungary can do the rest—the people can do the rest.

And it is in this spirit that I want to announce the following measures. First, as I said in Warsaw, I will propose at the Paris economic summit concerted Western action for Poland and Hungary, to back your reforms with economic and technical assistance from the summit partners. Of course, our efforts for Hungary will be targeted to your needs.

And second, I will ask the United States Congress to authorize a $25 million fund as a source of new capital to invigorate the Hungarian private sector. I'll also encourage parallel efforts from the other nations of the economic summit.

And third, once your Parliament passes the new emigration legislation proposed by your Council of Ministers, I will inform our Congress that Hungary is in full compliance with the Jackson-Vanik amendments to our 1974 trade law. No country has yet been released from the restrictions of this amendment. So, I am pleased to tell you that Hungary will be the first. And this action will give Hungary the most liberal access to the American market for the longest terms possible under our laws.

Fourth, America is prepared to provide your country with access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief. Simply put, these last two measures will allow you to take advantage of the largest single market in the entire world.

And fifth, we've concluded a draft agreement to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—OPIC we call it—to operate in Hungary. And once our Senate passes the enabling legislation, OPIC will be able to provide insurance to encourage American investment in private enterprises in Hungary. Through OPIC, American business executives will see firsthand the great opportunity of Hungary. Private investment is critical for Hungary. It means jobs, innovation, progress. But most of all, private investment means a brighter future for your children, a brighter future for Hungary.

And yet, economic progress cannot be at the expense of the air we breathe and the water we drink. Six weeks ago, in Mainz, I proposed cooperation between East and West on environmental issues. And that is why I will ask the United States Congress to appropriate $5 million to establish an international environmental center for central and Eastern Europe, to be based right here in Budapest, which will bring together private and government experts and organizations to address the ecological crisis. After all, our shared heritage is the Earth. And the fate of the Earth transcends borders; it isn't just an East-West issue. Hungary has led Eastern and central Europe in addressing the concerns of your citizens for cleaner air and water. And now you can do even more, working with the West to build a bridge of technical and scientific cooperation.

Along these lines, I am also pleased to announce that the United States has proposed an agreement between our two countries to establish scientific and technical cooperation in the basic sciences and in specific areas, including the environment, medicine, and nuclear safety.

It is my hope that this visit will also lead to a wider exchange between East and West so our scientists, our artists, and our environmentalists can learn from one another; so that our soldiers and statesmen can discuss peace; and our students—God bless them—can discuss the future.

But to discuss anything requires a common language. The teaching of the English language is one of the most popular American exports. And as students, you know that English is the lingua franca of world business, the key to clinching deals from Hong Kong to Toronto. So, to open the global market to more Hungarians, I am pleased to announce that the Peace Corps will, for the first time, operate in a European country. And our Peace Corps instructors will come to Budapest and all 19 counties to teach English.

And in such exchanges, we want to help you in your quest for a new beginning as a democratic Hungary. So, the United States is also committing more than $6 million to cultural and educational opportunities in Eastern Europe. We will make available funds for a series of major new U.S.-Hungarian exchange programs—among Congressmen and legislative experts; among labor-business leaders; among legal experts; among community leaders, educators, and young people.

We are creating dozens of fellowships to enable Hungarians to study at American universities. And we will fund endowed chairs in American studies at your universities, and books—many thousands of them—to fill the shelves of your new international management center and the libraries of schools and universities across Hungary. And the United States will also open, within the next several years, an American House in the center of Budapest. Today the celebrated American architect Robert Stern is releasing his design for this center, which will be an open house of books, magazines, and video cassettes—an open house of ideas.

And so, in conclusion—in economic reform and democratic change, in cultural and environmental cooperation—there are great opportunities and great challenges. Hungary has a lot of work ahead, and so do the United States and Hungary, working together to build this better future—dynamic future.

Your challenge is enormous and historic: to build a structure of political change and decentralized economic enterprise on the ruins of a failed Stalinist system. And given the opportunity to show your characteristic initiative, creativity, and resourcefulness, I believe that the Hungarian people will meet the challenge. You stand on the threshold of a new era of economic development and, yes, political change.

And I believe with all my heart that you are ready to meet the future. I see a country well on the way. I see a country rich in human resources—rich in the moral courage of its people. I see a nation transcending its past and reaching out to its destiny. I congratulate you for having come so far. And let us be equal to the opportunity that lies before us. Let us have history write of us that we were the generation that made Europe whole and free.

Thank you all. God bless each and every one of you. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in Aula Hall at the university. In his remarks, he referred to Bruno Straub, President of Hungary's Presidential Council; Prime Minister Miklós Németh, Csaba Csaki, rector of the university; and Imre Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister and leader of the 1956 uprising against the Soviet Union. Prior to his remarks, the President participated in a discussion with students at the Old Prison on Castle Hill.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed United States Assistance for Hungary and Poland

July 12, 1989

Hungary has entered a period of dynamic political and economic change. President Bush announced several measures to support Hungary's already considerable efforts to develop private enterprise and a freer political system.

CONCERTED WESTERN ACTION FOR HUNGARY AND POLAND

Proposal

The President is proposing that nations of the Summit Seven intensify their concerted action to support economic reforms based on political pluralism in Hungary and Poland. Complementary efforts by leading industrial democracies will provide a powerful impetus to economic recovery and progress in these nations as they face a turning point. Other interested countries could contribute to this process as well.

Scope

Efforts will involve work with the Hungarian and Polish Governments and with other official and independent organizations in those countries to gather information and provide feedback on issues of mutual concern. Involved governments will also work, as appropriate, with representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, European Communities Commission, and other multilateral and private sector institutions.

Specific issues addressed could include:

- Needed economic reforms;
- Timing and conditions for new credits; and
- Concrete support for privatization and private business, environmental projects, management and training initiatives, social safety nets to accompany restructuring, housing, etc.

These efforts would not undercut or replace existing institutions such as the World Bank, Paris Club, or IMF.

Next Steps

The President will discuss this proposal in Paris with the leaders of the other Summit Seven nations: the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, Italy, and Canada.

HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUND

Proposal

Hungary has taken a number of steps to enlarge its private sector which can produce wealth that will benefit the entire Nation. At the President's initiative, the United States and Hungary will jointly establish a Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund. The President is asking Congress to provide $25 million for this initiative.

Purpose

The Fund will support the development of the growing private sector in Hungary. It will be empowered to disburse hard currency loans or venture capital grants for approved projects, including:

- Private sector development (business loans/grants, possible establishment of a private sector development bank);
- Privatization of state firms (e.g., provide funding for entrepreneurs to buy into state firms);
- Technical assistance or training programs in support of or run by Hungary's private sector;
- Funding of export projects partly or wholly private; and
- Joint ventures between private Hungarian and American investors (e.g., encourage participation of private Hungarian firms in joint ventures).

HUNGARY: MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS

Proposal

The President has announced that upon enactment of the new law on emigration by the Hungarian Parliament, he will inform the Congress that Hungary is in full compliance with the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act. Hungary will be eligible to receive most-favored-nation (MFN) status for the maximum period allowable under our legislation, without any need of annual waivers.

A REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CENTER LOCATED IN BUDAPEST

Proposal

The President has proposed the establishment of a $5 million regional environmental center located in Budapest. This is a substantive followup to the President's initiative in Mainz to help Eastern and central Europe overcome its environmental problems.

Purpose

The center will provide a facility for cooperative research and activities between governmental and nongovernmental experts and public interest groups from the United States, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe concerned with the environment, including energy and nuclear safety.

Scope

The center would be an independent organization supported by both private and governmental funds. It would focus on developing the broadest human resource base for comprehensive environmental improvement and protection activities in the region.

- The center would facilitate loans of lab equipment and organize workshops and other exchanges.
- Specific emphasis would be placed on transboundary pollution problems, toxic waste disposal, alternative sources of nonpolluting energy, and promotion of nuclear safety technology and practices.
- Although located in or near Budapest, the center's objective would be to attract funding and direct participation by both governmental and private entities and groups from East and West.

EXCHANGES WITH EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Proposal

The President has called for expanded and imaginative exchange initiatives. The U.S. Information Agency will allocate up to $6.1 million from 1990 resources in order to implement this new initiative to strengthen the trends toward democratic values and institutions through significantly expanded academic, cultural, and people-to-people contacts.

The principal emphasis of this initiative will be in Hungary and Poland, but other countries in the region will also be involved. Hundreds will participate in the new government-sponsored exchanges in both directions over the next year.

The initiative has the following elements:

Political, Social, and Legal Institutions

- The John Marshall Study Program in the Rule of Law. Visits to the United States by more than 50 legal scholars, judicial and parliamentary officials to examine the U.S. jurisprudence and legislative system;
- Visits by congressional experts to consult with new democratic legislatures in Hungary and Poland;
- Consultations for representatives of East-Central European political parties with U.S. party organizations to learn the mechanics of democratic electoral politics;
- Samuel Gompers Labor Leader Exchanges. Travel and study programs for trade unionists in the United States;
- Translation and distribution of up to 100,000 books, magazines, and videocassettes in local languages on the U.S. political and economic system;
- Placement of U.S. specialists in law and public administration at East-Central European academic institutions; and
- Visits to the United States by East-Central European "future leaders" under the age of 30. Approximately 100 participants are projected for this program.

Free Market Initiative

- Alexander Hamilton Fellowships in Management. Internships, educational and training programs for at least 50 entrepreneurs and enterprise managers.
- Consulting visits by U.S. executives and management specialists to advise private and cooperative enterprises.
- Support of management training programs and institutes through U.S. instructors, curriculum materials, and short-term seminars. Hundreds of East-Central European management specialists would benefit from this expanded effort.

Educational and Youth Exchange

- Establishment of Noah Webster Chairs in American Language and Literature at central and Eastern European universities.
- Citizen Exchange Initiative. Assistance to the U.S. private sector in developing youth and other people-to-people exchange activities in Eastern and central Europe. Several hundred American and European citizens would be involved in this intensified two-way exchange initiative.

Environmental Protection and Cultural Preservation

- Two-day exchanges with specialists in

the fields of environmental protection and cultural preservation.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (S&T) AGREEMENT WITH HUNGARY

Scope

The President has announced the U.S. intention to conclude an umbrella S&T agreement with Hungary. We envision a broad program of scientific and technological cooperation in such areas of joint interest and expertise as basic sciences, the environment, agriculture, medicine, energy, geology, and nuclear safety.

Purpose

The agreement would develop and implement high-quality cooperative research programs.

- S&T cooperation recognizes Hungary's first-rate scientific establishment.
- The agreement also complements the President's Eastern European environmental initiative by coordinating research activities, providing core funds, and encouraging contacts in the environmental area.

Next Steps

We expect to send a technical delegation to Hungary shortly to negotiate the final terms of the agreement and work out detailed arrangements for funding.

Funding

Annual contributions of approximately $1 million or the equivalent in Hungarian currency from each side would implement the agreement.

- The United States can expect reasonable and tangible returns that far exceed U.S. costs because such core money often returns much larger dividends in terms of scientific innovations and by stimulating additional funding by participating technical agencies.
- This program will complement other existing and valuable U.S. S&T programs with Poland and Yugoslavia.

UNITED STATES PEACE CORPS/HUNGARY

The Program

The United States and the Government of Hungary have agreed in principle to establish a Peace Corps program centered on assisting Hungarian efforts to develop and expand English language teaching.

- The Peace Corps entry into Hungary represents a new era for American volunteers serving overseas. The Hungarian program, which could begin as early as the fall of 1989 with training for assignment in early 1990, eventually will involve teaching English in Budapest and all 19 of the country's counties.

The Volunteers

There are now nearly 6,000 volunteers and trainees in 65 nations in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Hungary will be the first European country where U.S. volunteers are assigned.

- Around the world, these Peace Corps volunteers offer skills in a wide variety of programs (e.g., maternal and child health, family nutrition, freshwater fisheries, agriculture extension, teacher training, small business consulting, public administration, natural resource development, energy, engineering, and industrial arts).
- A volunteer must be a U.S. citizen at least 18 years old. There is no upper age limit, and currently, nearly 500 volunteers are over 50.

Training

All volunteers will receive language and cultural training within Hungary before being assigned to schools. Strong emphasis will be placed on learning Hungarian. Cultural studies include Hungary's history, customs, and social and political systems.

Note: This is an excerpt of a White House fact sheet released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

White House Fact Sheet on the Proposal to Reduce Conventional Forces in Europe

July 12, 1989

On July 13, at the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Negotiations in Vienna, the NATO allies will table the specifics of their conventional force reduction proposal, based on the initiative President Bush put forward at the NATO summit. In formally tabling the President's proposal in Vienna, NATO is advancing the CFE process by providing the Warsaw Pact with details 2 months before the original Western target of September 7. This will allow the East to begin immediate examination of these details and hopefully allow the East to respond formally when the negotiations resume in Vienna in September.

At the May 29–30 NATO summit meeting, the alliance agreed on a far-reaching conventional arms control proposal which has now been incorporated into the NATO CFE proposal. It has the following elements:

- To lock in Eastern acceptance of the proposed Western limits on tanks (20,000 for each side) and armored troop carriers (28,000 for each side) and artillery pieces (from 16,500 to 24,000 for each side, depending on the resolution of questions about definitions). Equipment reduced would be destroyed. This provision would oblige the East to destroy tens of thousands of weapon systems and eliminate its preponderance in these important components of military strength.
- That the West expand its current proposal to extend, for the first time, the concept of conventional arms control to all land-based combat aircraft and helicopters in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU) area to a level 15 percent below the current NATO total.
- To establish a manpower ceiling of 275,000 each on U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of their respective national territory in the ATTU zone. The United States would take a 20-percent cut in combat manpower in U.S.-stationed forces, with a resulting ceiling in U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of national territory in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals zone of approximately 275,000 each. This manpower ceiling will require the Soviets to reduce their forces in Eastern Europe by about 325,000. The soldiers and air personnel withdrawn on both sides would be demobilized.

The updated NATO proposal to be tabled on July 13 will in addition state that in the case of combat aircraft each side would have no more than 5,700 aircraft. In the case of combat helicopters, each side would have no more than 1,900 helicopters.

NATO is proposing an accelerated timetable for reaching and implementing a CFE agreement along the above lines. The allies would like to reach an agreement within 6 to 12 months and accomplish the reductions by 1992 or 1993. By tabling details of the Western proposal now, the allies demonstrate their commitment to giving greater momentum to the CFE negotiations.

Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Budapest

July 13, 1989

Thank you, Mr. President. To distinguished leaders—Mr. Nyers, Mr. Grósz, Mr. Németh, and others that came to see us off—my profound thanks for the warmth of the hospitality to Barbara and me.

I was the first Vice President of the

United States to visit your country 6 years ago, but now I'm especially honored to be the first American President to come to this beautiful land. During the past 2 days, we've met with Hungarians from every walk of life. I saw many thousand wet Hungarians turning out there at Kossuth Square, that square a reminder of the sacrifices of Hungary's past. And at Parliament, I met with the political leaders of the present—leaders who have the courage to call for an historic election. And at Karl Marx University, I saw the hopeful face of Hungary's future and announced a series of American actions to engage my country more deeply in the future. But throughout, at every single event, I felt a deepening of the friendship between the American and Hungarian people.

In just a moment we're going to leave for Paris for an economic summit with Western leaders. And this will be an historic moment for Europe, for the nations of the economic community are moving steadily toward economic integration in 1992. And this should mean more than just a vast trade opportunity for Hungary. As your economy modernizes, you will play an even greater role in the evolution of a new Europe, a Europe that is whole and free.

While in Paris, we shall also celebrate the independence of that nation and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. But these rights are not French, nor are they American. You are proving here in the heartland of Europe that the rights of man are the proper birthright of us all. Thank you for a wonderful visit, for an unforgettably warm welcome. God bless you, and God bless Hungary.

Note: President Bush spoke at 8:45 a.m. at Budapest Airport. In his opening remarks, he referred to Bruno Straub, President of the Presidential Council; Rezsö Nyers and Károly Grósz, Chairman and General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, respectively; and Prime Minister Miklós Németh. Following his remarks, President Bush traveled to Paris, France.

Interview With Members of the White House Press Corps
July 13, 1989

Trip to Poland and Hungary

Q. You had a whole complement of jogging——

The President. I know it. They told me that one of—the girl on my right that—pretty looking—she claims to be the 250th in the world in tennis. And she's struggling and trying to—it's so wonderful—practices 8 hours every day. And she's a pretty——

Q. ——on red clay?

The President. Yes, on that—on red clay over there, yes. And then the kids are in a—they train for what they call their national games or something there. The one that spoke the English, her dad was a coach in Kuwait. And she learned her English over there, and she's a high-jumper. But anyway, it was fun. It was——

Q. ——a good mood?

The President. Good mood. This visit to Hungary—well, Poland also—but both of them were very, very moving. And I just come away with this real acute sense now of the change that's taking place in Eastern Europe and a determination to play a constructive role in that change. The meetings with these Hungarian leaders—the most recent visit—were very good, very frank.

I've been to, what, 77, 79 countries, or something, as Vice President; and these talks were more than just diplomatic. I mean, you didn't rely on the printed card, and they didn't. I mean, they spoke right from the heart. They said what they thought; they made clear the difficulties that they were facing. And I tried to do the same thing. There was something very special and warm and personal about the meetings in both Poland and Hungary.

Q. Do you think you made a difference?

Q. I realize it wouldn't have been diplomatic for any of those leaders to say so, but did you hear any complaints in either place about the sufficiency of the packages you brought?

The President. No, and I think you're right: There may be a reason that they wouldn't say so. But I heard none at all, not one. And in fact, Walesa [Solidarity leader], who had been reported to be asking for $10 billion, moved off of that and said that what they wanted were more banks to come in that would loan those kinds of money.

There was a paper written by a *Solidarność* economist that had the figure of $10 billion and had broken it down into *x*-number of dollars from the World Bank, *x* from the IMF, *x*—and it added up to $10 billion. But there was no pressure of that nature, and then I see that subsequently Walesa was in the paper today or yesterday saying that there had not been a disappointment.

But I think they understand that we are restricted in what we can do in terms of aid, or dollars of support, for some very worthy project. The thing that's impressive is the determination on the part of all these leaders to move towards economic freedom and political freedom.

It was so clear in Poland. General Jaruzelski [Chairman of the Polish Council of State]—who has had an image in the States earlier on that was not a very favorable one—is really out front in the reforms. And conversations were very warm and very frank with him. We'd talk about differences, but we'd also talk about common objectives. And he went out of his way to be hospitable. And then the same thing on the—what you'd call the private sector side—Lech Welesa down there.

And the same was true here; we met with the leaders and then, again, the opposition. And then they were all together at a reception. It's—change is absolutely amazing that's taking place in Eastern Europe.

Q. Do you think that you've made a difference?

The President. Yes, I do.

Q. What do you think that was?

The President. Well, I think the very fact that they can sit and talk to an American President in a reasonable way and I could tell them what I thought we would be able to do, how much we shared their desire for change—I think was fruitful to them. And I think they saw the friendship and respect for the United States from their people—the crowds on the street and the—any time there was interaction with the people it was dramatic. And I'm sure that makes a difference to the leaders. I think it shores up their desire for change because I think it shows all of us the genuine affection for the United States that exists in these countries and, I would say, in the rest of Eastern Europe, too, although I can't speak as authoritatively. I've been to——

Polish Political and Economic Reforms

Q. Is Poland going to get a government soon?

The President. I don't know, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I don't know. I would say yes, but I can't predict who the President's going to be.

Q. Did Walesa seem concerned?

The President. We discussed that very openly, but it's just something—I can't predict the outcome.

Q. ——holding them up?

The President. Well, I think it takes some time after their elections for the Parliament, and I think that they're now trying to sort out, in an arrangement, who to support for President. And you've got several different options. But that's their business; that's the internal affair of Poland, and I ought not to try to get involved in that.

Q. Did Walesa express any concerns about calling upon workers to make the kind of sacrifices required? Because that's another problem area.

The President. He didn't express concern about that, but I had an opportunity to make clear in private that—and publicly—that reforms were essential. There's no point going there under false colors and to try to have everything sweetness and light—as a message that—but it isn't going to be easy. But that's part of the message. The rest of it is that change is in the winds, and I sense it so much more clearly from having been there.

Q. Do you feel the general—I mean, you could see a man almost totally resigned——

The President. Did I feel what?

Q. Don't you feel that the general sees something besides the inevitable? I mean, he seems to have given up.

The President. I don't think it's a question of resignation. You see, as you see change take place in the Soviet Union, this opens the way for change—vital change, vibrant change—in the rest of Eastern Europe. And so, I didn't sense a dejection on his part; I sensed somewhat of an upbeat feeling that, yes, that these changes were possible now. And I certainly sense that in Hungary.

Q. ——odd man out?

The President. Well, let's wait and see.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. Do you think your opinions may have encouraged reform in some of the other countries, such as, maybe, Romania or Czechoslovakia or East Germany, or might there be a backlash——

The President. Well, you want to be careful not to conduct yourself in such a way as to encourage a backlash. But I would think that this visit in the neighborhood would be watched by countries where economic and political change are lagging behind Poland and lagging behind Hungary. That isn't true of the Soviet Union, and it isn't true of Yugoslavia. But there are other countries that are probably watching and wondering. I am firmly convinced that this wave of freedom, if you will, is the wave of the future. And I would expect that this visit has been watched by the people of other Eastern European countries and, hopefully, giving encouragement to those who want to go the path of reform—political change, economic change—that these other countries are now following.

Q. Do you think they'll feel that talk is cheap from the United States, and what about a little more aid to encourage their reform movement?

The President. I didn't sense that. That was their early question, and I didn't sense it. I expect everybody would like to have as much aid as everybody possibly can attract. But when you're tying your position into economic reform and incentive and ownership and private sector and entrepreneurship, it seems to have at least negated the public cry or diminished the public cry for more funds. I just did not encounter that. In fact, a couple of them—and I'll leave their names out of it—said: "We didn't expect you to come here with a bag full of money" was the way they put it.

Q. Are you going to tell the summit leaders that communism is dead?

The President. No. I'm going to tell them that there is dynamic change taking place in Eastern Europe, and I expect each one of them will want to tell me about their experiences with that. But I want to be sure that they know of our commitment to foster this change in a prudent way.

Paris Economic Summit

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. I haven't set up any yardsticks for that, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News]. I don't think that there is a way to measure success at an economic summit. I mean, this isn't a summit where there is one major problem to be solved. There are problems on the agenda, but I expect at the conclusion of the meeting you'll see seven countries in harmony, pulling together on matters like the environment and, you know, the economies of the various countries, and trade. All these are contentious matters bilaterally, but I think we can reach common understanding. So, maybe that would be the yardstick.

Q. ——Gorbachev to what's going on in Eastern Europe—approach seems to be—development in Eastern Europe and that you are a partner, but a limited partner. Isn't it Gorbachev's revolutionary approach to the East-West relationship that has given these people license to move forward? Isn't he glad they're moving forward?

The President. I would think so, and maybe you missed what I said about Poland and giving them the flexibility to move forward. So, no, I would certainly say, and I mentioned four countries—one of them was the Soviet Union. I don't think you were here when I started talking about that. So, we're very pleased to see the *perestroika.* And let me repeat for the umpteenth time: I want to see it succeed.

Q. When are you going to tell him that personally?

The President. I don't know.

Q. This year? Geneva?

The President. No plans for that right now.

Q. Do you think it would be useful?

The President. I don't think there is any misunderstanding on his part about the position of the United States in terms of his reforms. I think maybe if there is ever any doubt about it those doubts have been dispelled; and if there was any recent doubts about it, those doubts will be dispelled by his friends in Poland and in Hungary because I made very clear to them that, you know, we're not there to poke a stick in the eye of Mr. Gorbachev. Just the opposite—to encourage the very kind of reforms that he is championing and more reforms.

Conventional Arms Reductions in Europe

Q. ——convinced that he understands what you're doing?

The President. Because there are so many contacts with him and because some of these leaders told me that. And they told me that in terms of our approach to arms also. There has been some suggestion we were dragging our feet on arms control, which is pure nonsense. And I'm convinced from talking to these people that Gorbachev knows that we're serious. Indeed, we have an opportunity now to encourage him to move along faster on conventional force reductions. The idea that some Soviet spokesman yesterday says they can't meet these timetables—I don't want to believe that that's Mr. Gorbachev speaking. And I'm not going to believe it until I hear from him or until I hear authoritatively that that's who it is.

Q. Should we not believe Marlin?

The President. You can believe Marlin, yes, because he speaks with great authority. But this guy was not a—I don't think it was a press spokesman. It was a——

Q. It was a lieutenant general that——

The President. Yes, a lieutenant general.

Q. ——political general.

General Scowcroft. He's their arms control guy.

The President. He's a couple of beats behind the pace here, because I don't think Gorbachev wants to slow down an agreement on conventional arms. If he does, he's wrong on that. But I don't believe he does. I think he wants to move forward there and on the strategic arms talks, and so do we.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. From your conversation, did you get any sense of what the bottom line is in Eastern Europe as far as political change? I mean, what are the two or three points that you can't cross?

The President. No, there doesn't seem to be a bottom line, because when you go to open, free, fair elections, who knows what's going to happen? Take a look at Hungary—I mean at Poland. Take a look at those Polish elections. So, the change is so rapid and so devastating to old ways that I don't think you can put a bottom line on the thing.

Q. Perhaps Gorbachev is also looking at the elections?

The President. Probably looking at the elections at home, and that is a good thing. I tell you, the excitement of all this, you just feel it in talking to the leaders and feel it from the people.

Q. ——specific with both leaders—that further economic reform—for example, did you discuss with them the sale of state-owned business or getting private enterprise to the people in both Poland and Hungary?

The President. Yes, both, but in varying degrees of detail. Of course, Lech Walesa—that was his whole thrust: privatization. And the talks with Mr. Jaruzelski—we got into that. Mainly we were talking about joint ventures and partnerships, but also I had the opportunity to emphasize our conviction that state ownership is less productive than private ownership. And similarly, in a couple of the meetings—maybe we did in all—but in a couple of the meetings yesterday there was discussion of privatization. No resistance, incidentally, it seemed like, in Hungary. But we had a very frank discussion about what percentage of their gross national product was in government and what in private sector, and Hungary still has a long way to go until it achieves privatization.

Q. ——any Communists or are they all, essentially—they're all democratic, pluralistic——

The President. I met people that are caught up in this wave of historic change.

Q. What about——

Q. Are they changing their whole philosophy? They are Communists, aren't they?

The President. You asked whether one of the leaders made a big distinction between a Communist and a Socialist. And one of them pointed out that European socialism could well be the model of the future as opposed to the socialism that we equate with communism.

Q. What about the austerity side of this? Did you get into—2 years ago, the Poles would not get the votes they needed, and then you talk about belt-tightening. But did they talk to you about what they would do? And do you have any qualms that this might backfire—that if these supports are removed, the Poles may not get the candy they need to keep supporting the system?

The President. I had some feeling after some of the talks that the reforms that would be required would be very difficult for them. That's not universal, but it did come up.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. ——in any way communicate that to Gorbachev?

The President. No, except indirectly saying please tell Mr. Gorbachev this, that, or the other.

Q. Would you have any plans to contact him——

The President. Well, we have regularized contacts with the Soviet Union now, and we will continue on those. But there could be occasion to do that.

Polish Political and Economic Reforms

Q. Did Lech Walesa tell you about the powder-keg situation in Poland, as he told TV interviewers?

The President. Well, as I said, some of the interlocutors made clear that the kinds of reforms that are going to have to be taken will not be easy. It wasn't put in the context of powder keg.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Well, I think we spelled out some broad parameters: privatization, openness, free elections. And that's just the American way, that's just our belief as to what works. And to the degree those things take place, why, we will be able to do more.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Walesa? Yes. I'd met him before, and it's funny how you just meet one time and it establishes a certain personal warmth there.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. Mr. President, you talked about the changes, and you used the word "amazing." Were you surprised by the things you saw?

The President. Not textbook surprised, but surprised at the feeling: the feeling and the emotion of it all and the frankness with which the leaders—in Hungary particularly; well, and also Jaruzelski and Walesa—talked about the change. I mean it was with emotion, and it wasn't your traditional "I'll read my cards, and you read your cards" kind of diplomacy. It was very special in that regard. There's an intensity to it, a fervor to it that moved me very much.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. You mean like in Eastern Europe? Well, I think without the change in the Soviet Union it would have been highly unlikely that Eastern Europe would be achieving the kinds of changes or aspiring to the kinds of changes that it is aspiring to.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Oh, I don't know. I don't ever look for disputes, I look for calming the troubled waters. You know that.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. I don't know that either.

Upcoming Presidential Trips

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Well, I want to go to Africa, but there's no doubt—I wouldn't say that would be the next, would you?

Eastern European Reforms

Q. ——keep this policy alive?

The President. I don't think it's the U.S. role to keep the change alive. I mean, I think this is something that's the business of the Poles and of the Hungarians. This is their business; this is their life, their country. I think it would be rather arrogant to suggest that it's the United States that has the sole responsibility. That's not your question. But it, to the degree we can encourage change without intervention in the internal affairs—why, I'm all for that. But that's not our role. This is too fundamental: The people's aspiration for liberty and for free choice is too fundamental. And they can look to our system, look to our country, as a beacon for all these good values. But it's not our role to go in and dictate to any of these countries how they're going to run their business.

Arrival Ceremony in Budapest

Q. ——tore up that——

The President. I know that struck you the most about it, because you didn't have to stand out in the rain.

Q. He said they liked that.

The President. Did they really? Well, I mean, I had plenty of opportunity to pay my formal respects, which, in essence, was what that was about. And those people had been standing there a long time. I told them the next day—one of the leaders was very complimentary of that. And I said it reminds me of an old adage that the United States—the speech that you do not—that was the one in the rain.

Israel-U.S. Relations

Q. Who are you going to send to Israel as an emissary?

The President. Well, there isn't any emissary going from the President of the United States. There's no determination of that at this point.

Q. ——a chance to talk at the Wallenberg Memorial. Have you had any contact at all with the Soviets on that question?

The President. Well, we chose to stop there because Wallenberg is a great international symbol of human rights. And I don't know—what do you mean about contact about——

Q. I mean, it's a constant issue that U.S. officials are regularly asking of the Soviets——

The President. I have not personally asked of the Soviets that.

Q. Are you saying that the Secretary of State might send an emissary?

The President. Well, I'm saying that we have people go to Israel all the time and to other countries in the area. But when you say, "Who am I sending as an emissary?"—I was putting that in the context of past high-level shuttle diplomats or something of that nature, and there are no plans for that. I reserve the right to send people anytime I think it's in the interest of the United States, but there are no plans for that kind of level—diplomacy.

Q. Why is the U.S. making——

The President. But if somebody felt it was worthwhile, somebody over there would welcome a special emissary from the President, I'd be very openminded about that. But there are no plans. You asked me whether there are plans.

Q. ——find out what's going in terms of——

The President. We've got a very able Ambassador over there who knows a great deal about what's going on and has excellent contacts with the Government.

Q. What do you think is going on over there? [Prime Minister] Shamir has simply restated what his position has been all along. Why is the U.S. so shook up over this?

The President. I don't know that the U.S. is so shook up, but they know the United States policy. And the United States policy on settlements, for example, has not changed, and it is not going to change. And so, we might as well be frank with our friends, because that's what friendship is about. And so, I want to see things go forward in terms of the peace process over there, and we want to see the election process go forward. And if anybody can make a case for me that the recent deliberations in that party will enhance the election process, then I'd say, Great! But I'm afraid other people are looking at it, saying, "What's happened does not enhance the possibilities of election." So, the U.S. policy is set. And I'm the President of the United States, and Israel is a friend and will remain a friend, but I have to say what our policy is—and so, I don't think there's great heartburn here, but I want to just continue to articulate what we believe.

Q. ——Shamir said—what should be important from the very start—so I'm trying to figure out why the United States is so distressed.

The President. I'm not so distressed. I'm the President of the United States.

Q. I mean State Department.

The President. Well, you go ahead and talk to the State Department about that. You're talking to the President. I set the policy, after a lot of input from the State Department, and I want the U.S. policy to succeed. We've thought out very carefully what we think is best, and our support is for our principles. And they've got great difficulties inside of Israel. I understand that. I understand the political pressures. But I can't be varying U.S. policy every day to accommodate political change. I'm not going to do that.

Q. How about the Palestinian——

The President. Keep encouraging them to do what they ought to do: to participate in this election process—absolutely—and deplore the kind of violence that we see when a bus is carried over a cliff and carrying a lot of innocent people to their death, or innocent people getting killed in other ways—on both sides. I mean we have to stand for something. And I'm going to continue to try to do that.

Q. When did you first decide you were President? When did it hit you?

Mr. Fitzwater. That sounds like an essay question to me. [*Laughter*]

The President. I don't know. But I'm deciding more and more that I am. Experience never hurt anybody, did it? Experience doesn't hurt. Thank you all.

Note: The interview took place aboard Air Force One en route to Paris, France. Brent Scowcroft was Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Marlin Fitzwater was Press Secretary to the President. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the interview.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Nitrogen Oxides Protocol to the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution

July 14, 1989

Yesterday the United States formally accepted the Nitrogen Oxides (NOx) protocol to the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution (LRTAP) by depositing its instrument of acceptance with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. This protocol is fully consistent with the goals set out by the President in his proposals for the Clean Air Act.

The LRTAP Convention was adopted in 1979, under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). The ECE includes the United States, Canada, and the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. The NOx protocol was signed last November by 25 ECE nations, including the United States. The United States is the third country to formally accept the agreement. When ratified by 16 nations, the protocol will require most participating countries to freeze NOx emissions or their transboundary flows at 1987 levels by the beginning of 1995.

The protocol allows nations such as the United States, which had already begun a NOx reduction program before the negotiations began, to use a different base year if they choose. The United States indicated at the time of signing that it would use 1978 as its base year. NOx emissions in the United States were 21.1 million metric tons (mmt) in 1978.

Joint Statement by the President and Prime Minister Sosuke Uno of Japan on Economic Issues

July 14, 1989

President Bush and Prime Minister Uno reviewed a range of bilateral and multilateral economic issues of mutual interest. They reaffirmed their commitment to work closely together to promote continued economic growth with low inflation, expansion of international trade and further reductions in current account imbalances. In this connection, they reaffirmed their commitment to economic policy coordination and noted the progress that had been achieved within this framework toward the above objectives.

In addition, President Bush and Prime Minister Uno agreed to complement the ongoing efforts by launching a new initiative. They agreed on a U.S.-Japan Structural Impediments Initiative to identify and solve structural problems in both countries that stand as impediments to trade and balance of payments adjustment with the goal of contributing to the reduction of payments imbalances. They agreed to establish a joint interagency working group to undertake these talks. The President and the Prime Minister have appointed tri-chairmen who will chair these meetings, which will be held at the sub-Cabinet level. These talks will take place outside Section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act. The bilateral working group will present a joint final report to the heads of government within a year, with an interim assessment to be made in the Spring of 1990.

Nomination of Allen B. Clark, Jr., To Be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs

July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Allen B. Clark, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs. This is a new position.

Since 1983 Mr. Clark has served as cofounder and president of Clark Preston, Inc., a real estate firm in Austin, TX. In addition, he has served as a real estate marketing consultant at NCNB Texas National Bank, 1987–1989. Prior to this, he served as president of Pressure Coring, Inc., 1981–1983, and as assistant to the president of Thomas D. Coffman, Inc., 1981–1983. He was special assistant to Gov. William Clements, Jr., of Texas, 1978–1981. Mr. Clark also served as portfolio manager of the Republic National Bank in Dallas, TX, 1970–1978.

Mr. Clark graduated from West Point (B.S., 1963) and Southern Methodist University (M.B.A., 1970). He served in the U.S. Army until 1968. He was born June 20, 1942, in McAllen, TX. He is married, has two children, and resides in Austin, TX.

Nomination of Anne Newman Foreman To Be Under Secretary of the Air Force

July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Anne Newman Foreman to be Under Secretary of the Air Force. She would succeed James F. McGovern.

Ms. Foreman is currently the General Counsel of the Air Force, and she has served in this capacity since 1987. Prior to this, Ms. Foreman joined the White House staff in 1985 and became Associate Director of Presidential Personnel for National Security. From 1979 to 1985, she was an attorney with the Houston-based law firm of Bracewell and Patterson. Prior to graduation from law school, Ms. Foreman was a clerk with the British solicitors Boodle, Hatfield Co., in London. With the U.S. Foreign Service, she served as a political officer to U.S. Embassies in Beirut, Lebanon, and Tunis, Tunisia, from 1973 to 1976, and as an economic officer to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations until 1977. She was a member of the U.S. delegation to the 31st session of the United Nations General Assembly and to the 60th session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Ms. Foreman received a bachelor of arts degree in 1969 and a master of arts degree in 1975, both from the University of Southern California. She received her law degree from the American University's Washington College of Law in 1980. Ms. Foreman was born October 16, 1947, in Hollywood, CA. She is married, has two children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Nomination of Herbert D. Kleber To Be a Deputy Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy

July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Herbert D. Kleber to be Deputy Director for Demand Reduction, Office of National Drug Control Policy. This is a new position.

Dr. Kleber currently serves as professor of psychiatry, Yale University School of Medicine; director, substance abuse treatment unit, the Connecticut Mental Health Center; chief executive officer, APT Foundation, Inc.; director, NIDA clinical research center for treatment of opioid and cocaine abuse at Yale; and director, research training fellowship program in substance abuse. Prior to this, Dr. Kleber was associate professor of psychiatry, 1970–1975, and assistant professor of psychiatry, 1966–1970, at Yale University School of Medicine. He was director and founder of the drug dependence unit at the Connecticut Mental Health Center, 1968–1975, and executive director of the psychiatry emergency room service at Yale-New Haven Hospital, 1967–1968. Dr. Kleber also served as the outpatient and admissions coordinator at the Connecticut Mental Health Center, 1967–1968. From 1966 to 1967, he was the assistant chief of the Hill-West Haven division at the Connecticut Mental Health Center.

Dr. Kleber graduated from Dartmouth College (B.A., 1956) and Jefferson Medical College (M.D., 1960). He completed a rotating internship at Health Center Hospitals of the University of Pittsburgh, 1960–1961, and his psychiatric residency was served at Yale University School of Medicine, 1961–1964. Dr. Kleber was born June 19, 1934, in Pittsburgh, PA. He currently resides in Connecticut.

Nomination of Thomas C. Dawson II To Be United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund

July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas C. Dawson II to be United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 2 years. He would succeed Charles H. Dallara.

Since 1987 Mr. Dawson has been executive vice president of Regdon Associates in Alexandria, VA. Prior to that he was Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff at the White House, 1985–1987. Mr. Dawson was Assistant Secretary for Business and Consumer Affairs at the Department of the Treasury, 1984–1985, and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Developing Nations at the Department of the Treasury, 1981–1984. He was an associate at McKinsey and Co. in Washington, DC, 1978–1981, and served in the Foreign Service of the United States, 1971–1976.

Mr. Dawson graduated from Stanford University (A.B., 1970) and Stanford Graduate School of Business (M.B.A., 1978). Mr. Dawson is married, has three children, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Johnny Young To Be United States Ambassador to Sierra Leone

July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Johnny Young to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Sierra Leone. He would succeed Cynthia Shepard Perry.

Mr. Young joined the Foreign Service in 1967 and was assigned as budget and fiscal officer at the U.S. Embassy in Antananarivo, Madagascar. This was followed by assignments in 1970 and 1972 as supervisory general services officer at Conakry, Guinea, and Nairobi, Kenya, respectively. In 1974 he was transferred to Doha, Qatar, and in 1977 was assigned as administrative counselor in Bridgetown, Barbados. He returned to Washington, DC, in 1979 and was assigned to the Bureau of Personnel as a career development officer. This was followed by service in 1981 as Executive Director for the Office of the Inspector General. Subsequent tours were as administrative counselor in Amman, Jordan, in 1983 and The Hague, Netherlands, in 1985. Mr. Young is presently a member of the 31st session of the Senior Seminar.

Mr. Young was born February 6, 1940, in Savannah, GA. He graduated from Temple University (B.A., 1966) and holds a certificate in accounting from Temple University. He is married, has two children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Nomination of William Lacy Swing To Be United States Ambassador to South Africa

July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Lacy Swing to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of South Africa. He would succeed Edward Joseph Perkins.

Mr. Swing entered the Foreign Service in 1963, attending consular and African area studies at the Foreign Service Institute. He was vice consul in Port Elizabeth, 1964–1966. He then became an international economist in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs in the Department, 1966–1967. From 1968 to 1972, he was posted as head of the visa section, then chief of the consular section in Hamburg, Germany. He returned to Washington, DC, in 1972 and served as a desk officer for the Federal Republic of Germany until 1974. From 1974 to 1976, he was deputy chief of mission in Bangui. He attended the Harvard University Center for International Affairs from 1976 to 1977, and in 1977 he was assigned as Alternate Director of the Office of Central African Affairs in the Department of State. From 1979 to 1981, Mr. Swing was Ambassador to the People's Republic of the Congo. He served as Ambassador to the Republic of Liberia, 1981–1985. From 1985 to 1987, he was the Director, Office of Foreign Service Career Development and Assignments in the Bureau of Personnel. Since 1987 Mr. Swing has been the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Personnel.

Mr. Swing graduated from Catawba College (B.A., 1956) and Yale University (M. Div., 1960). He was born September 11, 1934, in Lexington, NC. Mr. Swing has one child and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of John W. Shannon To Be Under Secretary of the Army

July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John W. Shannon to be Under Secretary of the Army. He would succeed Michael P.W. Stone.

Since 1984 Mr. Shannon has been the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics. Prior to this Mr. Shannon served as Deputy Under Secretary of the Army, 1981–1984. He was commissioned into the U.S. Army as a second lieutenant, infantry. He served on active duty from 1955 to 1978 and retired as a colonel.

Mr. Shannon graduated from Central State University (B.S., 1955) and Shippensburg State College (M.S., 1975). He is a graduate of the U.S. Army War College. He is married, has one child, and currently resides in Temple Hills, MD.

Nomination of Linda J. Fisher To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency
July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Linda J. Fisher to be Assistant Administrator for Toxic Substances of the Environmental Protection Agency. She would succeed John Arthur Moore.

Ms. Fisher has served at the Environmental Protection Agency since January 1983. She currently serves as Assistant Administrator for Policy Planning and Evaluation and has served as Chief of Staff to the Administrator, 1985–1988, and special assistant to the Assistant Administrator for Solid Waste and Emergency Response, 1983–1984. Ms. Fisher was a law clerk for the firm Chester, Hoffman and Willcox, 1982–1983; associate staff member in the U.S. House of Representatives, House Appropriations Committee, 1979–1980; legislative assistant to Congressman Ralph Regula, 1976–1978, and to Congressman Clarence J. Brown, 1974–1976.

Ms. Fisher graduated from Miami University (B.A., 1974), George Washington University (M.B.A., 1978), and Ohio State University (J.D., 1983). She currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Gwendolyn S. King To Be Commissioner of Social Security
July 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gwendolyn S. King to be Commissioner of Social Security at the Department of Health and Human Services. She would succeed Dorcas R. Hardy.

Since 1988, Mrs. King has served as executive vice president of Gogol and Associates in Washington, DC. Prior to this she served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House. President Reagan nominated her to be a member on the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development for a term expiring July 28, 1992. Mrs. King has served as senior legislative assistant to Senator John Heinz. She is also a founding member of Women Executives in State Government.

Mrs. King graduated from Howard University (B.A., 1962). She is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Informal Exchange With Reporters Following a Meeting With British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Paris
July 15, 1989

The President. This is what we call a modified photo-op in honor of our distinguished guest, who will be glad to take questions. But at the outset, let me just say that this visit we've had has gone very well, indeed; and I am so happy to have a good personal relationship that's existed for a long time with Britain's great Prime Minister. And I value her judgment; and this was, as far as I'm concerned, a very fruitful talk.

But the floor is yours. You are our guest.

The Prime Minister. We're very proud and pleased that the relationship continues, and we can talk very easily and very understandably about the great issues of the day. We have covered most of the spectrum of issues, as you'd expect, quickly—the economic problems, including the debt. We also talked, obviously, about the Chinese problem because we have a special interest in Hong Kong. We talked about Middle East problems. We talked about Cyprus. We talked about some of the problems in Vietnam. Quite a lot to cover in about an hour.

Assistance for Poland and Hungary

Q. Do you think there will be joint action on Poland and Hungary?

The Prime Minister. Well, we had a long discussion last night at dinner over Poland and Hungary, and of course, we're all very anxious to help. And we're all helping, each in our own way. The President gave his excellent statement after he visited Poland and Hungary, and we have previously——

Q. So, it won't be a cooperative——

The Prime Minister. Well, we naturally cooperate. That's what the summit is all about. We would cooperate through the agencies. We thought the President had a marvelously successful visit to Poland and to Hungary. Then, of course, that's precisely what we'd expected, that it would be very successful, and it was.

Now I have to get to the summit before the President because that's the protocol. [*Laughter*] So, I'll just walk down to my car.

Hong Kong

Q. Are you afraid that Hong Kong will go back to the hands of the Chinese, when they're so oppressive?

The President. ——treated you very shabbily. I'm sorry——

Assistance for Poland and Hungary

Q. Mr. President, do you expect a concerted package or an action package on Poland or Hungary from the summit?

The President. We haven't been asking for that. That's not what the United States position has been.

Q. What do you want the summit to do or say?

The President. The summit—you watch—the summit will do exactly what it is I suggested yesterday it will do and what Margaret referred to today—Prime Minister Thatcher referred to. And there seems to be a marvelous unanimity of opinion on how to treat with these Eastern European countries. And you heard her say, I think, that out here.

There's been some misconceptions that we would come in here with a dollar figure for a lot of aid programs. I managed to convey in Poland that that wasn't the case, and in fact, here it's not the case. But what is the case is you're going to see unanimity on the part of the summit leaders in wanting to assist Poland and Hungary. And the way we do it will be announced later on, but we're very happy with the discussion, very happy.

China

Q. Mr. President, how about the unanimity on China?

The President. Listen, I've got to go. Just stay tuned, and wait to see what the communique says on that.

Q. You're the one who left the impression of a concerted action.

The President. Did I?

Q. Yes, you did—in several speeches.

The President. Well, wait until you—I think you'll be happy when you see the communique, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]. It will spell it—it will vindicate me. It will vindicate me.

Note: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in the dining room at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the exchange.

Paris Economic Summit: Declaration on Human Rights
July 15, 1989

In 1789, the rights of man and of the citizen were solemnly proclaimed. Just over forty years ago, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which have been further developed and codified and are now embodied in the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

We reaffirm our commitment to freedom, democratic principles and human rights. We reaffirm our belief in the rule of law which respects and protects without fear or favour the rights and liberties of every citizen, and provides the setting in which the human spirit can develop in freedom and diversity.

Human rights are a matter of legitimate international concern. We commit ourselves again to encouraging and promoting universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Looking towards the future, we see opportunities as well as threats; this impels us to pledge our firm commitment to uphold international standards of human rights and to confirm our willingness to reaffirm them and to develop them further.

We stress the protection of freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and of freedom of opinion and expression; for without these freedoms, other rights cannot be fully realised.

We stress also respect for the rule of law and the plurality of opinion, for without them there can be neither representative government nor democracy.

We believe equally in freedom of association in a pluralist society.

We hold that the right of each individual to physical integrity and dignity must be guaranteed. We abhor and condemn torture in all its forms.

We believe that all human beings must act towards each other in a spirit of fraternity.

We believe that everyone has a right to equality of opportunity as well as to own property, alone or in association with others. Extreme poverty and exclusion from society violate the dignity of everyone enduring them. Those who suffer or are in need should be supported.

We stress that the rights of the child, the disabled and the elderly require special protection.

We consider that developments in the human sciences, for instance the progress achieved in genetics and organ transplantation, must be applied in accordance with all human rights if the dignity of human beings is to be preserved.

We, the present generation, have an obligation to ensure that further generations will inherit a healthy environment.

We reaffirm our belief that these rights and freedoms cannot be properly safeguarded without the rule of law, impartial justice and genuine democratic institutions.

Note: The declaration was not issued as a White House press release.

Paris Economic Summit: Economic Declaration
July 16, 1989

1) We, the Heads of State or Government of seven major industrial nations and the President of the Commission of the European Communities, have met in Paris for the fifteenth annual Economic Summit. The Summit of the Arch initiates a new round of Summits to succeed those begun at Rambouillet in 1975 and at Versailles in 1982. The round beginning in 1982 has seen one of the longest periods of sustained growth since the Second World War. These Summits have permitted effective consultations

and offered the opportunity to launch initiatives and to strengthen international cooperation.

2) This year's world economic situation presents three main challenges:

—The choice and the implementation of measures needed to maintain balanced and sustained growth, counter inflation, create jobs and promote social justice. These measures should also facilitate the adjustment of external imbalances, promote international trade and investment, and improve the economic situation of developing countries.

—The development and the further integration of developing countries into the world economy. Whilst there has been substantial progress in many developing countries, particularly those implementing sound economic policies, the debt burden and the persistence of poverty, often made worse by natural disasters affecting hundreds of millions of people, are problems of deep concern which we must continue to face in a spirit of solidarity.

—The urgent need to safeguard the environment for future generations. Scientific studies have revealed the existence of serious threats to our environment such as the depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer and excessive emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases which could lead to future climate changes. Protecting the environment calls for a determined and concerted international response and for the early adoption, worldwide, of policies based on sustainable development.

International Economic Situation

3) Growth has been sustained by focusing policies on improving the efficiency and flexibility of our economies and by strengthening our cooperative efforts and the coordination process. In the medium term, the current buoyant investment seen during this period should pave the way for an increased supply of goods and services and help reduce the dangers of inflation. The outlook is not, however, without risks.

4) Until now, the threat of inflation in many countries has been contained, thanks to the concerted efforts of governments and monetary authorities. But continued vigilance is required and inflation, where it has increased, will continue to receive a firm policy response so that it will be put on a downward path.

5) While some progress has been made in reducing external imbalances, the momentum of adjustment has recently weakened markedly. There needs to be further progress in adjusting external imbalances through cooperation.

6) In countries with fiscal and current account deficits, including the United States of America, Canada and Italy, further reductions in budget deficits are needed. Action will be taken to bring them down. This may help reduce the saving-investment gap and external imbalances, contribute to countering inflation and encourage greater exchange rate stability in a context of decreasing interest rates.

7) Countries with external surpluses, including Japan and Germany, should continue to pursue appropriate macroeconomic policies and structural reforms that will encourage non-inflationary growth of domestic demand and facilitate external adjustment.

8) All our countries share the responsibility for the sound development of the world economy. Over the medium term, deficit countries have to play a key role in global adjustment through their external adjustment and increased exports; surplus countries have to contribute to sustaining global expansion through policies providing favourable conditions for growth of domestic demand and imports.

9) The emergence of the newly industrializing economies and the initiation of a dialogue with them are welcome. We call on those with substantial surpluses to contribute to the adjustment of external imbalances and the open trade and payments system. To that end, they should permit exchange rates to reflect their competitive position, implement GATT commitments and reduce trade barriers.

International Monetary Development and Coordination

10) Under the Plaza and Louvre agreements, our countries agreed to pursue, in a mutually reinforcing way, policies of surveillance and coordination aimed at im-

proving their economic fundamentals and at fostering stability of exchange rates consistent with those economic fundamentals.

There has been progress in the multilateral surveillance and coordination of economic policies with a view to ensuring internal consistency of domestic policies and their international compatibility. The procedures to be used have been more clearly defined and improved in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund.

11) The coordination process has made a positive contribution to world economic development and it has also contributed greatly to improving the functioning of the International Monetary System. There has also been continued cooperation in exchange markets.

It is important to continue, and where appropriate, to develop this cooperative and flexible approach to improve the functioning and the stability of the International Monetary System in a manner consistent with economic fundamentals. We therefore ask the Finance Ministers to continue to keep under review possible steps that could be taken to improve the coordination process, exchange market cooperation, and the functioning of the International Monetary System.

12) We welcome the decision to complete the work on the ninth review of the International Monetary Fund quotas with a view to a decision on this matter before the end of the year.

We note that the question of a resumption of S.D.R. allocation remains under consideration in the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund.

13) Within the European Community, the European Monetary System has contributed to a significant degree of economic policy convergence and monetary stability.

Improving Economic Efficiency

14) We will continue to promote measures in order to remove inefficiencies in our economies. These inefficiencies affect many aspects of economic activity, reduce potential growth rates and the prospects for job creation, diminish the effectiveness of macroeconomic policies and impede the external adjustment process. In this context, tax reforms, modernization of financial markets, strengthening of competition policies and reducing rigidities in all sectors including energy, industry and agriculture are necessary. So are the improvement of education and vocational training, transportation and distribution systems and further policies aimed at giving more flexibility and mobility to the labour market and reducing unemployment. Within the European Community, the steady progress towards the completion by the end of 1992 of the program contained in the Single Act has already given a strong momentum to economic efficiency.

15) The decline of saving in some of our countries in this decade is a cause for concern. This lower level of saving can contribute to high real interest rates and therefore hamper growth. Inadequate saving and large fiscal deficits are associated with large external deficits. We recommend, within the framework of policy coordination, policies to encourage saving and remove hindrances where they exist.

16) Financial activities are being increasingly carried out with new techniques on a worldwide basis. As regards insider trading, which could hamper the credibility of financial markets, regulations vary greatly among our countries. These regulations have been recently, or are in the process of being, strengthened. International cooperation should be pursued and enhanced.

Trade Issues

17) World trade developed rapidly last year. Yet protectionism remains a real threat. We strongly reaffirm our determination to fight it in all its forms. We shall fulfill the Punta del Este standstill and rollback commitments which, inter alia, require the avoidance of any trade restrictive or distorting measure inconsistent with the provisions of the General Agreement and its instruments. We agree to make effective use of the improved GATT dispute settlement mechanism and to make progress in negotiations for further improvements. We will avoid any discriminatory or autonomous actions, which undermine the principles of the GATT and the integrity of the multilateral trading system. We also are pledged to oppose the tendency towards

unilateralism, bilateralism, sectoralism and managed trade which threatens to undermine the multilateral system and the Uruguay Round negotiations.

18) The successful negotiation of the Trade Negotiations Committee of the Uruguay Round in Geneva last April, thereby completing the mid-term review, is a very important achievement. It gives a clear framework for future work in all sectors including the pursuit of agricultural reform in the short term as well as in the long term. It also gives the necessary framework for substantive negotiations in important sectors not yet fully included in GATT disciplines, such as services, trade-related investment measures and intellectual property.

Developing countries participated actively in these negotiations and contributed to this success. All countries should make their most constructive contribution possible.

We express our full commitment to making further substantive progress in the Uruguay Round in order to complete it by the end of 1990.

19) We note with satisfaction the entry into force of the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the US, as well as more recent initiatives to intensify the close economic relations between the European Community and EFTA countries. It remains our policy that these and other developments in regional cooperation, should be trade-creating and complementary to the multilateral liberalization process.

20) It is the firm intention of the European Community that the trade aspects of the single market program should also be trade-creating and complementary to the multilateral liberalization process.

21) We note with satisfaction the progress that has been made in strengthening the multilateral disciplines on trade and aid distorting export credit subsidies. This effort must be pursued actively and completed in the competent bodies of the OECD with a view to improving present guidelines at the earliest possible date.

General Problems of Development

22) Development is a shared global challenge. We shall help developing countries by opening the world trading system and by supporting their structural adjustment. We shall encourage too economic diversification in commodity dependent countries and the creation of a favourable environment for transfers of technology and capital flows.

We underline the continuing importance of official development assistance and welcome the increased efforts of Summit participants in this respect. We note the targets already established by international organizations for the future level of official development assistance and stress the importance of overall financial flows to development.

We underline simultaneously the importance attached to the quality of the aid and to the evaluation of the projects and the programs financed.

23) We urge developing countries to implement sound economic policies. A vital factor will be the adoption of financial and fiscal policies which attract inward investment and encourage growth and the return of flight capital.

24) We note with satisfaction that there has been substantial progress in the multilateral aid initiative for the Philippines that was given special attention in the Toronto economic declaration.

25) Faced with the worrying economic situation of Yugoslavia, we encourage its government to implement a strong economic reform program that can command bilateral and multilateral support.

The Situation in the Poorest Countries

26) The enhancement of the International Monetary Fund Structural Adjustment Facility, the World Bank special program of assistance for the poorest and most indebted countries and the fifth replenishment of the African Development Fund are all important measures benefiting those countries having embarked upon an adjustment process. We stress the importance attached to a substantial replenishment of International Development Association resources.

27) As we urged last year in Toronto, the Paris Club reached a consensus in September 1988 on the conditions of implementation of significant reduction of debt service payments for the poorest countries. Thirteen countries have already benefitted by

this decision.

28) We welcome the increasing grant element in the development assistance as well as the steps taken to convert loans into grants and we urge further steps to this end. Flexibility in development aid as much as in debt rescheduling is required.

29) We attach great importance to the efficient and successful preparation of the next general conference of the United Nations on the least developed countries, which will take place in Paris in 1990.

Strengthened Debt Strategy for the Heavily Indebted Countries

30) Our approach to the debt problems has produced significant results, but serious challenges remain: in many countries the ratio of debt service to exports remains high, financing for growth promoting investment is scarce, and capital flight is a key problem. An improvement in the investment climate must be a critical part of efforts to achieve a sustainable level of growth without excessive levels of debt. These improvements of the current situation depend above all on sustained and effective adjustment policies in the debtor countries.

31) To address these challenges, we are strongly committed to the strengthened debt strategy. This will rely, on a case-by-case basis, on the following actions:

—borrowing countries should implement, with the assistance of the Fund and the Bank, sound economic policies, particularly designed to mobilize savings, stimulate investment and reverse capital flight;

—banks should increasingly focus on voluntary, market-based debt and debt service reduction operations, as a complement to new lending;

—the International Monetary Fund and World Bank will support significant debt reduction by setting aside a portion of policy-based loans;

—limited interest support will be provided, through additional financing by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, for transactions involving significant debt and debt service reduction. For that purpose the use of escrow accounts is agreed;

—continued Paris Club rescheduling and flexibility of export-credit agencies;

—strengthening of the international financial institutions capability for supporting medium-term macroeconomic and structural adjustment programs and for compensating the negative effects of export shortfalls and external shocks.

32) In the framework of this strategy:

—we welcome the recent decisions taken by the two institutions to encourage debt and debt service reduction which provide adequate resources for these purposes;

—we urge debtor countries to move ahead promptly to develop strong economic reform programs that may lead to debt and debt service reductions in accordance with the guidelines defined by the two Bretton Woods institutions;

—we urge banks to take realistic and constructive approaches in their negotiations with the debtor countries and to move promptly to conclude agreements on financial packages including debt reduction, debt service reduction and new money. We stress that official creditors should not substitute for private lenders. Our governments are prepared to consider as appropriate tax, regulatory and accounting practices with a view to eliminating unnecessary obstacles to debt and debt service reductions.

Environment

33) There is growing awareness throughout the world of the necessity to preserve better the global ecological balance. This includes serious threats to the atmosphere, which could lead to future climate changes. We note with great concern the growing pollution of air, lakes, rivers, oceans and seas; acid rain, dangerous substances; and the rapid desertification and deforestation. Such environmental degradation endangers species and undermines the well-being of individuals and societies.

Decisive action is urgently needed to understand and protect the earth's ecological balance. We will work together to achieve the common goals of preserving a healthy and balanced global environment in order to meet shared economic and social objectives and to carry out obligations to future generations.

34) We urge all countries to give further impetus to scientific research on environmental issues, to develop necessary technologies and to make clear evaluations of the economic costs and benefits of environmental policies.

The persisting uncertainty on some of these issues should not unduly delay our action.

In this connection, we ask all countries to combine their efforts in order to improve observation and monitoring on a global scale.

35) We believe that international cooperation also needs to be enhanced in the field of technology and technology transfer in order to reduce pollution or provide alternative solutions.

36) We believe that industry has a crucial role in preventing pollution at source, in waste minimization, in energy conservation, and in the design and marketing of cost-effective clean technologies. The agricultural sector must also contribute to tackling problems such as water pollution, soil erosion and desertification.

37) Environmental protection is integral to issues such as trade, development, energy, transport, agriculture and economic planning. Therefore, environmental considerations must be taken into account in economic decision-making. In fact good economic policies and good environmental policies are mutually reinforcing.

In order to achieve sustainable development, we shall ensure the compatibility of economic growth and development with the protection of the environment. Environmental protection and related investment should contribute to economic growth. In this respect, intensified efforts for technological breakthrough are important to reconcile economic growth and environmental policies.

Clear assessments of the costs, benefits and resource implications of environmental protection should help governments to take the necessary decisions on the mix of price signals (e.g., taxes or expenditures) and regulatory actions, reflecting where possible the full value of natural resources.

We encourage the World Bank and regional development banks to integrate environmental considerations into their activities. International organizations such as the OECD and the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, will be asked to develop further techniques of analysis which would help governments assess appropriate economic measures to promote the quality of the environment. We ask the OECD, within the context of its work on integrating environment and economic decision-making, to examine how selected environmental indicators could be developed. We expect the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development to give additional momentum to the protection of the global environment.

38) To help developing countries deal with past damage and to encourage them to take environmentally desirable action, economic incentives may include the use of aid mechanisms and specific transfer of technology. In special cases, ODA debt forgiveness and debt for nature swaps can play a useful role in environmental protection.

We also emphasize the necessity to take into account the interests and needs of developing countries in sustaining the growth of their economies and the financial and technological requirements to meet environmental challenges.

39) The depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer is alarming and calls for prompt action.

We welcome the Helsinki conclusions related, among other issues, to the complete abandonment of the production and consumption of chloro-fluorocarbons covered by the Montreal protocol as soon as possible and not later than the end of the century. Specific attention must also be given to those ozone-depleting substances not covered by the Montreal protocol. We shall promote the development and use of suitable substitute substances and technologies. More emphasis should be placed on projects that provide alternatives to chloro-fluorocarbons.

40) We strongly advocate common efforts to limit emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases, which threaten to

best copy available

induce climate change, endangering the environment and ultimately the economy. We strongly support the work undertaken by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, on this issue.

We need to strengthen the worldwide network of observatories for greenhouse gases and support the World Meteorological Organization initiative to establish a global climatological reference network to detect climate changes.

41) We agree that increasing energy efficiency could make a substantial contribution to these goals. We urge international organizations concerned to encourage measures, including economic measures, to improve energy conservation and, more broadly, efficiency in the use of energy of all kinds and to promote relevant techniques and technologies.

We are committed to maintaining the highest safety standards for nuclear power plants and to strengthening international cooperation in safe operation of power plants and waste management, and we recognize that nuclear power also plays an important role in limiting output of greenhouse gases.

42) Deforestation also damages the atmosphere and must be reversed. We call for the adoption of sustainable forest management practices, with a view to preserving the scale of world forests. The relevant international organizations will be asked to complete reports on the state of the world's forests by 1990.

43) Preserving the tropical forests is an urgent need for the world as a whole. While recognizing the sovereign rights of developing countries to make use of their natural resources, we encourage, through a sustainable use of tropical forests, the protection of all the species therein and the traditional rights to land and other resources of local communities. We welcome the German initiative in this field as a basis for progress.

To this end, we give strong support to rapid implementation of the Tropical Forest Action Plan which was adopted in 1986 in the framework of the Food and Agricultural Organization. We appeal to both consumer and producer countries, which are united in the International Tropical Timber Organization, to join their efforts to ensure better conservation of the forests. We express our readiness to assist the efforts of nations with tropical forests through financial and technical cooperation, and in international organizations.

44) Temperate forests, lakes and rivers must be protected against the effects of acid pollutants such as sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides. It is necessary to pursue actively the bilateral and multilateral efforts to this end.

45) The increasing complexity of the issues related to the protection of the atmosphere calls for innovative solutions. New instruments may be contemplated. We believe that the conclusion of a framework or umbrella convention on climate change to set out general principles or guidelines is urgently required to mobilize and rationalize the efforts made by the international community. We welcome the work under way by the United Nations Environment Program, in cooperation with the World Meteorological Organization, drawing on the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and the results of other international meetings. Specific protocols containing concrete commitments could be fitted into the framework as scientific evidence requires and permits.

46) We condemn indiscriminate use of oceans as dumping grounds for polluting waste. There is a particular problem with the deterioration of coastal waters. To ensure the sustainable management of the marine environment, we recognize the importance of international cooperation in preserving it and conserving the living resources of the sea. We call for relevant bodies of the United Nations to prepare a report on the state of the world's oceans.

We express our concern that national, regional and global capabilities to contain and alleviate the consequences of maritime oil spills be improved. We urge all countries to make better use of the latest monitoring and clean-up technologies. We ask all countries to adhere to and implement fully the international conventions for the prevention of oil pollution of the oceans. We also ask the International Maritime Organization to put forward proposals for further preventive action.

47) We are committed to ensuring full implementation of existing rules for the environment. In this respect, we note with interest the initiative of the Italian government to host in 1990 a forum on international law for the environment with scholars, scientific experts and officials, to consider the need for a digest of existing rules and to give in-depth consideration to the legal aspects of environment at the international level.

48) We advocate that existing environment institutions be strengthened within the United Nations system. In particular, the United Nations Environment Program urgently requires strengthening and increased financial support. Some of us have agreed that the establishment within the United Nations of a new institution may also be worth considering.

49) We have taken note of the report of the sixth conference on bioethics held in Brussels which examined the elaboration of a universal code of environmental ethics based upon the concept of the "human stewardship of nature".

50) It is a matter of international concern that Bangladesh, one of the poorest and most densely populated countries in the world, is periodically devastated by catastrophic floods.

We stress the urgent need for effective, coordinated action by the international community, in support of the Government of Bangladesh, in order to find solutions to this major problem which are technically, financially, economically and environmentally sound. In that spirit, and taking account of help already given, we take note of the different studies concerning flood alleviation, initiated by France, Japan, the US and the United Nations Development Program, which have been reviewed by experts from all our countries. We welcome the World Bank's agreement, following those studies, to coordinate the efforts of the international community so that a sound basis for achieving a real improvement in alleviating the effects of flood can be established. We also welcome the agreement of the World Bank to chair, by the end of the year, a meeting to be held in the United Kingdom by invitation of the Bangladesh Government, of the countries willing to take an active part in such a program.

51) We give political support to projects such as the joint project to set up an observatory of the Saharan areas, which answers the need to monitor the development of that rapidly deteriorating, fragile, arid region, in order to protect it more effectively.

Drug Issues

52) The drug problem has reached devastating proportions. We stress the urgent need for decisive action, both on a national and an international basis. We urge all countries, especially those where drug production, trading and consumption are large, to join our efforts to counter drug production, to reduce demand, and to carry forward the fight against drug trafficking itself and the laundering of its proceeds.

53) Accordingly, we resolve to take the following measures within relevant fora:

—Give greater emphasis on bilateral and United Nations programs for the conversion of illicit cultivation in the producer countries. The United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC), and other United Nations and multilateral organizations should be supported, strengthened and made more effective. These efforts could include particular support for the implementation of effective programs to stop drug cultivation and trading as well as developmental and technical assistance.

—Support the efforts of producing countries who ask for assistance to counter illegal production or trafficking.

—Strengthen the role of the United Nations in the war against drugs through an increase in its resources and through reinforced effectiveness of its operation.

—Intensify the exchange of information on the prevention of addiction, and rehabilitation of drug addicts.

—Support the international conference planned for 1990 on cocaine and drug demand reduction.

—Strengthen the efficiency of the cooperative and mutual assistance on these issues, the first steps being a prompt adhesion to, ratification and implementation of the Vienna Convention on illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

—Conclude further bilateral or multilateral agreements and support initiatives and cooperation, where appropriate, which include measures to facilitate the identification, tracing, freezing, seizure and forfeiture of drug crime proceeds.

—Convene a financial action task force from Summit Participants and other countries interested in these problems. Its mandate is to assess the results of cooperation already undertaken in order to prevent the utilization of the banking system and financial institutions for the purpose of money laundering, and to consider additional preventive efforts in this field, including the adaptation of the legal and regulatory systems so as to enhance multilateral judicial assistance. The first meeting of this task force will be called by France and its report will be completed by April 1990.

54) International Cooperation Against AIDS

We take note of the creation of an International Ethics committee on AIDS which met in Paris in May 1989, as decided at the Summit of Venice (June 1987). It assembled the Summit Participants and the other members of the EC, together with the active participation of the World Health Organization.

55) We take note of the representations that we received from various Heads of State or Government and organizations and we will study them with interest.

56) Next Economic Summit

We have accepted the invitation of the President of the United States to meet next year in the United States of America.

Note: The declaration was not issued as a White House press release.

The President's News Conference in Paris
July 16, 1989

The President. Well, we've just concluded 2½ days of intensive and productive meetings with the summit counterparts on economic and political issues. And let me take this opportunity, first of all, to thank President Mitterrand for his most gracious hospitality.

The summit, in my view, was a clear success. We met in a time of sustained economic growth and agreed that the prospects are good for the continued expansion without inflation of that growth. It was against this backdrop that we conducted a wide-ranging discussion on critical global issues, from East-West relations to the growing environmental challenge that we face.

We came to Paris at a truly remarkable moment. The winds of change are bringing hope to people all around the world. And who would have thought just a few short years ago that we would be witness to a freely elected Senate in Poland or political pluralism in Hungary? I was really touched by what I saw and heard in those two countries—people determined to keep their dreams alive, people determined to see a Europe whole and free. And that's why America brought to this summit our determination to support the reform movement in Hungary and Poland. People yearning for freedom and democracy deserve our support, and it's because of the community of values shared by these summit countries that we were able to agree to meet soon to discuss concerted action that will help Poland and Hungary.

Democracy and economic growth go hand in hand, whether in Eastern Europe, the Summit Seven, or the developing world. And therefore, much of our discussion here in Paris centered on economics. We reaffirmed our international economic cooperation and our whole policy coordination process. Our strengthened debt strategy was firmly supported. We reaffirmed our determination to maintain and improve the multilateral trading system, calling for the completion of the Uruguay round by the end of 1990 and extending the GATT to new areas, including agriculture.

This summit marked a watershed in the environment. And we agreed that decisive action is urgently needed to preserve the Earth. We committed to work together, as well as with the developing world, to meet our responsibility of global stewardship. The measures we've agreed to in Paris are timely, and they lay the groundwork for further specific steps when we meet again next year in the United States.

And finally, I was especially pleased to find that my colleagues share our sense of urgency and sense of the importance of the worldwide fight against drugs. Among other steps, we agreed to establish a financial action task force to find new ways to track and prevent the laundering of drug money. I look forward to meeting my summit colleagues in the United States next year as we continue working on these and other priority issues, build on the genuine progress that I think was made here in Paris.

And I might say that I was very pleased that this meeting coincided with the Bicentennial here. It was a very moving experience for all of us.

Now I will be glad to take any questions.

Future Economic Summit Participants

Q. Mr. Gorbachev wants to play a part in the world economic discussions. Would he be welcome at the next economic summit table?

The President. Well, I think that's a little premature, but it was very interesting, I found, that a leader of the Soviet Union would address a letter to the French President as head of this year's summit. We talked about that letter a great deal. There's an awful lot that has to transpire in the Soviet Union, it seems to me, before anything of that nature would be considered. We're talking about free-market economies here. But I found fascinating the very fact of the letter. But there was no—there certainly—I don't think any indication that he will be attending the next summit. He'll get a very courteous and very thoughtful reply from Mr. Mitterrand.

Q. How about the poor countries—Bangladesh? Would they ever be welcome?

The President. Well, this is an economic summit of countries whose economies—drawn together by the free economies of the West, and so, I don't think there's a question at this point of expanding the summit. There is concern about the economies in the world that aren't doing so well. Bangladesh is a country that does need aid, and, indeed, the communique addressed itself to trying to help Bangladesh.

Summit With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you consulted with the NATO allies on military matters in Brussels, and then you had an economic summit here in Paris. What's left before you sit down with Mr. Gorbachev for a superpower summit?

The President. A little more time, I think.

Q. I mean, is there any more—don't you have anything to discuss with him now that you've planted this groundwork?

The President. Yes. Let me explain, to those who aren't familiar with the policy, that Secretary Baker has met a couple of times with Mr. Shevardnadze [Soviet Foreign Minister]. There will be another such meeting of that nature, and at an appropriate time, I will have a meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. But I don't think anything at the summit influenced that bilateral meeting.

Summit Environmental Issues

Q. Mr. President, the summit called for decisive action on the environment, but various environmental groups are saying that you did not take decisive action. Could you respond to that?

The President. Well, I did see one or two groups. They didn't think I took decisive action when I sent—or took proper action when I sent a very far-reaching clean air proposal up to the Congress. And so, some have been critical.

Many have been supportive on the broad—the very fact—I'll tell you where we got a lot of support is the very fact that the communique addressed itself with some specificity to various environmental goals: the whole concept of cooperation on research, technology, and transfer to the LDC's [less developed countries]; the prevention of pollution; the idea of setting up monitoring stations so we can better predict and thus avoid environmental disaster.

There was a lot of common ground. In fact, I would say that on that and, perhaps, antinarcotics there was most fervor. And so, I think many environmental groups see the very fact that this matter was on the front burner as being very positive. And the summit did make strong enough statements to commit all of our members, and hopefully others around the world, to sound environmental practice. So you get criticized; but I think, generally speaking, it's been very, very forward looking.

Assistance for Poland and Hungary

Q. Mr. President, you promised in Poland and Hungary that you would seek concerted action on the part of the countries meeting here to help those countries. There seems to have been a pledge that there would be concerted consideration of action—no dollar figure attached and no specified action promised—and a meeting apparently planned. And do you feel you got what you wanted, sir?

The President. I think so. And you'll notice, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], that in both Poland and Hungary I stopped well short of setting dollar figures or of challenging others to meet dollar figures. But on this one, let there be no doubt there was unanimity that we should address ourselves to the problems of Poland and Hungary. And so, I was not disappointed. I didn't go in there with a specific package with dollar figures on it, and I think that an early meeting to do just that is good. It called for food aid to Poland. That's specific. Doesn't have a figure on it, but—no, I think we got what we sought. And there was no rancor on that question and no division on the question. But there was unanimity that we have to move on it.

Soviet Role in Economic Summits

Q. Since you've said that you spent a lot of time last night talking about Mr. Gorbachev's letter, can you tell us a little bit about those discussions, and can you tell us what your view is? What is an appropriate response from the West to such an extraordinary request by Mr. Gorbachev to become part of the economy of the Western democracies?

The President. We would welcome any movement by the Soviet Union towards market-oriented, or Western economies. There's no question about that. And there's nothing begrudging about our saying—in replying to Helen's [Helen Thomas, United Press International] comment, my replying to Helen's—that I don't expect Mr. Gorbachev to sit as a member at next year's summit. But the discussion was—it started off by: What do you think he means by this? And a lot of discussion—we'll get the experts to analyze it—and all of that took place. And people concluded that it was just one more manifestation of the changing world we're living in. And that, I think, was the main message.

And then, where we go from here—some of that has been addressed in the communique, because we talked in there about help for the Third World. And some of his letter, as you know, was on that very subject. When it came in, Mr. Mitterrand read it off to the group there and then said: "Well, what will we do?" And my suggestion was—which he had intended to adopt anyway—that he, as the man to whom the letter was addressed, would reply to it. So, that's the way it was. And the fact that it's happening, is taking place—the President of the United States can go to Eastern Europe and witness the very kind of change we're talking about.

I'll tell you—I want to reply to Carl's [Carl Leubsdorf, Dallas Morning News] question here—that almost the most dramatic for me was when Mr. Németh, the Prime Minister of Hungary, handed me that piece of barbed wire—tearing down the Iron Curtain between Hungary and Austria. Now who would have thought that possible? And this letter—just one more manifestation of the exciting times we're in of change. They're moving towards our open system, our free system, our system of free elections. And that's the way I would look at the letter—in that context.

Future Economic Summits

Q. Mr. President, in connection with next year's summit, there's been some talk among some of your people about possibly having it in your home State of Texas, possibly in San Antonio. And I wondered whether you'd like to see that.

The President. Well, I'd have to run that by the Dallas Morning News and see how they felt about it, but that's a distinct possibility. However, it's too early, no decision has been made. The fact that Jim Baker is from Houston and I'm from Houston and Bob Mosbacher's from Texas should have nothing to do—[*laughter*]—with where the next summit's going to be, and there has been no decision.

Q. That wouldn't mean some discrimination against Dallas because of your roots?

The President. No, none whatsoever. Get that down. The fall elections are up in 19— Charles [Charles Bierbauer, CNN]?

Q. Let me follow on the question about summits. These things have gotten a lot bigger than they were originally planned to be—hundreds of your people, thousands of us. It's your first summit, but you've got to host the next one. Have you given any thought to how you want to do it in terms of style?

The President. No, but, I'll tell you, the part—and I'm the new boy, the new kid in school—but the part I found most interesting was the unstructured part, the part where you sit with these other leaders, tell them what you think, listen carefully to what they think. And that happens sometimes in the corridors or sometimes before a structured seminar, sometimes at a meal. And I would like to think that the more emphasis we've placed on that kind of interaction, the better it would be.

But there was no discussion by the summit interlocutors on how to restructure it. Indeed, it went smoothly. And I will again say that Mr. Mitterrand handled the formal part very well. But for me, I'd like to see more just plain unstructured interaction between the leaders, where you don't just have to talk on the agenda items.

Space Exploration

Q. It'll be 20 years next Thursday that man first landed on the Moon. There are some people in your administration that would like for you to announce on Thursday that we're going to go back to the Moon, possibly even to Mars. Can you and Dick Darman find that kind of money in the budget?

The President. Well, you put your finger, John [John Cochran, NBC News], on some of the real problems—the major problem—on setting major goals for space exploration. And whether we will be ready by next week or later this week to make any momentous announcements, I'm not sure. I have not made a decision on what we will say on that historic day.

Q. Would it be too quick going in on it with the Soviets, though?

The President. Well, that has been suggested. And some, as you know, discussion have gone on—not, I don't think, recently—between us and the Soviets on this. But certainly the concept of international is not offensive to me. But we'll have to wait and see because no decision——

U.S. Economy

Q. Mr. President, Friday's economic indicators show some weakening of the U.S. economy. Apparently, some of your summit partners expressed some concern about that. What assurances did you give them and can you give us that we're not headed for a recession?

The President. Well, you know, ironically, none did express to me their concern about the U.S. economy stalling out. We really didn't get into that discussion. I must say that from time to time it is a matter of concern to me, and thus I've tried to think through with our Secretary of the Treasury and others the concept of how the interest rate structure should be. But I've had no indication from home, nor had we picked up any here, that they felt that the U.S. economy was going to move towards a recession. And that's the thing, of course, that you'd want to guard against.

Our growth has not been as robust as the growth in some other countries, but we're still moving. And when you have a several-trillion-dollar gross national product and you take a small percentage of growth, and it makes for enormous dollar figures in growth.

Soviet Role in Future Economic Summits

Q. Mr. President, how much change would the Soviet Union have to make before they could earn an invitation to next year's economic summit? If you can't answer that specifically, at least could you give us some sense of scale?

The President. Well, one, as you know, I have welcomed the reforms that are taking place in the Soviet Union. But I don't—this concept of the Soviets coming to a G–7 summit has never been, to my knowledge, thought much about until this letter appeared, so there's no standards for entrance into the G–7.

The Soviet economy needs a lot of work. And I say that not to be critical, but certainly that's an objective judgment. The economy is in bad, bad shape—far worse shape than the Western economies. And so, I think what we ought to do is to encourage the kinds of economic changes in Eastern Europe and—to the degree the Soviets would not consider that an intervention into their internal affairs—in the Soviet Union. Those should be the next steps.

Welcome the interest that was shown by this letter. This wasn't an application for admission to the G–7. It was saying: Let's do something in a common way about solving problems around the world. And so, I wouldn't set a standard right now. I'd simply say: Let each of us try to get our economies in order. And as soon as that happens and as soon as we see the manifestations of freedom break out there, in terms of demonstrably free elections all over, then we start talking about democratic change, and then the day approaches. I think it's very premature to start laying down guidelines from here as to what we need to do on that.

Future of Europe

Q. Mr. President, you've talked about a whole and united Europe, and Mr. Gorbachev has talked about a common European home. Are they the same concept, or what is the difference? Is there a difference between the role of the U.S. in those two statements?

The President. Europe whole and free is our concept. His common European home is fine, so long—as I said earlier—you can move from room to room. And that means coming along further on human rights. That means much more openness. It means support them when you see them move towards *perestroika* and *glasnost.* But it means an evolution in the Soviet Union, and it means an evolution in Eastern Europe. And we've begun to see it.

A Europe whole and free does not visualize a Europe where you still have barbed wire separating people, where you still have human rights abuses in one or two of the countries that are egregious. And so, it is whole and free, and the common home theme is a good one. I mean, that's a very good theme, and we should encourage it. But we want to see these countries continue to move towards what works, and what works is freedom, democracy, market economies—things of that nature.

Q. May I follow up? In the meeting of the G–7, is there room—or, did you sense the countries want U.S. leadership or they want the U.S. to be a coequal partner?

The President. You mean with the Soviets? No, I sense that those colleagues feel that we have disproportionate responsibility. I think there's a keen interest in how I will work with the Soviets. There's no question about that. I felt that very clearly.

Soviet Role in Future Economic Summits

Q. At the risk of seeming fixated by Mr. Gorbachev, when you discussed his letter, was there a suggestion from anybody that it might have been a bit of mischief or an attempt to get some publicity out of a Western summit?

The President. I can't say that that never occurred. [*Laughter*] But I don't think that, after people thought about it rationally, that anyone was prepared to say that and that alone was what motivated this letter.

There is change taking place. And I think for some time people really wondered whether I was a little begrudging in recognizing that change and encouraging that change. But I think now that has been laid to rest. So, when you see something of this nature, you take a look at it, and you assess it, and then you—but you don't discount it in a cynical fashion.

But I think there was the timing. The summit has been planned for a long time, and this letter might have come in earlier on for more serious "sherpa" consideration, as every other issue was subjected to marvelous work by the "sherpas"—who incidentally did a superb job—and this one didn't. So, I think people would excuse a reasonable degree of cynicism—but don't think the conclusion was cynical.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. Mr. President, going back to the other day in Poland, an elderly man said that when people talk to you folks about change, just remember that the Communists still have the bayonets. So, my question to you is: Do you believe that countries like Poland and Hungary are really going to have serious and permanent change, or is there a line that their leaders and that Moscow just won't go past?

The President. Well, no, I think that you've already seen serious change. I think you see the political situation in Hungary, for example, is absolutely amazing compared to the way we used to view Hungary. And if the Soviet Union, instead of taking their troops out of Hungary, had tried to tighten down, I don't expect we'd see the kind of change in Hungary that we're seeing today. And so, I'd say that we're a long way from what Gorbachev has spelled out as a common European home, but it's moving. So, let's encourage the progress. Maybe I missed the nuance of your question.

Q. That there is a course that's going to lead to a permanent change, or, again, the question is: Are the Soviets going to step in and pull the rug out from under at some point?

The President. Well, I would quote Mr. Gorbachev's words back to him on that, what he told me in New York, and what Jim Baker has heard from Shevardnadze, and what everybody who interacts with the Soviets hear, and that is that *perestroika* is for real. You cannot set the clock back. It is going to go forward. And so, I would see that as what guides now.

However, I have said as long as there are enormous imbalances in conventional forces and in certain categories of strategic forces, the West should keep its eyes wide open. And indeed, there was some reference to that in this communique. There was unanimity on the part of the NATO allies that we ought to be cautious and that we—and so to answer your question, it's not a done deal; and that's, I think, what was being reflected there in Poland.

Q. Mr. President, I wonder, as you put all of this together, what you said about Poland and Hungary and Gorbachev asking to join the world economy. As a matter of policy, do you see the cold war over, and do you think the West has won it?

The President. I don't like to use "cold war." That has a connotation of worse days in terms of East-West relationship. I think things have moved forward so that the connotation that those two words conjure up is entirely different now. And yet I don't want to stand here and seem euphoric—that everything is hunky-dory between the East and the West on arms or on differences in the economy or on how we look at regional problems. We have some big differences, still. But let's encourage the change. And then I can answer your question in maybe a few more years more definitively.

Economic Summit Accomplishments

Q. Mr. President, the Summit Seven leaders are celebrating a gathering that was so successful it went 2½ days instead of 3. Could you not find another half day's worth of problems to discuss and maybe resolve, sir? [*Laughter*]

The President. We're kind of running out of gas. I'll tell you, it's been a vigorous experience in physical fitness for me, and I try to stay in pretty good shape. But this one—when you couple the summit with the [French] bicentennial and then tack on Poland and Hungary, I wasn't about to argue we needed more time, and nor was anyone else. I think the fact that this rather complex agenda was completed in harmony is the fact that ought to really carry the spotlight, not the fact that we finished in advance.

There's going to be plenty of opportunities to discuss a lot more problems that exist around the world. But we had an agenda; we addressed it. We finished it on time, and it was done harmoniously. So, I think that's why it worked out. And that is exactly what happened. We did complete it. And we had a lot more opportunity because of the bicentennial to have interaction with the other leaders, more so than at any other summit.

Q. Do you feel, sir, you accomplished all you could?

The President. We accomplished what we set out to accomplish.

Stealth Bomber

Q. Mr. President, the Stealth bomber had a couple of setbacks this week, and Senator Nunn, as I understand it, indicated he's not going to pay for a plane that just taxis. [*Laughter*] Do you have faith in this project, or are you alarmed by the recent developments?

The President. Well, Senator Nunn and 250 million other Americans that pick up the bill for it—but he's not going to pay for it. I mean, it's a decision that the Congress is going to have to take collectively. If Senator Nunn decides that it isn't a good idea, it's going to be a whale of a fight. But I think that legitimate questions have been raised about the bomber, and Secretary Cheney has addressed them very forcefully, giving the administration's position. Being gone, I don't have quite as sensitive a feel as I would if I were at home of the nuances of the battle. But we have gone forward with our proposal, and now it's up to the Congress to decide what they're going to do.

And when I saw Dick Cheney, in essence, saying make up your minds, I think he was doing the right thing. When I saw Senator Nunn expressing his reservations, we have to understand he's doing what he is obligated to do as chairman of that committee. But it will be sorted out, I think.

New Taxes

Q. Mr. President, you're giving away money to Poland and Hungary, and you're talking about spending more money on the environment. There are a lot of needs at home. And now you're in a new budget cycle. Is this the time—and you promised today to reduce the deficit, the U.S. budget deficit—is this the time to announce that it's necessary to raise taxes in the United States?

The President. No! [*Laughter*]

Q. How are you going to do it then? How are you going to meet——

The President. Well, we've already got a proposal up on the Hill, and look at it very carefully. And our Director of the OMB has done a very good job in sorting out priorities. He's worked, and our Cabinet has given him full cooperation. And the proposals that I have made can be and are included in our budget thinking—not just for this year, but beyond.

But you put your finger on something that does trouble me when I come to countries like Poland and Hungary. I wish we did have more—more funds with which to help others, encourage private investment and public-private partnerships and privatization. I wish we had much more to do there or speedily apply to environmental concerns or antinarcotics cooperation.

So, I don't want to sound like we have it all made at all. We've had to sort through priorities in a very complicated way. But to answer your question, you have to go up to the question that was earlier asked about the economy itself. And I do not want to risk screeching growth—modest though it may be—to a halt by raising revenues in the way that some have suggested.

Ms. Thomas. Thank you.

The President. Oh, thank you, Helen. Are you willing to give them a 4-minute extension? There are so many—this is what gets it—Marlin, what is your advice, as a man who has been through this every single day? [*Laughter*]

Mr. Fitzwater. Two more, sir.

The President. Two more. You weren't necessarily one of the two, but go ahead, Maureen [Maureen Dowd, New York Times]. [*Laughter*] Far be it from me, in this land of delicacy and grace, to not recognize you. [*Laughter*]

Eastern European Reforms

Q. ——in Eastern Europe you talked

about two themes constantly: one, encouraging democracy and moves to a market economy, and two, that you weren't there to try to raise tensions with the Soviet Union or challenge them in any way. But my question is: If what you want is carried out—moves to democracy and a market economy—aren't you really talking about the dissolution of the Soviet empire? And is that what you mean when you call for a Europe that's whole and free?

The President. Soviet empire? If you mean the imposition of a Marxist system or a socialism in their definition—system on others—yes, I'd like to see Europe whole and free. But with the Soviet moving towards market—and they're not there—towards more freedom, towards more openness; they themselves have recognized that their system doesn't work. So, you don't run the risks or have the same tensions that we might have had 10 years ago talking about the very same themes I talked about in Poland and Hungary.

I went to—some of you were on this trip—went to Vienna several years ago and gave a speech, and a man in—the speech was on differentiation. And I will spare him identification. But a Hungarian official told me that he personally—he befriended us, and we talked carefully—had gotten a lot of grief over the fact that we had singled out Hungary as a country that was moving. Even then, even those short years ago, moving in a way that their changes could be accommodated by closer relationships with the West. And that conversation I had on this trip showed me how dynamic the change. So, I don't think there's a risk of—if we're right in our assessment that change is going forward—I don't think there is this risk.

Soviet Role in Future Economic Summits

Q. Is Mr. Mitterrand free to reply to the Gorbachev letter himself, or will it be circulated, or would you like to see the letter? How would you like that to go?

The President. No, I think that he should reply to it himself. He has a good relationship with Mr. Gorbachev. Gorbachev was here. They've had some followup, I believe, and the letter was addressed to him, albeit as the president of the summit. And so, I think it's fitting that he simply use his good judgment and reply to it in any way he wants. And that's exactly what he's going to do. Incidentally, that was discussed.

Q. And if next year's summit is in Texas, can it be very early? [*Laughter*]

The President. Parting—walking shot.

Economic Summit Accomplishments

Q. Mr. President, in this summit, you achieved all your goals. Do you have the feeling of being the winner number one of this summit?

The President. Well, I pointed out before we came over here that something of this nature ought not to be judged in terms of winners and losers. Your question sounds very much like some that we engage in at home of who's up, who's down, who's ahead, who's winning, who's more popular, who's ahead in the poll—Bush or Gorbachev—in Eastern Europe or Connecticut. [*Laughter*] And it doesn't really have much to do with that. What——

Q. Are you satisfied——

The President. I am very satisfied. I am very satisfied that the summit achieved its goals. Every other summit leader tells me that it was the best summit they have attended, and I again would salute the President of the French Republic for the way in which he conducted the meetings. But, yes, I am very, very satisfied, and there aren't any winners or losers or who is up or who is down. We're together is how we approached the East. We're together is how we approached the environmental questions.

I didn't take a question here on Third World debt, but there was a strong endorsement for the Brady plan. And there was no dissension on that approach. So, it came together very, very well. And if the Brady—and I shouldn't say this. I know this is going to get me in real trouble. But if the Brady plan looks like it's going to be successful, we may call it the Bush plan. [*Laughter*]

Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President's 18th news conference began at 6:01 p.m. at the U.S. Ambassador's *residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference. The President traveled to Amsterdam, The Netherlands, the following morning.*

Remarks to Residents of Leiden, The Netherlands

July 17, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Mayor. Your Majesty and Your Royal Highness, Barbara and I thank you and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome that has been given to us. I'm not sure about some of those signs I saw coming in. It reminded me of my own university, however.

I'm glad to be back with my cousins, because we fondly remember Aunt Abigail back there those many years ago. [*Laughter*] And I want to first thank Mr. DeWolff and that magnificent orchestra and the choir from here, with that superb solo by Ms. Zedelius—an outstanding performance. And Mayor Goekoop, thank you so much for that medallion, which we will treasure forever.

The Netherlands is an old friend, an honored ally of the United States. And the friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution, and the United Provinces were one of the models that our founders looked to in creating a nation from 13 sovereign States.

And it's a pleasure to visit Leiden, a city whose very name has symbolized for centuries Dutch determination and the struggle for freedom against the forces of occupation. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins. So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. And it was here that Hugo de Groot, known to the world as Grotius, the father of modern international law, studied in the Nation that is today the home of the International Court of Justice. And it was here that Rembrandt lived and worked and created a world of beauty that moves us still today. And it was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution—to live, work, and worship in peace. In the shadow of Pieterskerk, they found the freedom to witness God openly and without fear. And here, under the ancient stones of the Pieterskerk, the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a New World. In their search for liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. And the Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage; but carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. And on the rocky coast of New England, at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent, they planted the seeds of a New World, a world that became America.

And today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach. Our time is a time of great hope and a time of enormous challenges. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea, an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force, and that idea is democracy. The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere—in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." And, ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We, the people of the United States and the people of the Netherlands, are fortunate. The freedoms that others are struggling for are freedoms that we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle, and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know that the cost of freedom is high. And that's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean that the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents, unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values, rooted in a shared history and heritage. It's a common kinship and culture, as well.

We are part of the commonwealth of free

nations. Almost 2 months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity, and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding, amid the airlift to besieged Berlin, few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands and elsewhere, some people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace that Europe has known in the modern age. And let me assure you, Americans know that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America.

And today the Atlantic alliance, formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism, is creating new opportunities to ease tensions, to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. And thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment—to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms that has long cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on Earth.

And seizing these opportunities, reaching that new world, depends on the unity and strength of the entire alliance, not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union, in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear forces—each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our postwar experience is this: Strength has kept us safe and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace. Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe, a more united Europe, is good for my country; it's good for the United States of America. And it's a development we welcome, a natural evolution within our alliance, the product of true partnership 40 years in the making.

This trend toward closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation—no nation—can prosper in economic isolation. And that's why we look forward to the single European market and a more integrated European Community. The world's major industrial democracies must work to maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic growth.

And our progress at this recently concluded economic summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action: bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment—global warming, acid rain, and pollution of the world's oceans: these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. And pollution crosses continents and oceans, and it's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment. The United States of America will do its part. A little over a month ago, in the United States, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act, changes meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air. And shortly after I get back to the United States, after I return home, we will send our clean air legislation to Congress. And last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. And the next step is clear: We must work together, take concerted action to combat this common problem—clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and the developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it's more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty, just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity that we know today. Economic and democratic development go hand in hand. And the steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And there's Eastern Europe. Let me explain the approach that I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will never compromise our principles. We will always speak out for freedom, but we understand as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of dynamic change. The Soviet Union has nothing—nothing—to fear from the reforms that are now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe. We support reform in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, and we're seeing dramatic changes. General Secretary Gorbachev's recent letter 2 days ago to the economic summit is only the latest example of the Soviets moving in our direction, coming our way. I've said it many times—that I want to see *perestroika* succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings itself into the community of nations.

And my visits these last 2 months demonstrate how closely the United States is linked to Europe. For half a century, America has been deeply involved in the future of this continent. And U.S. involvement will be a strategic fact the next century, as it has been for this one. We will play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development, in the development of political pluralism, and in creating an international climate in which reform can succeed. And that is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the U.S.S.R. reduce pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe, especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a commonwealth of free nations working in concert, a world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. In the pulpit here at the Pieterskerk, 1 year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After 6 years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." And Europe then stood at the threshold of a new era, an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

And we all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era, and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire. The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war, and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity and a life in peace and freedom. And the other Europe, the Europe behind the wall, endured four decades of privation and hardship and persecution and fear.

And today that other Europe is changing. The great wheel is moving once more. And our time, the exciting time in which we live, is a time of new hope—the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom that the Netherlands has known, that America has known, and that the West has known. Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end, that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Poland and Hungary are on the cutting edge; they're on the forefront of this reform. And they've traveled far these past 12 months, farther than any of us once would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 new freely elected Senators, elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the postwar era. And in Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University, a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the old teachings of "Das Kapital." At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people—literally tens of thousands filled the streets—new voices, full of new hope. And theirs were the faces of pilgrims on a journey, fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

And they know, as we do, that ultimately, whatever the odds, freedom will succeed. It's a lesson the world has learned several times this century, a lesson that you know so well, that the Dutch know so well. The Netherlands will never—I was talking at this lunch today with your able Prime Minister [Ruud Lubbers]—the Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those long years.

And even then freedom endured. Pieterskerk—behind these walls, above the rafters—resistance fighters, university students took refuge from the forces of occupation and found safe haven in this church. Daily acts of heroism—the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps—kept them alive, kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive throughout the Netherlands dark night.

And why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert, poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart could not do otherwise." Freedom can never be extinguished—not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and, yes, across the Soviet Union.

So, the challenge that we face is a very clear one. We must work together toward the day when all of Europe, East and West, is free of discord, free of division; a day when people in every city and every town across this continent knows the freedoms that we enjoy. And here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their New World, let us pledge our effort to create a new world in Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

Once again, thank you, God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America and the friends of freedom everywhere in the world. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:46 p.m. at the Pieterskerk. He was introduced by Cornelis H. Goekoop, mayor of Leiden. In his remarks, the President referred to Queen Beatrix; Prince Claus; Abigail Jenney, an ancestor of the President who was born in Leiden; Charles DeWolff, conductor of Amsterdam's Kamer Orkest; and Maria Zedelius, choir soloist.

Nomination of Lannon Walker To Be United States Ambassador to Nigeria

July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lannon Walker to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He would succeed Princeton Nathan Lyman.

Mr. Walker is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor. He entered the Department of State in 1961 and attended Western Arabic Language School in 1962. From 1962 to 1964, he served as political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Rabat, Morocco. In 1964 he became principal officer at the American consulate in Constantine, Algeria. He returned to the Department of State in 1966 as a staff officer in the Executive Secretariat, and then became Deputy Director. In 1969 Mr. Walker took economic training at the Foreign Service Institute. From 1970 to 1971, he was economic counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli, Libya. He then became deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Yaounde, Cameroon, 1971–1973; and served as administrative counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, Vietnam, 1973–1974. In 1974 he went to the U.S. Embassy in Kinshasa, Zaire; first as economic counselor and then deputy chief of mission, where he served until 1977. He returned to the Department of State as Office Director for Central Africa and later became Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of African Affairs, 1977–1982. He took a leave of absence from the Department of State, 1982–1983, and then became the president of Joint Services Group in Washington, DC. He returned to the Department of State in 1983 as Senior Adviser in the Bureau of African Affairs; and from 1984 to 1985, he was the Acting Inspector General. In 1985 Mr. Walker was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Senegal, where he served until 1988. Since 1988 he has been a diplomat-in-residence at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Mr. Walker received his B.S.F.S. in 1961 from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. He was born January 17, 1936, in Los Angeles, CA. Mr. Walker is married, has two daughters, and resides in Maryland.

Nomination of John A. Betti To Be an Under Secretary of Defense

July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John A. Betti to be Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition. He would succeed Robert B. Costello.

Mr. Betti is currently the executive vice president of the Ford Motor Co. for technical affairs and operating staffs and a director of the company. Since 1962, he has served in a variety of increasingly responsible positions with the Ford Motor Co. in the United States and abroad. From 1952 to 1962, he was student engineer for the assistant chief engineer of the Chrysler Corp.

Mr. Betti received a bachelor's degree from the Illinois Institute for Technology in 1952 and a master's degree from the Chrysler Institute for Engineering in 1954. He completed postgraduate work at the University of Detroit in 1963. Mr. Betti is married, has four children, and resides in Bloomfield Hills, MI.

Nomination of Howard K. Walker To Be United States Ambassador to Madagascar and Comoros

July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Howard K. Walker to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar and to the Federal Islamic Republic of Comoros. He would succeed Patricia Gates Lynch.

Dr. Walker is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor. Since 1987 he has served as a senior inspector in the Office of the Inspector General at the Department of State. In 1985 he was the Director of the Office of West African Affairs in the Bureau of African Affairs. Dr. Walker was a foreign affairs fellow at the Foreign Service Institute of Washington in 1984, and in 1982 he was appointed U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Togo. From 1970 to 1985, Dr. Walker held several assignments dealing with African and Middle East Affairs, including principal officer and consul at the U.S. consulate in Kaduna, Nigeria; Deputy Director of the Office of West African Affairs and political officer in Amman, Jordan; and deputy chief of mission in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. From 1968 to 1969, he served as a United Nations adviser for the Bureau of African Affairs. Dr. Walker served as a research analyst, followed by an assignment as international relations officer in the Office of Inter-American Affairs, 1965–1968. In 1965 he joined the Department of State. Dr. Walker also served as an assistant professor at George Washington University, 1966–1968.

Dr. Walker graduated from the University of Michigan (A.B., 1957; M.A., 1958) and Boston University (Ph.D., 1968). He served in the U.S. Air Force from 1962 to 1965. Dr. Walker was born December 3, 1935, in Newport News, VA. He is married, has two children, and resides in New Jersey.

Nomination of Glen A. Holden To Be United States Ambassador to Jamaica

July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Glen A. Holden to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Jamaica. He would succeed Michael Sotirhos.

Since 1973 Mr. Holden has been the chairman, chief executive officer, and president of the Holden Group in Los Angeles, CA. From 1968 to 1973, he was president and director of the Variable Annuity Life Insurance Co. in Houston, TX. He was a general agent with Glen Holden Associates in Portland, OR, from 1956 to 1964, and an agent and agency supervisor with John C.F. Merrifield and Associates, 1951–1956.

Mr. Holden graduated from the University of Oregon (B.S., 1951). He was honorably discharged from the Navy in January 1946. Mr. Holden was born July 2, 1927, in Boise, ID. He is married, has three children, and resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Remarks Upon Returning From the Trip to Europe

July 18, 1989

Well, thank you for this warm welcome home. Barbara and I are delighted to be back, and we thank you for this warm welcome back. And I know you've seen some of what we experienced during this trip, but let me just share with you now some of the memorable moments of the last 10 days that will certainly stay in my mind: the open arms of the people of Poland; American flags waving in the square at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; the faces of the people who lined the streets, greeting us with such joy; the thousands who endured a driving downpour in Budapest to welcome us to Hungary; the students I spoke to there, the hope of Hungary's future; and images we won't forget.

The warmth Barbara and I felt is a reflection of the warmth the people of Poland and Hungary feel for America and for our ideals. And then there was Paris, celebrating the bicentennial of the revolution that brought forth the Rights of Man. And how satisfying it was to witness the unity of purpose that emerged from the summit, ranging from East-West relations to the environment. And finally, the Netherlands and that church at Leiden, spiritual home of the Pilgrim Fathers and American ideals.

But of all these special moments, I want to share one with you that is truly special in its message. It's a story told by a Polish woman at a luncheon meeting that I hosted in Warsaw. Around the table sat members of Poland's Communist Party and members of Solidarity—in some cases, men and women who had been imprisoned on the party's orders not so long ago and who were now elected members of the Polish Parliament. And it was remarkable proof of how far Poland has come; but in Poland, and in Hungary as well, progress hasn't come without heroic efforts—a heroism that comes from deep within the heart. And this woman, who'd worked at personal risk for the release of many who had been jailed, was asked: How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments? Why the absence of bitterness? And she said: "Our joy at what is now happening is more powerful than memory." And those are the words of someone who means to build a better future—the desire to move forward towards a better life, a life of freedom. It's a source of tremendous strength.

It's the strength that enabled the Government and Solidarity to sit down at the roundtable to negotiate new political progress for Poland, the strength that enabled Lech Walesa [Solidarity leader] and General Jaruzelski [Chairman of the Council of State] to sit side by side at the opening of the new Polish Parliament. And it's a strength that in Hungary is enabling the Government and an emerging opposition to find a common ground in reform, to sit together in writing a new constitution and in planning truly free elections. And we must not forget that it was the strength and cohesion of our Western alliance that has helped make these dramatic changes possible.

Everywhere—in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Budapest, among the leaders of the summit nations in Paris, and then in the Netherlands—I found an enormous amount of excitement, excitement at the times in which we are living and the possibilities they offer: the chance we have in our lifetimes to move beyond containment, to end the division of Europe, to make that continent truly whole and free. Everywhere people seem to sense that we live at a moment when positive change is possible.

And as I said yesterday in the Dutch city of Leiden, history's great wheel is turning once again. And just as the wind of hope carried the Pilgrims to a New World, we, too, now find a new world within our reach, a world where the yearnings for freedom overcomes discord and confrontation; where freedom and democracy flourish for others, as they have for this great country of ours.

Thank you for this welcome home. It is good to be back. And God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:52 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

White House Statement on the State Visit of King Fahd bin 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia

July 18, 1989

King Fahd of Saudi Arabia called President Bush to request that the state visit scheduled for later this month be postponed due to the sensitive phase of the mediation on the Lebanese situation by the Heads of State Committee of which the King is a member.

The President expressed his understanding as well as his wishes for the success of the Committee's effort to bring peace and stability to Lebanon. Both leaders agreed that the state visit would take place as soon as could be arranged after September 1.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on Nuclear Nonproliferation

July 19, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

I have reviewed the activities of the United States Government departments and agencies during the calendar year 1988 related to preventing nuclear proliferation, and I am pleased to submit my annual report pursuant to section 601(a) of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95–242).

As the report demonstrates, the United

States continued its efforts during 1988 to prevent the spread of nuclear explosives to additional countries. This is an important element of our overall national security policy, which seeks to reduce the risk of war and increase international stability. I want to build on the positive achievements cited in this report and to work with the Congress toward our common goal: a safer and more secure future for all mankind.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
July 19, 1989.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Libya

July 19, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

1. I hereby report to the Congress on developments since former President Reagan's last report of January 11, 1989, concerning the national emergency with respect to Libya that was declared in Executive Order No. 12543 of January 7, 1986. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c); section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c) ("IEEPA"); and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa–9(c).

2. Since the last report on January 11, 1989, there have been no amendments to the Libyan Sanctions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 550 (the "Regulations"), administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control ("FAC") of the Department of the Treasury. Additionally, since January 11, 1989, there have been no amendments or changes to orders of the Department of Commerce or the Department of Transportation implementing aspects of Executive Order No. 12543 relating to exports from the United States and air transportation, respectively.

3. During the current 6-month period, FAC has issued a limited number of specific licenses to individuals and corporations to permit them to engage in activities that would otherwise be prohibited by the Regulations. Under FAC licensing procedures, 12 individuals registered to remain in Libya with immediate family members. Less than ten licenses were extended authorizing transactions in connection with U.S. persons' filings or renewals of Libyan patents, copyrights, and trademarks.

On January 19, 1989, President Reagan authorized the Treasury Department to modify specific licenses of five U.S. oil companies holding concessions in Libya to permit their resumption of operations in Libya or sale of their concessions to controlled or independent foreign nationals. The decision was made in order to protect U.S. interests from forfeiture or expropriation and to avoid the financial windfall that Libya has been receiving from the sale of U.S.-owned oil under the standstill agreements between the oil companies and Libya. Those agreements, which expired June 30, 1989, provided for a suspension of U.S. oil company operations in Libya to protect the companies from default on their contractual obligations to work their concessions in Libya. The decision to license reentry of the oil companies did not alter the sanctions against Libya; the U.S. trade embargo and the freeze of Libyan assets remain in effect, as do the bans on travel-related transactions and the use of U.S. passports for travel to Libya.

4. Various enforcement actions mentioned in previous reports continue to be pursued. In addition, during the last 6-month period, FAC received payments of a $7,000 civil penalty from a U.S. broker and a $3,000 civil penalty from a Mexican exporter for their respective roles in an attempted transshipment in June 1988 of canned tuna through the United States to Libya.

5. During the 6-month period, the

London Commercial Court directed the London branch of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company to pay to a Libyan bank funds deposited in London and blocked pursuant to Executive Order 12544. In light of the rulings in this case and the 1987 Bankers Trust Company case, previously reported, FAC licensed Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company to pay the Libyan bank. Two further licenses were issued permitting payment of Libyan funds similarly blocked in the London branches of U.S. banks, as to which litigation was pending before the same London court.

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from January 11, 1989, through the present time that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the Libyan national emergency are estimated at $449,471.60. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Customs Service, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Enforcement, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, and the Office of the General Counsel), the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Justice, the Federal Reserve Board, and the National Security Council staff.

7. The policies and actions of the Government of Libya continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against Libya as long as these measures are appropriate, and I will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments as required by law.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
July 19, 1989.

Statement by the President on the Upcoming Elections in Nicaragua

July 19, 1989

Ten years ago, there was widespread satisfaction here and in Latin America that the anti-Somoza revolution in Nicaragua had triumphed and at long last democracy would be given a chance. The Sandinistas committed to the OAS [Organization of American States] in 1979 to establish a democracy and renewed that commitment when the Central American peace accord was signed nearly 2 years ago. Despite these promises, that commitment remains unfulfilled today.

The United States wanted to do its part for the success of the turn toward democracy. We had contributed to the overthrow of Somoza by cutting off military assistance. Encouraged by the Sandinistas' promise to the OAS, we provided $118 million in economic and humanitarian assistance to the new Nicaraguan government. This was substantially more than any other country gave the new regime and represented more aid than we had provided the Somoza government in the previous 4 years.

Despite our efforts to be supportive, as well as those of other democratic governments, the Sandinistas quickly embarked on a course which centralized power in their hands, brought economic ruin to their country, and forced hundreds of thousands to flee. They built up the largest army in Central America with aid from Cuba, the Soviet Union, and other Communist states. The security forces and Sandinista thugs harassed and imprisoned the opposition, including from the political parties, labor unions and businessmen, the Catholic Church, and the Miskito Indian community. Elections were postponed for 5 years, and when they were held, the Sandinista ground rules did not allow the opposition to compete freely and fairly.

Today, with the eyes of the world upon them, the Sandinistas have another opportunity to give peace and democracy a chance. But as the second anniversary of the commitments at Esquipulas approaches, what is evident is a renewed attempt to prevent a free and fair election. In strong contrast to its neighbors, who have chosen the democratic path, the Sandinista government continues to show that it fears free political competition.

The Sandinista electoral reform law, for example, was imposed upon the opposition over its objections and provides for an electoral council which is stacked in the Sandinistas' favor. Provisions for government campaign financing penalize parties that did not participate in the last election. To snuff out any chance that foreign contributions to the opposition could somehow offset official favoritism toward the Sandinista party, the law provides that 50 percent of foreign contributions be distributed to the electoral council. The Sandinista party is under no such constraints.

On paper, the electoral law permits foreign observers, but Sandinista practice to date indicates a desire to restrict them. The Sandinistas, for example, have branded National Endowment for Democracy representatives as CIA agents, expelled a Freedom House observer, and imposed visa restrictions on Americans so as to control who may report on the election. Two American diplomats were expelled for observing an opposition rally, and Sandinista restrictions on other members of the diplomatic corps provoked a protest by the EC representatives. These moves stand in sharp contrast to the Salvadoran experience, where observers from all sides were welcomed—even those critical of the Government.

The new media law also fails to meet democratic standards, as it contains vague provisions that permit prosecution for defaming the Government, and enforcement is left to the Ministry of the Interior. Unlike the other Central American countries, the Government by law owns all television broadcasting. Moreover, only government-sanctioned polling is permitted, allowing the Sandinistas to hide from the people the true extent of their unpopularity.

The Sandinistas have also shown their fear of electoral freedoms in other ways. Several opposition marches have been canceled because the Government denied permits. Labor unions have been threatened, lest their display of economic power threaten the Sandinistas. Recently, several private sector leaders were stripped of their property, not for violations of law but in a transparent attempt to silence vocal critics of Sandinista policies.

Permeating all of these Sandinista measures is a government propaganda that equates opposition with disloyalty and criticism with allegiance to a foreign power. At every point, the Sandinistas have shown that they feel they can ignore opposition demands for dialog. Last week in San José, President Ortega indicated he might be willing to change. We look for him to do so, for there will be dim prospects for national reconciliation unless the internal opposition and the Nicaraguan resistance are made full partners in this process.

We also look to the Sandinistas to make other changes to comply with their Esquipulas commitments. Recently discovered arms caches in El Salvador show that the Sandinistas continue to subvert their neighbors. Despite our having halted lethal aid to the resistance, the Sandinista military buildup continues with new deliveries from Cuba and other Communist states. And now the Sandinistas are making common cause with the Noriega regime in Panama, a dictatorship in the style of Somoza.

The bipartisan accord with Congress offers an opportunity for better relations between our two countries. We want to see democracy and national reconciliation work in Nicaragua. We remain willing to respond positively if the Sandinistas fulfill their promises—made to the OAS over 10 years ago at Esquipulas, and again last February in El Salvador—to allow Nicaraguans to exercise their democratic rights. Despite the somber prospects, we remain committed to support free elections and democracy in Nicaragua, and our sincerest hope is that next year the Nicaraguan people will truly have something to celebrate.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Election of Wojciech Jaruzelski as President of Poland

July 19, 1989

We congratulate General Jaruzelski on his election to the Presidency of Poland. The choice of leadership is an internal matter for the Polish people. Our only concern is to see the political and economic reform process go forward, a point the President emphasized repeatedly throughout his trip.

The President was particularly struck by the overwhelming desire of the Polish people to work together to build a prosperous future. One of the goals of the President's trip was to express our hope that all the parties would take mutual action for the benefit of the Polish people.

Nomination of John A. Knauss To Be an Under Secretary of Commerce

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John A. Knauss to be Under Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere. He would succeed William Evans.

Since 1962 Dr. Knauss has been a professor of oceanography at the graduate school of oceanography at the University of Rhode Island. He also served as dean of the graduate school of oceanography at the University of Rhode Island, 1962–1987, and as the provost for marine affairs at the University of Rhode Island, 1969–1982.

Dr. Knauss graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (B.S., 1946), the University of Michigan (M.S., 1949), and the University of California, Scripps Institution of Oceanography (Ph.D., 1959). He was born September 1, 1925, in Detroit, MI.

Nomination of Sally J. Novetzke To Be United States Ambassador to Malta

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Sally J. Novetzke to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Malta. She would succeed Peter R. Sommer.

Mrs. Novetzke has been an active political and civic volunteer in the State of Iowa. In 1986 she was commissioned to serve on the National Council on Vocational Education and has been serving as the legislative representative on that council. She also serves on the Kirkwood Community College Advisory Council for Career Education, the Kirkwood Community College Planning Council, the Cedar Rapids Symphony Board, and is a trustee of the Hoover Presidential Library. Mrs. Novetzke was vice chairman of campaign of the National Federation of Republican Women Advisory Board, 1987–1989; State cochairman of George Bush for President, 1988; member of the Iowa Federation of Republican Women Advisory Board, 1987–1989; precinct chairman, 1976–1988; State chairman, Republican Party of Iowa, 1985–1987; Republican State central committee, member from the 2d District, 1982–1985; and chairman of the Linn County Republican Party, 1980–1983.

Mrs. Novetzke attended Carleton College, 1950–1952. She was born January 12, 1932, in Stillwater, MN. Mrs. Novetzke is married, has four children, and resides in Cedar Rapids, IA.

Nomination of Loret M. Ruppe To Be United States Ambassador to Norway

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Loret M. Ruppe to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Norway. She would succeed Robert D. Stuart.

Since 1981 Mrs. Ruppe has been Director of the Peace Corps in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she was the cochairman of the Reagan/Bush committee in Michigan, 1980, and chairman of the George Bush for President campaign for the State of Michigan, 1979–1980.

Mrs. Ruppe attended Marymount College and Marquette University. She was born January 3, 1936, in Milwaukee, WI. She is married, has five daughters, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Nicolas Miklos Salgo for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as Special Negotiator for Property Issues

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Nicolas Miklos Salgo for the rank of Ambassador in his capacity as the Special Negotiator for Property Issues.

Currently, Dr. Salgo serves as the Director of the Moscow Embassy Building Control Office at the Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as chief of the U.S. team for property negotiations with the German Democratic Republic, 1987–1988, and as Ambassador to Hungary, 1983–1986. He served as a member of the International Private Enterprise Task Force, 1983; consultant to the U.S. Information Agency, 1982–1983; and as chairman of the Watergate Companies in Washington, DC, 1977–1983. In addition, he was co-owner and president of the ZX ranch in Paisley, OR, 1966–1980; founder and limited partner of Watergate Improvement Associates in Washington, DC, 1960–1977; vice chairman and chairman of Bangor Punta Corp. and Subsidiaries in Greenwich, CT, 1960–1974; and founder and owner of Nicolas Salgo and Co. in New York, 1959–1983. Dr. Salgo has also served as president and chief executive officer of the Norbute Corp. in Butte, MT, 1954–1960, and executive vice president of Webb and Knapp, Inc., in New York, 1950–1957.

Dr. Salgo graduated from the University of Budapest (LL.D. and Ph.D., 1937). Dr. Salgo was born August 17, 1914, in Budapest, Hungary. He is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Joshua I. Smith as a Member of the Commission on Minority Business Development, and Designation as Chairman

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his decision to appoint Joshua I. Smith to be a member of the Commission on Minority Business Development (chief executive officer representative). This is a new position. Upon his appointment he will be designated Chairman.

Since 1978 Dr. Smith has served as founder, chairman of the board, and chief executive officer of the Maxima Corp. Prior to this, he served as vice president of Herner and Co. in Washington, DC, 1976–1978; executive director of the American Society for Information Science, 1970–1976; and manager of the Database Division Plenum Publishing Corp. in New York, 1969–1970. In addition, he served as assistant director for operations in the college information systems at the University of Akron, 1965–1969.

He graduated from Central State University (B.S., 1963). He received a doctor of humane letters degree from Bowie State College, 1987, and a doctor of humane letters degree from Central State College, 1986. He is married, has one son, and resides in Rockville, MD.

Nomination of Clifford R. Oviatt, Jr., To Be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Clifford R. Oviatt, Jr., to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring August 27, 1993. He would succeed Wilford W. Johansen.

Since 1986 Mr. Oviatt has been a partner with McGuire, Woods, Battle and Boothe in McLean, VA. Prior to this, he was a partner and manager of Herrick and Smith in Boston, MA, 1985–1986. Mr. Oviatt was with Macdonald and McInerney, Washington, DC, 1984–1985; Cummings and Lockwood, Washington, DC, 1955–1984; and Moser, Johnson and Reif, Rochester, NY, 1953–1955.

Mr. Oviatt graduated from Wesleyan University (A.B., 1949) and Cornell Law School (LL.B., 1953). He was born May 25, 1926, in New Haven, CT. Mr. Oviatt served in the U.S. Navy, 1944–1946. He is married, has four children, and resides in Virginia.

Nomination of Donald F. Rodgers To Be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald F. Rodgers to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring December 16, 1992. He would succeed John E. Higgins, Jr.

Since 1986 Mr. Rodgers has been the Special Coordinator for Senior Worker and Retiree Programs in the Office of the Secretary at the Department of Labor in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was a Special Assistant for Construction for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration at the Department of Labor, 1983–1986. Mr. Rodgers was appointed by President Reagan to the Federal Services Impasses Panel, 1982–1983. He also served as a consultant on government relations, labor, energy, and politics, 1981–1982; as a special consultant on labor and energy at the Office of Policy Development at the White House, 1981; as a labor adviser for the Reagan-Bush campaign, 1980; and as director of government relations and energy, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 1974–1981.

Mr. Rodgers graduated from the Cornell University School of Labor Relations in 1952. He served in the U.S. Army during World War II. Mr. Rodgers was born October 1, 1926, in the Bronx, NY. He is married, has five children, and resides in Silver Spring, MD.

Nomination of Sheldon J. Krys To Be an Assistant Secretary of State

July 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Sheldon J. Krys to be Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security. He would succeed Robert E. Lamb.

Since 1988, Mr. Krys has served as Assistant Secretary of State for Administration and Information Management. Prior to this, he served as Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, 1985–1988. He served in several capacities at the Department of State, including Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary for Management in Washington, DC; Deputy Director for Management Operations, 1983–1985; and Executive Director of the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1979–1983. In addition, he served as a Foreign Service inspector, 1977–1979; administrative counselor in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1974–1976; and Director of Personnel for Latin America, 1969–1974. He has served as special assistant to the U.S. Ambassador in London, 1966–1969; management officer in London, 1965–1966; educational and cultural affairs officer and Director of the Department of State Reception Centers, 1962–1965. Mr. Krys also served as a consultant to the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, 1961. In 1983 he received the Presidential Meritorious Service Award.

Mr. Krys graduated from the University of Maryland in 1955. He was a Distinguished Graduate of the National War College in 1977. He was born in New York in 1934. He is married, has three daughters, and resides in Washington, DC.

Remarks on the 20th Anniversary of the *Apollo 11* Moon Landing

July 20, 1989

Thank you all very, very much. And thank you, Mr. Vice President, for your introduction and for undertaking to head the National Space Council and for already demonstrating your skill for leadership there. And thanks to all of you, who have braved the weather to join us today.

Behind me stands one of the most visited places on Earth, a symbol of American courage and ingenuity. And before me stand those on whose shoulders this legacy was built: the men and women of the United States astronaut corps. And we are very proud to be part of this unprecedented gathering of America's space veterans and to share this stage with three of the greatest heroes of this or any other century: the crew of *Apollo 11*.

It's hard to believe that 20 years have passed. Neil [Armstrong] and Buzz [Aldrin], who originated the moonwalk 15 years before Michael Jackson ever even thought of it. [*Laughter*] And Michael Collins, former director of this amazing museum and the brave pilot who flew alone on the dark side of the Moon while Neil and Buzz touched down—Mike, you must be the only American over age 10 that night who didn't get to see the Moon landing. [*Laughter*]

And later this evening after the crowd disperses and the Sun goes down, a nearly full Moon will rise out of the darkness and shine down on an America that is prosperous and at peace. And for those old enough to remember that historic night 20 years ago, step outside tonight with your children or your grandchildren, lift your eyes skyward, and tell them of the flag—the American flag—that still flies proudly in the ancient lunar soil. And for those who were not yet born or then too young to recall—you who are the children of the new century, raise your eyes to the heavens and join us in a great dream, an American dream, a dream without end.

Project *Apollo,* the first men on the Moon—some called it quixotic, impossible—had never been done. But America dreamed it, and America did it. And it began on July 16th, 1969. The Sun rose a second time that morning as the awesome fireball of the *Saturn V* lifted these three pioneers beyond the clouds. A crowd of one million, including half of the United States Congress, held its breath as the Earth shook beneath their feet and our view of the heavens was changed forevermore.

Three days and three nights they journeyed. It was a perilous, unprecedented, breathtaking voyage. And each of us remember the night. Barbara and our daughter, Dorothy, were with me in our red-brick house right here on the outskirts of Washington, where we moved up here to represent Houston in the United States Congress. Our 12-year-old kid, Marvin, was on a trip out West with family friends and remembers stopping at a roadside motel to watch. Second boy, Jeb, 16 that summer—teaching English and listening by radio in a small Mexican village where electricity had yet to arrive.

The landing itself was harrowing. Alarms flashed, and a computer overload threatened to halt the mission while *Eagle* dangled thousands of feet above the Moon. Armstrong seized manual control to avoid a huge crater strewn with boulders. With new alarms signaling a loss of fuel and the view now blocked by lunar dust, Mission Control began the countdown for a mandatory abort.

America, indeed the whole world, listened—a lump in our throat and a prayer on our lips. And only 20 seconds of fuel remained. And then out of the static came the words: "Houston—Tranquility Base here: The *Eagle* has landed."

Within one lifetime, the human race had traveled from the dunes of Kitty Hawk to the dust of another world. *Apollo* is a monument to our nation's unparalleled ability to respond swiftly and successfully to a clearly stated challenge and to America's willingness to take great risks for great rewards. We had a challenge. We set a goal. And we achieved it.

So, today is not only an occasion to thank these astronauts and their colleagues—the thousands of talented men and women across the country whose commitment, creativity, and courage brought this dream to life—it's also a time to thank the American people for their faith, because *Apollo*'s success was made possible by the drive and daring of an entire nation committed to a dream.

In the building behind me are the testaments to *Apollo* and to what came before—the chariots of fire flown by Armstrong, Yeager, Lindbergh, and the Wrights. And in the National Archives, across the great expanse of grass, are preserved the founding documents of the idea that made it all possible—the world's greatest experiment in freedom and diversity. And here, standing between these twin legacies, is a fitting place to look forward to the future, because the *Apollo* astronauts left more than flags and footprints on the Moon; they also left some unfinished business. For even 20 years ago, we recognized that America's ultimate goal was not simply to go there and go back, but to go there and go on. Mike Collins said it best: "The Moon is not a destination; it's a direction."

And space is the inescapable challenge to all the advanced nations of the Earth. And there's little question that, in the 21st century, humans will again leave their home planet for voyages of discovery and exploration. What was once improbable is now inevitable. The time has come to look beyond brief encounters. We must commit ourselves anew to a sustained program of manned exploration of the solar system and, yes, the permanent settlement of space. We must commit ourselves to a future where Americans and citizens of all nations will live and work in space.

And today, yes, the U.S. is the richest nation on Earth, with the most powerful economy in the world. And our goal is nothing less than to establish the United States as the preeminent spacefaring nation.

From the voyages of Columbus to the Oregon Trail to the journey to the Moon itself: history proves that we have never lost by pressing the limits of our frontiers. Indeed, earlier this month, one news magazine reported that *Apollo* paid down-to-earth dividends, declaring that man's conquest of the Moon "would have been a bargain at twice the price." And they called *Apollo* "the best return on investment since Leonardo da Vinci bought himself a sketch pad." [*Laughter*]

In 1961 it took a crisis—the space race—to speed things up. Today we don't have a crisis; we have an opportunity. To seize this opportunity, I'm not proposing a 10-year plan like *Apollo*; I'm proposing a long-range, continuing commitment. First, for the coming decade, for the 1990's: Space Station *Freedom*, our critical next step in all our space endeavors. And next, for the new century: Back to the Moon; back to the future. And this time, back to stay. And then a journey into tomorrow, a journey to another planet: a manned mission to Mars.

Each mission should and will lay the groundwork for the next. And the pathway to the stars begins, as it did 20 years ago, with you, the American people. And it continues just up the street there, to the United States Congress, where the future of the space station and our future as a spacefaring nation will be decided.

And, yes, we're at a crossroads. Hard decisions must be made now as we prepare to enter the next century. As William Jennings Bryan said, just before the last turn of the century: "Destiny is not a matter of chance; it is a matter of choice. It is not a thing to be waited for; it is a thing to be achieved."

And to those who may shirk from the challenges ahead, or who doubt our chances of success, let me say this: To this day, the only footprints on the Moon are American footprints. The only flag on the Moon is an American flag. And the know-how that accomplished these feats is American know-how. What Americans dream, Americans can do. And 10 years from now, on the 30th anniversary of this extraordinary and astonishing flight, the way to honor the *Apollo* astronauts is not by calling them back to Washington for another round of tributes. It is to have Space Station *Freedom* up there, operational, and underway, a new bridge between the worlds and an investment in the growth, prosperity, and technological superiority of our nation. And the space station will also serve as a stepping stone to the most important planet in the solar system: planet Earth.

As I said in Europe just a few days ago, environmental destruction knows no borders. A major national and international initiative is needed to seek new solutions for ozone depletion and global warming and acid rain. And this initiative, "Mission to Planet Earth," is a critical part of our space program. And it reminds us of what the astronauts remember as the most stirring sight of all. It wasn't the Moon or the stars, as I remember. It was the Earth—tiny, fragile, precious, blue orb—rising above the arid desert of Tranquility Base.

The space station is a first and necessary step for sustained manned exploration, one that we're pleased has been endorsed by Senator Glenn, and Neil Armstrong, and so many of the veteran astronauts we honor today. But it's only a first step. And today I'm asking my right-hand man, our able Vice President, Dan Quayle, to lead the National Space Council in determining specifically what's needed for the next round of exploration: the necessary money, manpower, and materials; the feasibility of international cooperation; and develop realistic timetables—milestones—along the way. The Space Council will report back to me as soon as possible with concrete recommendations to chart a new and continuing course to the Moon and Mars and beyond.

There are many reasons to explore the universe, but 10 very special reasons why America must never stop seeking distant frontiers: the 10 courageous astronauts who made the ultimate sacrifice to further the cause of space exploration. They have taken their place in the heavens so that America can take its place in the stars.

Like them, and like Columbus, we dream of distant shores we've not yet seen. Why the Moon? Why Mars? Because it is humanity's destiny to strive, to seek, to find. And because it is America's destiny to lead.

Six years ago, *Pioneer 10* sailed beyond the orbits of Neptune and of Pluto—the first manmade object to leave the solar system, its destination unknown. It's now journeyed through the tenures of five Presidents—4 billion miles from Earth. In the decades ahead, we will follow the path of *Pioneer 10.* We will travel to neighboring stars, to new worlds, to discover the unknown. And it will not happen in my lifetime, and probably not during the lives of my children, but a dream to be realized by future generations must begin with this generation. We cannot take the next giant leap for mankind tomorrow unless we take a single step today.

To all of you here, our able director of NASA and others who've served so well—to all of you here, and especially the astronauts: We wish you good luck in your quests, wherever that may take you. Godspeed to you, one and all, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. on the steps of the National Air and Space Museum. In his closing remarks, he referred to Richard H. Truly, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Prior to his remarks, the President viewed the "Apollo 11" lunar module in the museum. Following his remarks, he participated in the unveiling of a stamp commemorating the "Apollo 11" mission.

Remarks at a White House Barbecue on the 20th Anniversary of the *Apollo 11* Moon Landing

July 20, 1989

America's astronauts and spouses, friends in the United States Congress, NASA officials, and other honored guests: I say welcome—but for most of you, welcome back to the White House. Barbara and I are delighted that you've joined us for this important anniversary. Planning the picnic was a little hectic. We didn't know whether you preferred hamburgers grilled or served out of a tube. But, nevertheless—[*laughter*]—and also, thanks for coming to the commemoration there, earlier on at the Air and Space Museum. I liked what I heard from our famous lunar astronauts. It's a pleasure, indeed, to welcome the present administrators at NASA and those who served so admirably in the past, running that fantastic organization.

All of you here, in one way or another, have had important roles in supporting the space program. And that support comes from many corners. Many of you have seen those wonderful Ad Council spots that highlight how space technology benefits all humanity. And I'd like to take a moment to recognize someone here who has contributed her time and talent to this campaign. We call her America's leading lady, and that is Helen Hayes, who is there somewhere—right here. Helen, would you—we are so grateful to her. And she's found the only cool place on the lawn, too. [*Laughter*]

As you might expect from a former Navy pilot who lived much of his adult life in Houston, I, too, am a longtime supporter of the space program and the fine work of the men and women gathered here. In our administration's first budget proposal, the largest single percentage increase is for the space agency. And thanks to you and your colleagues at NASA, 20 years after *Apollo 11*, we still live in a world that is alive with wonder. Two weeks ago, *Voyager 2* discovered a new moon around Neptune. And we're still getting acquainted with neighborhoods that we didn't even know about.

On the way back from the Moon, Buzz Aldrin spoke of the never-ending wonder of space. "This has been far more than three men on a voyage to the Moon," he said. "This stands as a symbol of the insatiable curiosity of all mankind to explore the unknown." And I might add, that voyage, like the efforts that came before and the efforts that have come since, is also a symbol of all the men and women of unique talent and character who made it possible, a tribute to the commitment, ingenuity, and nerve of tens of thousands of people working all across the Nation. No one knows better than you, those assembled here today, that *Apollo*'s missions to the Moon raised more questions than they answered.

My commitment today to forge ahead with a sustained, manned exploration program, mission by mission—the space station, the Moon, Mars and beyond—is a continuing commitment to ask new questions, to seek new answers, both in the heavens and on Earth.

I am delighted that my able Vice President, our able Vice President, is heading the Space Council. He's a young man, knows how to dream still, knows how to plan. And that Space Council is in very able hands.

James Michener was right when he told Congress: "There are moments in history when challenges occur of such a compelling nature that to miss them is to miss the whole meaning of an epoch. Space is such a challenge," he said. Well, today's announcement is our recognition that the challenge was not merely one that belonged in the sixties; it's one that will occupy Americans for generations to come. And the American people have led the way on this. The American people, I'm convinced, want us back in space—and this time, back in space to stay.

Somewhere out there, maybe on the Mall today, maybe listening on a radio somewhere, the Americans who will first walk on Mars are now only children, perhaps your children. And along with our congratulations to all of you, we leave you today with the hope of that day when another President stands with those pioneers and echoes the last words spoken to the departing *Apollo 11*: "Good luck, and Godspeed." And so, once again, thank you for the contributions to the greatness of the United States of America. I'm just delighted you came our way. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:01 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Appointment of Five Members of the National Commission on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

July 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Commission on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

The National Commission on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome was established by Public Law No. 100–607 on November 4, 1988. The Commission has 15 members, 5 of which are appointed by the President. Of these five appointed members, three are the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, and the Secretary of Defense; and the other two are chosen from the general public. The members serve for the life of the Commission. Five members are appointed by the United States Senate and five are appointed by the House of Representatives.

Belinda Ann Mason, of Indiana. This is a new position. Since 1988 Ms. Mason has been president and a member of the board of directors for the National Association of People with AIDS (NAPWA) in Washington, DC. Since 1988 she has served as an AIDS educator and consultant, traveling throughout the country speaking to educational institutions, interest groups, health care professionals, and legislators.

David E. Rogers, of New Jersey. This is a new position. Since 1986 Dr. Rogers has served as the Walsh McDermott university professor of medicine at Cornell University Medical College. Prior to this, he was president of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation in Princeton, NJ.

Richard Cheney, Secretary of the Department of Defense.

Edward Derwinski, Secretary of Veterans Affairs.

Louis Sullivan, Secretary of Health and Human Services.

Statement on the Crash of a United Airlines Jetliner in Sioux City, Iowa

July 20, 1989

Barbara and I extend our deepest sympathy to the families and friends of the victims of Flight 232. Our hearts—indeed, the hearts of all Americans—go out to them in their time of sorrow.

I am sure I speak for many when I commend the extraordinary efforts of the airport personnel, rescue teams, National Guardsmen, and local citizens who rushed to the crash scene to offer aid. The compassion and generosity demonstrated by the entire Sioux City community in the wake of this catastrophe has been overwhelming.

Today we pray for the passengers killed on Flight 232. Let us also ask God to bless their loved ones and those survivors who remain hospitalized. May they find strength and comfort in their faith and in the love of family and friends.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Communications Support for Drug Interdiction

July 20, 1989

Dear ________:

The enclosed report responds to the reporting requirement of Section 1103(b) of the FY 1989 National Defense Authorization Act.

The report focuses on the communications support for drug interdiction and the responsibilities for operating the communications network; provides a description of the funding approach to effect a secure interoperable interagency communications infrastructure to support drug interdiction efforts; highlights the fact that the communications network for drug interdiction is comprised of several communications subsystems and that the components of these subsystems serve a multipurpose function and are not necessarily dedicated for drug interdiction support.

A similar letter is being sent to the Chairman, House Committee on Armed Services, and the Chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Sam Nunn and Les Aspin, chairmen of the Senate and House of Representatives Committees on Armed Services, respectively; and

Robert Byrd and Jamie L. Whitten, chairmen of the Senate and House of Representatives Committees on Appropriations, respectively.

Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating Captive Nations Week

July 21, 1989

Thank you all for coming today to the White House. And I want to welcome you to the White House and to an occasion, Captive Nations Week, marked by sadness, but blessed by hope. And today we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of nations, and peoples as well, whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree." Well, I have just returned, hopeful and encouraged, from visits to Poland and Hungary, two nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away; freedom is in the air.

For 40 years, Poland and Hungary endured what's been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model—in short, one future, prescribed by an alien ideology. But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to nations, self-determination. And yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to despair. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

And 10 days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion, and filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom fighter who believed in that democracy which linked the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world. Lajos Kossuth arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had temporarily been lost. And yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality.

The heroism of such patriots inspires us and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week, the spirit which says that freedom around the world is not divisible, and which lives in the brave immigrants from captive nations who are beside me: Polito Grau de Aguero, for instance, a political prisoner in Cuba before fleeing to America, or Haing Ngor, who fled Cambodia after the Holocaust and won an Academy Award for his role in "The Killing Fields." These seven people are heroes, for they have shown the power of courage and free expression.

And last week, I saw how the peoples of Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future, casting rays of light on other nations that are not as fortunate. For within these nations, men and women are standing up for the cause of liberty often at enormous cost, a cause the Czech writer Václav Havel once called the "living in truth."

This truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week, for it dictates that liberty be political and economic, religious and intellectual. "Living in truth" suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a nation and for its people, and that the individual, not the state, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in Africa, where liberty lights those nations moving away from state socialism with new success. The hated system of apartheid is on the defensive. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people, and a complete and verified Vietnamese withdrawal with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge. And today the light of liberty is illuminating the face of Eastern and central Europe and reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. Such openness prompted the barbed wire fence between Austria and Hungary to be dismantled. And the portion I received—sitting right here—the portion I received as a gift is now on display, and I'd love to have you all take a look at it after this. And a spirit of renewal lights the Baltic States—Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia—striving to recapture their national history.

These nations know, as we know, that that tide is moving toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets and boundaries, freeing hearts, freeing minds.

And therefore, to nations of Eastern and central Europe striving to reclaim their national heritage, we say: America stands with you. And to the peoples of China and Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua, striving for freedom, we say: America stands with you. And to the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes and forced to flee across the border, we say: America stands with you. Indeed, to all nations, America proclaims that the truth cannot forever be intimidated by force. For history shows and the human will proclaims that liberty can light the darkest night.

Last Tuesday thousands filled the streets in Gdansk—peacefully, movingly—to honor the spirit of Solidarity. But their presence did more. It expressed the belief that democracy underscores the dignity of man. Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others, has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in freedom's past and hope in its tomorrow. As Poles—cheering, many crying—flanked our motorcade, Lech Walesa turned to me and said simply, "This is fantastic." And he was moved and stirred by the wonder of the moment and the crowds that came out to pay their respects to the freedom that the United States of America epitomizes.

And in coming years, that wonder can uplift the world—in Prague and Kabul, Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius—in the hopes and dreams of people who believe in an open and peaceful world, and who have endured much, and who will survive everything, through the triumph of the heart.

To love freedom, to overcome oppression—this is their spirit and the meaning of Captive Nations Week. We love them, and we are with them, for we will never waiver nor surrender. And so, together, let us raise what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty," the star that can help all captive peoples know the dignity that sets men free.

Thank you for your participation in this wonderful occasion. I'll never forget it. And God bless you, and thanks for coming to the White House. And God bless the United States of America, and all that we stand for. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Remarks on Transmitting to the Congress Proposed Legislation To Amend the Clean Air Act

July 21, 1989

Welcome to the steamy Rose Garden, Mr. Speaker and distinguished Members of the Congress.

Something that was truly striking during my recent travels in Europe was this genuine excitement and enthusiasm spreading about the environmental issues. And the economic summit in Paris was largely devoted to the environment and what it means for the quality of life on our planet. Our neighbors abroad feel a sense of shared commitment. They're cooperating to find solutions, and we're working very closely with them.

Around the world, in efforts to clean up the environment, we, the United States of America, are taking the lead. And the next step now is congressional action. And let me make one thing very, very clear: Clean air is too important to be a partisan issue. Anyone who allows political bickering to weaken our progress against pollution does a tragic disservice to every city in America and to every American in this country who wants and deserves clean air. And we've worked very hard on both sides of the aisle to craft a proposal that, for the first time in two decades, makes new progress for clean air.

The Clean Air Act that I'm sending to Congress today has been made possible thanks to the outstanding efforts and the bipartisan support of Republicans and Democrats alike. Protecting the world's shared natural heritage must be a global, universal priority. Just as environmental problems respect no borders, our solutions must transcend political boundaries. And that's why we're here today, and that's why this legislation is such good news: It brings us one step closer towards clean air.

The reforms we're proposing to the Clean Air Act represent thousands of hours of careful analysis, negotiation, and cooperation. And the right questions have been asked, and together, we are finding the right answers. To make the Clean Air Act effective, you all know the great range of concerns that have to be balanced. Economic growth and job creation, environmental protection, mobility, unfettered commerce are all priorities that have to be considered; and they have been in our work here. In drafting this legislation, we've reached out. We've heard from groups all across the spectrum, and we've listened to, appreciated, and certainly benefited from their comments. Environmentalists, industry leaders, Members of Congress, experts from the science and academic area—leaders from every quarter have all shown the wisdom and will to make clean air the birthright of every American.

I am pleased and proud to see that many of you have decided to cosponsor this bill. and I can't thank you all enough, because clean air, once again, is a bipartisan issue. I've requested Senators Burdick and Chafee and Congressmen Dingell and Lent—Norm—to be the bill's prime sponsors, and if this bill becomes law, all of you will have earned the gratitude and respect of generations to come.

This piece of legislation will see to it that every American, in every city in America, will breathe clean air. It will stop the degradation that's been caused by acid rain by the end of this century. And it will cut airborne toxic chemicals from major sources by at least 75 percent.

Those are the goals that I outlined back in June. But the bill does more than set bold objectives. It meets those goals in economically efficient ways—tapping the power of the marketplace, encouraging flexibility, calling on American ingenuity in areas like alternative fuels, and relying on the talents and insights of those affected to find the solutions. This bill matches the letter and the spirit of my speech and the fact sheet on June 12th. And while I'll leave you to read the legislation, there are a few specifics that I want to just briefly touch on here.

First, this is one of the most aggressive pieces of environmental legislation competing on the Hill. It will, for example, reduce sulfur dioxide emissions by 2 million tons more than the most popular acid rain bill currently in the House.

And second, for the reductions in airborne toxic chemicals we seek, this legislation calls for some very tough standards. New sources must do more than match existing average-control technology. They must be as good as the best. Our regulations will ensure that every industrial plant in the country has the best available control technologies that we know of in practice.

And third, we've proposed a streamlined permit system for all of the Clean Air Act's requirements to ensure that each source meets all applicable limits for air toxics, smog, and acid rain.

And finally, this legislation has teeth. It provides tough sanctions for cities that don't make reasonable efforts and significant progress. And to deter future crimes against the air we breathe, any individuals who willfully violate the Clean Air Act will face felony-level criminal sanctions—that will be carefully, definitively applied, however. This bill makes sure that the polluters will pay.

And it's time to break the gridlock on this issue. It is time to cooperate for clean air by passing a new Clean Air Act this year. Bill Reilly, our able [Environmental Protection Agency] Administrator, and trusted Secretary of Energy Jim Watkins and I will work closely with you Members on the Hill to make clean air the law of this land. Americans deserve it. I am absolutely convinced that this Congress can achieve it.

And thank you all for coming down here today. And now we'll formalize this by one signature, and thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:02 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation To Amend the Clean Air Act

July 21, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

Today I am pleased to transmit proposed legislation entitled the "Clean Air Act Amendments of 1989." This proposal reflects the first major clean air legislation proposed by the executive branch in a decade. It is designed to achieve consensus by complementing the important efforts of the Congress in recent years, so that we can move forward this year with a plan to protect our Nation's air.

On June 12, 1989, I outlined the highlights of my program to provide clean air for all Americans, the first sweeping revisions to the Clean Air Act since 1977. This legislation implements that program. While emissions of some pollutants—such as lead and carbon monoxide—have been reduced since the Clean Air Act was passed in 1970, progress has not come quickly enough and much remains to be done.

My proposal is designed to curb three major threats: acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions. The seven-title proposal I am sending you today represents the actions that we believe the Congress should take in each of these areas. If this legislation is enacted, acid rain-related pollutants will be reduced by nearly one-half, all urban areas in the country will finally attain national air quality standards, and emissions of toxic air pollutants will be slashed.

My acid rain proposal would permanently cut sulfur dioxide (SO_2) emissions by 10 million tons from 1980 levels and would result in a 2 million ton cut in nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions from levels projected by the year 2000. All cities currently not meeting the health standards for ozone and carbon monoxide would be brought into attainment. Most cities would attain the standard by 1995, and the plan is designed to ensure attainment in all but the most severely impacted cities by the year 2000. New plants emitting toxic compounds into the air would be required to employ the best technology currently available so as to achieve a significant cut in pollutants suspected of causing cancer.

More important, this proposed legislation makes deep, early cuts in air pollution and continues that progress forward into the 21st century. During my campaign I promised the American people that my Administration would work to protect the environment and to ensure clean air for all Americans. Enactment of the proposal I present to you today will be a major step in fulfilling that promise. I urge these important proposals be promptly considered and enacted. We owe the people of our great Nation nothing less.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
July 21, 1989.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Proposed Increase in Federal Disability Benefits

July 21, 1989

The President has said that he wants Federal programs to promote self-sufficiency for disabled persons and reduce barriers to employment, and that Federal programs should not perpetuate dependency.

We are today taking an important step in this direction through a regulation being proposed by Secretary Sullivan. Effective January 1990, this regulation would increase by two-thirds the amount an individual can earn and still receive benefits from the Federal Government's disability insurance and supplemental security income programs. This increase—from $300 to $500 per month—will provide an incentive for the 5.2 million workers on the disability rolls to take significant steps toward work and economic independence.

White House Fact Sheet on the Proposed Increase in Federal Disability Benefits

July 21, 1989

The "Substantial Gainful Activity" (SGA) Concept

The Social Security Act defines disability as the "inability to engage in any substantial gainful activity by reason of any medically determinable physical or mental impairment which can be expected to result in death or which has lasted or can be expected to last for a continuous period of not less than twelve months." Meeting this definition is the prerequisite for disabled persons to become eligible for the Federal Government's two largest programs offering cash assistance to the disabled, Social Security Disability Insurance (DI) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI).

The Secretary of Health and Human Services has set the "substantial gainful activity" (SGA) level for nonblind persons at $300 in earnings per month. Under the proposed regulation announced today, that amount will increase to $500 per month. (The level for blind persons is set by law, and is currently $740 per month and will not be affected by the regulation.)

The proposed regulation also affects the "trial work period" (TWP). Presently, if a DI recipient returns to work and earns more than $75 per month or exceeds 15 hours of self-employment, the individual enters a TWP. Under the proposed regulation, the levels that trigger entry into the TWP would rise to $200 or 40 hours.

In the DI program, if a disabled person begins to work, benefits continue during a 9-month trial work period (TWP), a 3-month grace period, and then during any months in a 36-month reentitlement period in which earnings fall below the SGA amount. The 3-month grace period begins whenever an individual has accumulated 9 months of trial work.

In the SSI program, a disabled recipient has his or her payment reduced $1 for each $2 in earnings beyond $65 per month. At the point where earnings reach the SGA level, benefits are continued under certain circumstances under the "1619 program," named for the section of the Social Security Act that established it.

Numbers Affected, Costs, Populations

The increased SGA amounts are expected to allow up to 71,000 individuals to retain or regain SSI or DI benefits. FY '90 costs will be $60 million, rising to $197 million per year in FY '94, for a 5-year total of $699 million.

DI pays benefits to 2.83 million workers and 1.24 million husbands, wives, and children of disabled workers. SSI makes payments to 3.03 million blind and disabled individuals, of whom 573,000 are age 65 or older.

DI makes payments to individuals insured under Social Security who have not reached the minimum age for old age benefits, regardless of income. SSI is a means-tested program.

Nomination of Charles Warren Hostler To Be United States Ambassador to Bahrain
July 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles Warren Hostler to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Bahrain. He would succeed Sam H. Zakhem.

Since 1977 Dr. Hostler has been president of the Hostler Investment Co. and Pacific Southwest Capital Corp. in San Diego, CA. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Commerce at the Department of Commerce, 1974–1976; regional vice president of E-Systems Inc. for the Middle East and Africa in Dallas, TX, 1976–1977; and president of Hostler Investment Co. in Newport Beach, CA, 1969–1974. He also served as manager at McDonnell Douglas Corp. for international marketing for missiles and space, 1967–1969; and manager for the Middle East at Douglas Aircraft Co. international sales in Beirut, Lebanon, 1965–1967.

Dr. Hostler graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles (B.A., 1942), Georgetown University (M.A., 1955), American University at Beirut, Lebanon (M.A., 1952), and Georgetown University (Ph.D., 1956). He was born December 12, 1919, in Chicago, IL. He served in the U.S. Air Force, 1942-1963. He is married, has one child, and resides in San Diego, CA.

Nomination of Gordon K. Durnil To Be a Commissioner on the International Joint Commission--United States and Canada
July 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gordon K. Durnil to be a Commissioner on the part of the United States on the International Joint Commission—United States and Canada. He would succeed Robert C. McEwen.

Mr. Durnil has served as the State chairman of the Indiana Republican Party 1981–1989. He has served in the fields of sales, small business management, government, and the general practice of law.

Mr. Durnil graduated from Indiana University School of Business with a bachelor of science degree and Indiana University School of Law with a doctor of jurisprudence. He was born February 20, 1936, in Indianapolis, IN. He is married, has two children, and resides in Indianapolis, IN.

Nomination of J. Clarence Davies To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency
July 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Clarence Davies to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (Policy and Evaluation). He would succeed Linda J. Fisher.

Since 1976 Dr. Davies has been executive vice president for the Conservation Foundation in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was a fellow for Resources for the Future, Inc., 1973–1976. He was a senior staff member for the Council on Environmental Quality, Executive Office of the President, 1970–1973. Dr. Davies has served as an assistant professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University, 1967–1970; and chief examiner for environmental and consumer protection in the Bureau of the Budget in the Executive Office of the President, 1965–1967.

Dr. Davies graduated from Dartmouth College (B.A., 1959) and Columbia University (Ph.D., 1965). He was born November 16, 1937, in New York, NY, and currently resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Mark Gregory Hambley To Be United States Ambassador to Qatar
July 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mark Gregory Hambley to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Qatar. He would succeed Joseph Ghougassian.

Since 1986, Mr. Hambley has been counsul general in Alexandria, Egypt. Since joining the Department of State in 1971, Mr. Hambley has served at posts in Vietnam, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Tunisia, and Libya. He is a recipient of the Department of State's Meritorious Honor Award in 1976 and 1979. In 1982, he received the Director General's Award for Reporting. In 1985, he was elected as a participant in the Una Chapman Cox sabbatical leave program.

Mr. Hambley graduated from American University (B.A., 1969), attended American University in Beirut, 1967–1968, and received an M.I.A. degree from Columbia University. He was born February 12, 1948, in Boise, ID, and is married.

Nomination of David C. Williams To Be Inspector General of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission
July 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate David C. Williams to be Inspector General, Nuclear Regulatory Commission. This is a new position.

Since 1986 Mr. Williams has been Director of the Office of Special Investigations, General Accounting Office, in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Director of Operations in the Office of Labor Racketeering at the Department of Labor, 1984–1986. He was supervisory staff investigator for the President's Commission on Organized Crime, 1983–1984; special agent-in-charge in the Office of Labor Racketeering at the

Department of Labor in New York, NY, and Cleveland, OH; and a supervisory special agent in Chicago, IL, 1979–1984. He was a special agent for the U.S. Secret Service in Chicago, IL, 1975–1979.

Mr. Williams graduated from Southern Illinois University with a bachelor of science and the University of Illinois with a masters in education. He was born January 7, 1947, and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Remarks on the Defense Budget and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters

July 24, 1989

The President. I just wanted to just briefly say that—as we begin the critical debate—that I strongly support what we've sent up there to the Hill. SDI, in my view, is critical. It's critically important. We've got a good program there, and I think it's essential that it go forward. There's been a lot of discussion about the B–2, but it is a revolutionary plane with revolutionary technology, and again, I would strongly urge your support for that. I know there's been some debate on the two missiles—the rail garrison peacekeeper and the small ICBM—but we need the utmost flexibility in terms of arms control. And then, of course, there's the survivability itself—that's very important. And so, I want to urge full support for that one.

So, this is a complicated, expensive program. I salute our Secretary of Defense, who's made some important cuts in the defense budget that have not been easy. But I wanted to strongly urge the support from this most prestigious committee and the leaders around this table for the full program.

And I'd be glad to take just one or two questions——

Q. Mr. President, how can you justify——

The President. ——and then we're going to go on about our business here.

Q. How can you justify spending $70 billion on a plane when we have infant mortality rising, when the infrastructure in this country shows a serious breakdown on the social needs, the homeless, and so forth?

The President. I justify it because I think the prime responsibility of a President is the national security of the United States, and I'm determined to put forth a program that is sound in every way. And that's how I justify it. And I also justify it because, when you look at the full defense program, I want to have maximum flexibility as we have arms control negotiations.

Felix Bloch Espionage Investigation

Q. Mr. President, do you have any reaction to the espionage case against Mr. Bloch?

The President. Yes. Yes, I do. [*Laughter*]

Q. What is it?

The President. No, I think anytime there's allegations of this nature, it is most serious. And anytime the person is a potential—I want to be careful because this matter is being investigated—or allegedly involved in something like betraying his country, that, to me, is a very serious matter. And it will be thoroughly investigated, and I'll have nothing else to say about it until the facts are known. But I've known about this matter for some time, and the minute I heard about it, I was aggrieved because it is a very tragic thing, should these allegations be true.

Q. Mr. President, if it does turn out to be true, what does it portend for U.S.-Soviet relations?

The President. It doesn't help any, and it doesn't—I think everybody around this table knows that espionage goes on. And I don't think it helps when you have high-visibility cases. But I think, regrettably, it says more—if it's true—about an individual who is alleged to have passed secrets to the Soviets, which is very bad.

Q. Have you heard that it goes back to the seventies?

The President. Well, I'm not going to, as I say, go into the details on it because I think, even in matters of this nature, everybody is entitled to a full and fair hearing.

One more, and then I've got to run.

Q. You said, Mr. President, that you've known about this for some time.

The President. Two more, and then I've got to run. What?

Q. You said you've known about this for some time. Did the disclosure of it on the TV news on Friday compromise the investigation in any way?

The President. I don't know the answer to that question. I haven't talked, since I've gotten back here this morning, to the people conducting the investigation.

Ann [Ann Devroy, Washington Post], last one.

Q. Have you any gauge of how seriously American security was hurt by this?

The President. Not yet.

Q. Do we know at this point what type or level of——

The President. I don't think anyone could give you a full damage assessment at this point.

Q. Why hasn't he been arrested?

The President. The investigation is going on. And these are very serious matters, and a thorough investigation takes a good deal of time.

Thank you all very much.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. ——going to win the capital gains tax cut?

The President. Stay tuned.

Note: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with Members of the Senate. Felix S. Bloch was a State Department official suspected of espionage.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Take Pride in America Awards

July 24, 1989

Please be seated, if there are chairs out there. For those who have no chairs, eat your heart out. It's warm. [*Laughter*] Let me first thank Lee Greenwood and the Moodys for being with us today, and salute all you distinguished guests and the award recipients, fellow citizens of what a child once called the nearest thing to heaven, this America—lots of sunshine, lots of places to swim, and peanut butter sandwiches.

I want to welcome you to the White House and to a city which takes pride in its contrariness. Only in Washington could they call the office that manages the great outdoors the Department of the Interior. [*Laughter*] And in particular, I want to thank the man who superbly leads that Department, Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan; and also Secretary Derwinski, the head of our Veterans Administration; and then I saw our able Peace Corps Director over here, Paul Coverdell—but most of all, each of you who've taken pride in America and whom we take pride in saluting now.

Last month we celebrated the volunteer spirit, which is as timeless as America and as timely as today. For by launching the Points of Light Initiative, we sounded a nationwide call for each American to engage in community service. Well, this afternoon we renew that call in the cause of conserving our national and cultural resources and of enshrining our parks, forests, wildlife, waters, and monuments. For the great outdoors is precious, but fragile. To preserve it, we must protect it.

And now, as you may know, I, too, love the outdoors—always have. Love to hunt and hike and go fishing in the Keys or out West. And you can just ask the honorary chairman of Take Pride in America, Barbara Bush. She might feel that she's a fishing widow at times, but she, too, loves to fish. And in fact, she's the only person I know who can read and fish at the same time. [*Laughter*] You might call it reading between the lines. [*Laughter*] I knew that was risky.

You know something? Among our greatest joys has been exploring the outdoors with our kids and our grandchildren, and seeing the Grand Tetons through the eyes of a 13-year-old grandson, or teaching George's twins, Jenna and Barbara, 6 years old, about the mysteries of the ocean. For it's at times like these, seeing the wonder in their eyes, that we are overwhelmed by nature—when we realize, more than ever, that our children will, indeed, inherit the Earth.

And today, it is for them, America's children, that we've gathered here, for we know that our pride in America is central to their future in America. And that future demands that anyone concerned about America's quality of life must be concerned about conservation. For America can only be as beautiful as her people are vigilant.

You know that, and so did one of my favorite Presidents. Over the years, I've often talked about Theodore Roosevelt, a vital man, a visionary, and one of America's great conservationists. It was Teddy who called our lands and wildlife "the property of unborn generations." And he had this to say about America's redwoods and sequoias: They "should be kept as we keep a great and beautiful cathedral."

Well, that's where you come in, the winners of the Take Pride in America Awards. Two years ago when I hosted the first Take Pride ceremony out at the National Arboretum, there were only 38 top winners. You know this year's number? One hundred and four. And let's not forget the other thousands of program participants in 48 States: military and Peace Corps volunteers and veterans, 11 agencies of the Federal Government, churches and businesses, inner-city groups and garden clubs, groups and individuals—volunteers all.

I think, for example, of how in Page, Arizona, volunteers rally every year to clean up the nearby Glen Canyon Recreation Area and Navajo Reservation. Or—how's this for a tongue twister?—in Craig, Colorado, the High Country Cactus Kickers preserve archaeological sites. In Lilburn, Georgia, 12-year-old Vanessa Cline is passing out Pride in America brochures to "each person around my neighborhood," she says. "I want people to get the message." And in Kansas City, that message has moved Phillip Mendenhall and his best friend, Nathaniel Riley, both 11 years old, to start a conservation club. "We formed it," Phillip writes, "because we wanted to help our public lands."

Today, across America, millions of kids of every age have gotten the message: protecting and preserving America's cathedral of the outdoors. And they're restocking our forests and wildlife refuges and helping from campgrounds to playgrounds. And in rural and urban areas, where the environmental ethic and personal commitment are restoring the purity of our air and our waters and the beauty of our land—for that, I thank you. I thank you for protecting the bounty of America, our soils, lakes, and forests, its teeming fisheries and mineral reserves. And yet I also challenge you—challenge you not to rest but to move onward, always upward, preserving the splendor of America.

I began with a fishing reference, so, not surprisingly, I'd like to close with one. It concerns Mark Twain, who loved to brag about his fishing exploits. He once spent 3 weeks fishing in the Maine woods, ignoring the fact that the State's fishing season had closed. He had a great catch and, like all fishermen, couldn't wait to find someone to tell all about it. On the train back to New York, Twain got relaxing in the club car, and it was there that he came upon a stranger. And as he began to describe his catch, this stranger appeared at first unresponsive, then positively grim. "By the way, who are you, sir?" Mark Twain wondered. And the stranger answered, "I'm the State game warden. And who are you?" [*Laughter*] And with that, America's greatest writer nearly swallowed his cigar. "Well, to be perfectly truthful, sir, I'm the biggest liar in the United States of America.' [*Laughter*] Well, Mark Twain loved to brag, but then, he had much to brag about. And so do you, for you are helping to reclaim and recover America's precious environment for our posterity and for our children.

More than 130 years ago the poet Walt Whitman said, "I hear America singing."

And perhaps he was talking about Big Hole River in Montana or Pelican Island in Florida or treasures from Big Sur in California to the rocky coast of Maine. And today each of you is helping America sing, through your caring and your sacrifice and through deeds that are making America a more pristine and glorious place.

To every award recipient, my heartfelt congratulations. And let me leave you with these familiar words of Irving Berlin: "From the mountains, to the prairies, to the oceans white with foam, God bless America, my home, sweet home." God bless you all, and thank you for taking pride in this country and enriching the beauty of this great, good, and beloved home, the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to country music entertainers Lee Greenwood and the Moodys.

Memorandum on Adoption
July 24, 1989

Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies

Subject: Administration Support for the Adoption Option

The foundation of our nation is the American family, protector of our most valuable yet vulnerable resource—our children. Sadly, thousands of American children do not have a family to call their own. They are children who may have been abandoned, neglected or abused, who have seen their childhood unfairly snatched away. We can give them back their childhood, simply by finding them a permanent adoptive family. This, I believe, is an effort worthy of our greatest commitment.

Everyone wins in adoption. It is time for the leaders of the Federal workforce to ensure that our government is pro-adoption. Adoption works—for children who need homes, for people hoping to become parents, and for women facing a crisis pregnancy.

As the leaders of the Federal civilian and military labor force, we have the opportunity to positively affect the lives of Federal employees and to provide leadership for our entire nation. I am directing you and your staff to consider ways to provide such leadership to advance the adoption alternative.

Adoption can help to address some of our more pressing issues: teenage pregnancy, foster care, infertility, and welfare dependency. Most importantly, adoption provides a home and love to children who may have neither.

Consider just a few facts:

- An estimated 15 percent of American couples of reproductive age are infertile.
- About 60,000 children are adopted every year in this country. Of these, 10,000 come from foreign countries.
- Right now, nearly 30,000 American children are legally available for adoption. Some of them are school-age, some are physically or emotionally handicapped, some are members of sibling groups that need to be placed in the same home, and some are minority children.
- Each year nearly 25,000 American babies are given life and the chance to be loved when their mothers choose adoption over abortion or unwanted parenthood, yet the opportunity to consider adoption is often denied to pregnant women. I am told that as much as 40 percent of pregnancy counseling does not even mention adoption.

I have instructed my Domestic Policy Council to develop a Presidential adoption initiative, and that process is well under way. To complement this effort, I am asking you to develop methods for supporting the adoption plans and needs of your employees and for promoting adoption among your workforce. Here are just a few ideas:

- Use agency resources for employees who are considering adopting, who have adopted children, or who have a family member facing a crisis pregnancy. Employee Assistance Programs (EAPs) may be the most appropriate resource.
- Begin planning now for agency-wide celebration and observance of National Adoption Week (Thanksgiving Week). Your agency's focus could be upon local children in need of adoptive homes.
- Ensure that all employee supervisors are as flexible as possible regarding the adoption-related leave needs of employees. This might include incremental (hourly) leave needed to meet with adoption agency personnel or longer periods of leave to care for a newly adopted child.
- Feature adoption articles in agency newsletters. These might include stories about employees who have adopted special needs children, infants, or children from other countries, as well as a regular column picturing a local waiting child.

I have instructed both the Department of Health and Human Services and the Office of Personnel Management to work with you in implementing these and other ideas.

A commitment to adoption is one we can all share. With just a small effort, we can help our own employees and, just as importantly, we can provide national leadership in support of adoption. Finding loving homes for waiting children is reward enough.

GEORGE BUSH

Nomination of Michael P.W. Stone To Be Secretary of the Army

July 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Michael P.W. Stone to be Secretary of the Army. He would succeed John O. Marsh, Jr.

Since 1988 Mr. Stone has served as the Under Secretary of the Army. Prior to this he was Assistant Secretary of the Army for Financial Management, 1986–1988. From 1982 to 1984, he served in several capacities for the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), including Mission Director in Cairo, Egypt, 1982–1984, and Director of Caribbean Basin Initiative Affairs, 1984. Mr. Stone was president and director of Sterling Vineyards in Napa Valley, CA, 1964–1982, and vice president, director, co-owner, and president of subsidiaries of Sterling International, 1960–1977. He also served as assistant to the president of Utah International Co. in San Francisco, 1957–1959, and as an associate with McKinsey and Co., 1954–1957. He was president of Howard Rotavator Co. of Arlington Heights, IL, 1950–1954.

Mr. Stone graduated from Yale University with a bachelor's degree in 1948. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1943–1946. He was born June 2, 1925, in London, England. He is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Continuation of Edward S.G. Dennis, Jr., as an Assistant Attorney General

July 24, 1989

The President today announced that Edward S.G. Dennis, Jr., will continue to serve as an Assistant Attorney General (Criminal Division).

Since 1983 Mr. Dennis was a U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Prior to this, he served as chief of the narcotic and dangerous drug section in the Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, 1980–1983; Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Honorable Peter F. Vaira, 1975–1980; and as law clerk in the U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1973–1975.

Mr. Dennis graduated from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy (B.S., 1967) and the University of Pennsylvania Law School (J.D., 1973). He was born January 24, 1945, in Salisbury, MD. He is married and resides in Media, PA.

Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Participants in the Job Training Partnership Program

July 25, 1989

Thank you, Elizabeth. Thank you all. Senators, thank you four for being with us today. Well, Senator Dole, thank you very much, and ladies and gentlemen—[*laughter*]—did I say Senator? [*Laughter*] Freudian slip. [*Laughter*] It's a good chance to thank Senator Dole for giving us one of the great Secretaries of Labor we've ever had—I'll tell you—permitting her to serve our great country. Somehow, I feel better about the United States Navy, too, Purtillia. I'm glad that you're over there.

Over the past few months, this marvelous Rose Garden has been the site for several ceremonies honoring victorious athletic teams. And today we're focusing on another kind of victory, a victory for all America: reducing youth unemployment. And what, after all, does employment mean? Income, yes, but also pride—pride in self, pride in one's life. And our administration wants to bring this pride to every young person who wants to work. But desire without preparedness is like a sports car without an engine.

Well, since 1983 the Job Training Partnership Act has propelled America's engine, providing education and training for those lacking in basic skills or who are economically disadvantaged. And showing young people like Purtillia—you've just heard that story—how tomorrow can be brighter than today. I thought she did a first-class job. And she told me she was nervous, but you just couldn't tell it at all. She did a wonderful job there.

But already, this program has helped thousands escape dependency. And for that, let me thank our Vice President Dan Quayle, who I know was with some of you all this morning. And as a Senator, he authored and was one of the top leaders in the fight for the JTPA, the most successful job training program in American history. And you can all take pride in JTPA's winning percentage: Over 68 percent of the program graduates have found and held a job.

And I'm here today because I believe deeply in this program and because I want to salute the package of amendments that we've proposed to make the JTPA stronger and better. And these amendments can help give America's youth the skills employers need, youth like the 12 examples that you see with us here today.

And our package focuses on America's at-risk youth. It recognized that there's an urgent need for job training, but more than that, that we must provide basic remedial education, counseling, and—as my Barbara advocates so well—the literacy training that can open horizons and minds. These skills will prepare the kids of today for the jobs of tomorrow and provide not only hope but opportunity for the underprivileged. Our proposal will foster the dignity and the independence that come from work, and help reject ills like drugs and crime and teenage pregnancy that assault the spirit and starve the soul.

Purtillia—she knows what I'm talking

about; she's only 21—22 on Friday, they tell me. And so do the other JTPA award recipients, men like Tony MacKinnon, 23, who graduated from a Job Start program in Buffalo. And today he works for the Erie County Bar Association, giving legal assistance to low-income people. Or women like Amy Logan of Yakima, Washington. In the 10th grade, she dropped out of school, had a baby, got lost in drugs. But through JTPA she got straightened out, found a good job, and will soon begin courses at a local community college. Amy wants to be a juvenile counselor. And you know what? I'll bet her dream comes true.

And today Amy Logan is 18 years old. And when I think of her, I recall how at an age near to that I heard Sir Winston Churchill implore America: "Give us the tools, and we will finish the job." Well, Churchill was asking America for material to help England combat the forces of totalitarianism. And our task is to give kids like Amy and Purtillia and Tony MacKinnon the writing, reading, and reasoning tools to do the job of America.

To achieve that goal, let me say to Governors and mayors: Working together, Federal, State, and local governments can help JTPA overcome the roadblocks to economic opportunity. And to business and labor leaders across America, let me add: We need your help as well. Become involved in your local programs and your local school system. Give that first break, that first job, to a young person, just as someone once gave a break to you.

And last month I announced a Points of Light Initiative which calls on every American to bring this involvement and service to every corner of America, and today I want to renew that call. And in my Inaugural Address, I spoke of the era of the "offered hand" and urged unity in crucial things. Well, today turning young lives around is not a Republican or Democratic issue. It's bipartisan, it's crucial—crucial to the future of our great country.

To prove that point, our amendments have now been introduced in the House and the Senate, and the Senate's going to begin the markup tomorrow. And I want to thank Senators Hatch and Paul Simon and Congressmen Gus Hawkins and Bill Goodling for moving quickly on this package and express America's appreciation for working cooperatively to aid America's at-risk youth.

Almost 90 years ago, one of America's great Presidents saluted the pride that springs from labor. "I wish to preach," he said, "not the life of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of strenuous life." And it was also Teddy Roosevelt who said, "The best prize life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing." So, under our legislation, and with the support of the public and private sectors, we can ensure the well-trained work force that is vital to America's new millennium and ensure that each American has the chance to win the prize of belief in tomorrow and belief in self. These beliefs form the heart of our amendments to the JTPA and of these young people. And so, on their behalf, I now have the pleasure of presenting certificates to these 12 outstanding JTPA participants.

Thank you all for joining us today. God bless the young people of this country and their inheritance. Thank you all very, very much for coming, especially these four Senators who played such a key role in all of this. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:29 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole and program participant Purtillia Bryant.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed Legislation to Amend the Job Training Partnership Act

July 25, 1989

Although the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) has been highly successful (the Nation's most distinguished employment and training program ever), it can be made even better. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole has proposed changes that will maintain the successful cornerstones of the current JTPA program while targeting assistance and training to those least skilled and most disadvantaged.

Enrollment in JTPA will target those most at risk among the disadvantaged. All youth and 50 percent of adult participants will be eligible *only* if they face additional barriers to employment, such as lack of basic skills, illiteracy, homelessness, and teen pregnancy. Youth and adult programs will direct funds to geographic areas with higher numbers of economically disadvantaged persons. A strengthened local partnership will be established between education, the job training system, and other local agencies serving the disadvantaged.

The quality of JTPA services will be enhanced by providing a support system to enable our most disadvantaged citizens to become employable. Services will be individualized and substantially intensified. Participants will be assessed to determine their specific education and training needs, and effective program strategies for helping at-risk youth will be put into practice. Followup support services may be provided for 1 year after graduates enter the labor market.

New provisions to increase accountability will be established. Specific performance standards will be set to evaluate each participant's progress based on the achievement of basic skills.

Five Basic Principles Guide the Job Training Partnership Act Proposal:

1. Maintaining the successful cornerstones of the current JTPA delivery system.

—The highly successful private-public partnership will continue, with private industry councils responsible for planning and oversight of JTPA programs.

—States and local service delivery areas will continue to have the flexibility to design programs tailored to their labor markets.

2. Targeting on youth and adults most at risk of failure in the job market by:

—Focusing on those most at risk among the disadvantaged. In addition to being economically disadvantaged, as required by the current law, all youth and half of adults will be enrolled only if they face additional barriers to employment, such as being basic skills deficient, having a poor school record, being a teen parent or homeless.

—Authorizing a new challenge grant program to stimulate communitywide action targeted on youth in our country's most problem-ridden inner city neighborhoods and poor rural areas.

—Creating new youth and adult programs, with separate formulas to direct funds to areas with large numbers of economically disadvantaged youth and adults.

3. Achieving a comprehensive, coordinated human resource program.

—New State linkage and coordination grants will promote institutional change and leverage resources from other programs to better serve economically disadvantaged youth and adults. These grants will be awarded only to States that are willing to bring funds and systems to bear on achieving measurable goals, such as increasing high school completion rates.

—A strengthened local partnership will be established between education, the job training system, and other local agencies who serve the disadvantaged.

4. Enhancing program quality.

—JTPA services will be individualized and substantially intensified.

—Participants must be assessed to determine the services they want and need.

—Local JTPA programs will be encouraged to invest in program strategies and practices that are known to be effective in helping at-risk youth and experiment with new approaches as well.

—Followup will be available for a year after a participant enters the labor market.

—Youth will participate in year-round programs, and summer work experience will be available only to youth in those programs.

—Support services will be enhanced to ensure participants can successfully complete training.

5. Increasing accountability.
—Basic skills achievement will be an important part of performance standards for youth and adults.
—Local programs will establish achievement objectives for participants in the program.

Note: This is an excerpt of a White House fact sheet released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Statement on the Steel Trade Liberalization Program
July 25, 1989

Today I am establishing a Steel Trade Liberalization Program that will extend for 2½ years the voluntary restraint arrangements (VRA's) that limit steel imports into the United States. I am taking this step to permit the negotiation of an international consensus to remove unfair trade practices and to provide more time for the industry to adjust and modernize. This Steel Trade Liberalization Program is designed to restore free-market forces to, and end government interference in, global trade in steel. I am directing U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills to oversee implementation of the program.

Ambassador Hills will negotiate a 2½-year transitional extension of the restraints that currently limit steel imports from VRA countries to 18.4 percent of the U.S. market. The extension will cover all major product categories. During this transition to an open market, the ceiling on imports from VRA countries will be increased at an annual rate of 1 percentage point. To support our efforts to achieve an international consensus, this increase will be allocated to countries that undertake and abide by disciplines to address trade-distorting practices.

I am also directing Ambassador Hills to seek to negotiate, through the Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations and complementary bilateral agreements, an international consensus to provide effective disciplines over government aid and intervention in the steel sector and to lower barriers to global trade in steel. The international consensus will contain three elements: strong disciplines over trade-distorting government subsidies, lowering of trade barriers so as to ensure market access, and enforcement measures to deal with violations of consensus obligations.

In extending the VRA's for a transitional period, I am mindful of the need to improve the availability of steel in the United States and to promote price competition. Accordingly, to ensure that adequate supplies of competitively priced steel are available on a timely basis, the Department of Commerce will expedite and streamline the existing short-supply mechanism.

Since 1984 the U.S. steel industry has made considerable progress toward improving its competitiveness and modernizing its production facilities. It has reduced capacity, cut costs, and modernized its equipment and technology. I urge the industry to continue its modernization and worker retraining programs, and will support legislation to that effect. The U.S. International Trade Commission will be asked to monitor and report regularly on developments in the carbon and specialty steel industries, including investment, wages, and executive compensation.

Consistent with this administration's commitment to free and open trade, the voluntary restraint arrangements will end on March 31, 1992. Thereafter, U.S. steel producers, like other American industries, will continue to rely on domestic trade laws as an ultimate assurance against the effects of foreign unfair trade practices. The Department of Commerce will continue rigorously to enforce the laws against injurious dumping and subsidization.

For decades, governments have supported their steel producers through subsidies and import restrictions. Steel trade and the international trading system as a whole have suffered. This self-defeating rivalry must end. I urge our trading partners to work with us to restore free and fair trade to world markets.

Memorandum on Steel Imports and Exports
July 25, 1989

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Steel Trade Liberalization Program

I have decided to establish a two and one-half year Steel Trade Liberalization Program and hereby direct the United States Trade Representative (USTR) to begin immediately its implementation. The program is designed to phase out in a responsible and orderly manner the voluntary restraint arrangements (VRAs) that currently limit steel imports into the U.S. market, and to negotiate an international consensus to remove unfair trade practices.

The Steel Trade Liberalization Program shall include the following elements:

1. *Transitional Voluntary Restraint Arrangements.* The USTR shall negotiate extensions of VRAs for a transitional period of two and one-half years. During this period, the overall ceiling on imports from VRA countries will be increased at an annual rate of one percentage point. This increase will be allocated to countries that undertake and abide by acceptable multilateral or bilateral disciplines with respect to unfair trade practices and market access. The allocation of this one-percentage-point annual increase may be delayed, if necessary, as leverage to achieve acceptable disciplines.

2. *International Consensus.* The United States Trade Representative shall seek to negotiate an international consensus to provide for both fair and open trade in steel. This consensus, which should be pursued through the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations and complementary bilateral agreements, will provide effective disciplines over trade-distorting subsidies, as well as reductions in tariff and non-tariff barriers to international steel trade.

3. *Expiration Date.* The voluntary restraint arrangements will be terminated no later than March 31, 1992. Thereafter, U.S. steel producers will rely on domestic trade laws to remedy foreign trade-distorting practices.

4. *Legislation.* The Administration will support the extension of existing legislation to make such transitional voluntary restraint arrangements enforceable at our borders, as well as to encourage continued industry modernization and worker retraining.

5. *Impact on Steel Users.* The USTR shall implement the program in a way that recognizes the legitimate concerns of U.S. steel consumers. In particular, the existing short supply mechanism will be liberalized and streamlined.

6. *Enforcement.* The Department of Commerce shall continue to enforce rigorously our unfair trade laws to prevent injurious dumping and subsidization.

7. *Monitoring.* The United States International Trade Commission will be asked to continue to monitor the efforts of the steel industry to adjust and modernize, and to prepare an annual report for the President on those efforts.

The Steel Trade Liberalization Program described above is designed to establish the conditions for fair and open steel trade throughout the world, so that steel can be produced and traded on the basis of market forces, rather than governmental aid and intervention.

The USTR shall coordinate and implement this program in consultation with the appropriate Economic Policy Council agencies.

GEORGE BUSH

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting the Strategic Force Modernization Report

July 25, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Transmitted herewith is the report requested in section 908 of the FY 89 National Defense Authorization Act. Both classified and unclassified versions are provided.

The forces described in this report are illustrative only. They represent a range of forces that would be permitted by a treaty if it were concluded in accordance with the positions tabled by the United States at the strategic arms negotiations. In particular, the options that do not contain mobile ICBMs do not at present correspond with our fundamental goals for the ICBM forces and our Defense program. Each of the examples demonstrates the importance of continued, aggressive strategic force modernization of all three elements of the strategic triad.

It is inappropriate to make a recommendation from among these illustrations at this time. That should await both our own budget deliberations and further progress in the START negotiations.

I am fully committed to the strategic modernization program I have put forward. The modernization of our submarine, bomber and land-based missile force is essential to the continued strength of our deterrent and to the success of these very important negotiations.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Nomination of John M. Sayre To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior

July 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John M. Sayre to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior (Water and Science). He would succeed James W. Ziglar.

Since 1950 Mr. Sayre has been in the private practice of law in Boulder, CO, serving as a partner in the natural resources department since 1966. In addition, he served as city attorney for the city of Boulder, 1951–1955, and as general counsel to the Colorado Municipal League, 1956–1963. Mr. Sayre has been a member of several professional organizations, serving as a charter member and a member of the board of directors of the Colorado Water Congress and director of the Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District, 1960–1964. He currently serves as Colorado director of the National Water Resources Association since 1980 and was president, 1984–1986.

Mr. Sayre graduated from the University of Colorado (B.A., 1943; J.D., 1948). He served as an officer in the U.S. Navy, 1943–1946. Mr. Sayre resides in Colorado.

Nomination of Robert R. Randlett To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development

July 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert R. Randlett to be an Assistant Administrator (Legislative Affairs) of the Agency for International Development, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. He would succeed W. Antoinette Ford.

Since 1977 Mr. Randlett has been with Allied-Signal, Inc., serving as director of public policy issues, 1985 to present, and director of legislative and regulatory affairs, 1977–1985. He was congressional liaison officer at the Department of Labor, 1973–1977. He was a Washington representative for PPG Industries, Inc., a manufacturer of glass, chemicals, and coatings, 1972–1973, and a staff assistant in the Federal Government affairs office, 1971–1972. He was a staff assistant to Representative James F. Battin, 1966–1968.

Mr. Randlett graduated from the American University (B.A., 1966; J.D., 1968) and Hershey Junior College (A.A., 1964). He served in the U.S. Army, 1968–1971. He is married and resides in Lebanon, NJ.

Nomination of Raymond G.H. Seitz To Be an Assistant Secretary of State

July 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Raymond G.H. Seitz to be an Assistant Secretary of State (European and Canadian Affairs). He would succeed Rozanne L. Ridgway.

Since 1984 Mr. Seitz has served as Minister to London. Prior to this, he served in various capacities at the Department of State, including Executive Assistant to the Secretary, 1982–1984; Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, 1981–1982; and Deputy Executive Secretary for the Department of State, 1979–1981. In addition, he served as political officer at the U.S. Embassy in London, 1975–1979. Mr. Seitz served as the Special Assistant to the Director General of the Foreign Service at the Department of State and as a staff officer to the Secretariat, 1972–1975. In 1970 Mr. Seitz served as principal officer in Bukavu, Zaire; and in 1968 he served as a political officer in Nairobi, Kenya, and concurrently as vice consul to the Seychelles. Prior to this he served as a consular officer in Montreal, Canada, 1966–1968. In 1986, he received the Presidential Award for Meritorious Service.

Mr. Seitz graduated from Yale University in 1963. He joined the Foreign Service in 1966. He was born December 8, 1940, in Honolulu, HI. He is married, has three children, and resides in Texas.

Nomination of Stanley E. Morris To Be a Deputy Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy

July 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Stanley E. Morris to be Deputy Director for Supply Reduction, Office of National Drug Control Policy. This is a new position.

Since 1983 Mr. Morris has been the Director of the U.S. Marshals Service at the Department of Justice. He was the Associate Deputy Attorney General at the Department of Justice, 1981–1983. Mr. Morris was a senior fellow and lecturer at the Center for Business and Public Policy, College of Business and Management, University of Maryland, 1980–1981; Deputy Associate Director (Economics and Government) at the Office of Management and Budget, 1973–1979; and Director of Operational Planning, Office of the Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971–1973.

Mr. Morris graduated from San Jose State College (B.A., 1963) and Columbia University (M.A., 1964). He resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of JoAnn Krukar Webb To Be Director of the National Cemetery System

July 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate JoAnn Krukar Webb to be Director of the National Cemetery System, Department of Veterans Affairs. This is a new position.

From 1985 to 1988, Ms. Webb served as a health care consultant for ACTION, the national volunteer agency. She served as the ACTION representative on the Federal Task Force on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) Epidemic. During the 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign, Ms. Webb served as deputy director of the Seniors for Bush National Voter Coalitions. She served for 3 years on the Veterans Administration's Advisory Commission on Women Veterans. Ms. Webb also served as a management analyst and health care planner for the Veterans Administration.

Ms. Webb graduated from Pennsylvania State University in 1970, with a bachelor of science degree in nursing, and George Washington University, with a master's degree in health care administration. She served 5 years on active duty as an Army nurse in Vietnam, in Germany, and at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, DC. For her service in Vietnam, Ms. Webb was awarded the Army Commendation Medal. She has three children and resides in Virginia.

Nomination of Barbara E. McTurk To Be Superintendent of the United States Mint at Denver

July 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Barbara E. McTurk to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at Denver, Department of the Treasury. She would succeed Cynthia Jeanne Grassby Baker.

Since 1988 Mrs. McTurk has been a consultant for the Colorado House of Representatives. She has also served at the Jefferson County Community Center for the Developmentally Disabled, 1986 to present. Mrs. McTurk served as the Colorado State field director for George Bush for President, 1987–1988. She has been active in civic and political activities.

Mrs. McTurk is married, has two daughters, and resides in Lakewood, CO.

Nomination of John T. Martino To Be Superintendent of the United States Mint at Philadelphia

July 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John T. Martino to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Department of the Treasury. He would succeed Anthony H. Murray, Jr.

Since 1986 Mr. Martino has been president of Keystone Data in Pennsylvania. From 1979 to 1986, he held several positions at the department of the Commonwealth, including deputy secretary of the Commonwealth, 1981–1986; deputy secretary of the department of community affairs, 1983–1984; and executive assistant to the secretary of the Commonwealth, 1979–1981. Prior to this, he served as assistant to Representative Robert S. Walker, 1977–1979, and as a marketing representative for IBM Corp., 1976.

Mr. Martino received a bachelor's degree from Franklin and Marshall College, and he was a master's candidate at Millersville University. He is married, has two children, and resides in Lancaster, PA.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the National Aero-Space Plane Program

July 25, 1989

The President, acting upon the recommendation of the Vice President, has approved the continuation of the National Aero-Space Plane (NASP) program as a high-priority national effort to develop and demonstrate hypersonic technologies with the ultimate goal of single-stage-to-orbit.

The Government will complete the Phase II technology development program, and plans to develop an experimental flight vehicle after completion of Phase II, if technically feasible. The system will be designed to focus on the highest priority research, as opposed to operational, objectives. Unmanned as well as manned designs will be considered, and the program will be conducted in such a way as to minimize technical and cost uncertainty.

The President also approved an implementation plan to carry out this policy. The plan extends technology development until early 1993 to reduce technical and cost risks. It retains an experimental flight vehicle focused on research and technology objectives and retains a joint program management structure with participation by both the Department of Defense and NASA.

The Space Council recommendations approved by the President termed the National Aero-Space Plane a vital national effort which benefits the civil, commercial, and national security interests of the Nation. The NASP program promotes industrial competitiveness, fosters U.S. space leadership, and provides the technological basis for greatly expanded access to space in the 21st century. We call on Congress to join in fully implementing the Space Council recommendations and in moving forward with the important NASP program.

Remarks on Signing the Natural Gas Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989

July 26, 1989

Thank you all very, very much, and thanks also to Jim Watkins, our distinguished Secretary, who is off to such an outstanding start as Secretary of Energy, and also, Martha, thanks to you—Martha Hesse—for her great efforts at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, and to the forward-looking leaders from both sides of the aisle.

Seeing this awesome array with my own two Senators, Lloyd Bentsen and Phil Gramm—I'm going to get in serious trouble by exclusion—but standing up here, of course, I'm delighted that Senator Bennett Johnston is here and Joe Barton, Phil Sharp, Don Nickles was—there he is—and all the rest of you. I want to single out, of course, John Dingell for his help and Norm Lent and Carlos Moorhead and so many others who have a keen interest in this subject.

Natural gas, methane, one of the best fuels on the world's energy menu—it's clean, it's efficient, relatively abundant. But for 35 years, consumers and producers of natural gas have struggled under the burden of oppressive price regulations, and this was directly responsible, in my view, for the damaging natural gas shortages of the seventies and for gas market distortions that exist to this very day.

And it is instructive to look at what natural gas price controls brought us: shortages, not increased supplies; higher gas prices, not the lower consumer prices that their supporters promised. And what was true for oil deregulation in 1981 is also true for gas deregulation in 1989. Experience shows that deregulation works to serve consumers and to serve an expanding economy. And it's a tribute to the American political system that, after decades of disagreement over the merits of gas decontrol, we can gather here today to state a clear message for all to hear: We've learned from the past. We are united in the conviction that the best way to deal with our energy problems and serve the American people is to let our market economy work.

And so, today's legislation represents the bipartisan attainment of the administration's first major energy initiative: the elimination of an entire system of artificial price controls for one of America's cleanest energy resources. And this measure reflects a strong bipartisan belief that eliminating price controls will help this nation take full advantage of our plentiful domestic resources.

Even at today's prices, it's estimated that the United States has natural gas reserves that will take us to the year 2025 and beyond. And industry—and I'm glad to see so many members of the industry here today, people that have been in the forefront for the battle of decontrol for many, many years—industry and the Department of Energy are responding to this opportunity with imagination, seeking to tap new sources of clean-burning natural gas and then developing new uses, like powering cars and buses. With prices set by market forces and improvements in gas exploration production technologies, natural gas can help power this nation well into the next century.

And it may be said by some that this legislation could only have happened when energy prices are relatively low. Not true. Legislation like this, relying on market incentives to produce domestic energy, can help keep prices low. And it's the best way to assure consumers of adequate and reliable supplies of clean energy at the lowest reasonable price.

And this is not just economical legislation; it is also environmental legislation. Natural gas burns much more cleanly than other fossil fuels and produces little air or water pollution, and it can play a larger role in our efforts to clean up our air and our water. The environmental opportunities can be global. When a free market for this fuel exists, we can foresee America and the world using more of it. America and her allies must work together now to expand the infrastructure for this fuel. And on this continent, across the Atlantic, across the Pacific, these are opportunities for cooperation that can be helped by a freer market. Where we can add diversity and flexibility, economy and security to the world's energy picture, we ought to do it. And natural gas is an important element.

But despite today's good news, this is no time for complacency. Our energy security problem continues. Conservation achievements are leveling off, domestic oil production continuing its downward trend, and petroleum imports are increasing. And our need for a cleaner environment is obvious to all. And so, today I want to make this announcement which, like the deregulation of natural gas, is good news for America's energy future.

I'm directing Jim Watkins, our able Secretary of Energy, to take the lead in developing a comprehensive, national energy strategy. We cannot and will not wait for the next energy crisis to force us to respond. And so, I've asked Jim to craft this strategy in close consultation with the Cabinet, leading Members of the United States Congress, and then with our cities and our States. Our task—our bipartisan task—is to build the national consensus necessary to support this strategy and to make this strategy a living and dynamic document, responsive to new knowledge and new ideas and to global, environmental, and international changes.

And I should say on this one parenthetically—and I don't, again, want to single out only the Texans here—but our Governor, who is with us today, has been in the forefront of urging upon us a national energy strategy for a long, long time. A keystone of this strategy is going to be the continuation of the successful policy of market reliance. And it's not going to be easy. We must balance—achieve balance—our increasing need for energy at reasonable prices, our commitment to a safer and healthier environment, our determination to maintain an economy that is second to none, and our goal to reduce dependence by ourselves and our friends and allies on potentially unreliable energy suppliers.

One important step towards protecting America from foreign energy supply interruptions is to provide more incentives for drilling right here at home. And though it is unlikely that Congress will, or maybe even can, act on that this year, I will continue to work to put more incentive into the Tax Code for domestic wildcat drilling. The bottom line is: A strong domestic drilling and producing business is essential to the national security of the United States of America.

And I am confident that America's can-do attitude and scientific know-how and old-fashioned plain common sense will prevail. By acting now, we can bequeath a legacy to the next century of a cleaner, more prosperous and, yes, more secure America. Today's legislation is a good start down that path. Domestically, natural gas can now reach its fullest potential as an economic, clean, and convenient energy source.

And so, I congratulate all the Members of the United States Congress who have worked so hard and, in some cases, so long to bring this legislation to this desk. [*Laughter*] And with that, it is with great pride that I now sign the Natural Gas Wellhead Decontrol Act into the law.

Note: The President spoke at 2:12 p.m., in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Martha O. Hesse, Chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission; Senator Don Nickles of Oklahoma; Representatives Joe Barton of Texas, Philip R. Sharp of Indiana, John D. Dingell of Michigan, Norman F. Lent of New York, and Carlos J. Moorhead of California; and Gov. William P. Clements of Texas. H.R. 1722, approved July 26, was assigned Public Law No. 101–60.

Statement on Signing the Natural Gas Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989

July 26, 1989

Today I am very pleased to sign into law H.R. 1722, the "Natural Gas Decontrol Act of 1989." This legislation represents the bipartisan achievement of this Administration's first major energy initiative—the elimination of natural gas price controls. Through bipartisan cooperation, we have moved forward toward our goal of a more stable domestic energy future.

For 35 years producers and consumers of natural gas have struggled under a pervasive scheme of wellhead price regulation. This regulation was largely responsible for the damaging natural gas shortages of the 1970s and for the gas market distortions that exist even today. H.R. 1722 will eliminate the remaining natural gas wellhead price controls by January 1, 1993.

This measure reflects a strong bipartisan belief that eliminating price controls on natural gas will help this Nation take maximum advantage of our abundant reserves of clean-burning natural gas. Even at today's prices, the Department of Energy estimates that the United States has 35 years worth of natural gas supplies. With prices set by market forces and improvements in our ability to produce gas from unconventional sources, natural gas could help power this country for decades.

The complete deregulation of natural gas wellhead prices will allow natural gas to reach its fullest potential as a competitive domestic alternative to imports of oil from insecure sources. Natural gas can also play a larger role in our efforts to clean up our air and water. It burns much more cleanly than other fossil fuels, and its combustion produces little air or water pollution.

This long-overdue legislation is an important step in enhancing domestic energy supplies. I congratulate those of you in the Congress, on both sides of the aisle, who have worked so hard to bring this legislation to my desk.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
July 26, 1989.

Note: H.R. 1722, approved July 26, was assigned Public Law No. 101–60.

Nomination of Cindy Shinga Daub To Be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal

July 26, 1989

The President announced his intention to nominate Cindy Shinga Daub to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal for a term of 7 years from September 27, 1989. She would succeed Edward W. Ray.

Since 1988 Ms. Daub has been national director of Asian-Americans for Bush/Quayle '88 in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she served in several capacities at the Department of Health and Human Services, including Director of the Office of Private Sector Initiatives, 1986–1987; policy coordinator in the Office of the Secretary, 1986; and Special Assistant to the Secretary, 1985–1986. Ms. Daub was a columnist for the Sun newspaper, 1980–1984. She was an administrative assistant to the chief of the engineering division for InterNorth, Inc., 1968–1970, and a language instructor at the University of Maryland overseas program in Seoul, Korea, 1966–1967.

Ms. Daub graduated from Ewha Women's University in Seoul, Korea (B.A., 1965). She resides in McLean, VA.

Statement on Signing a Bill Approving Diplomatic Relations Agreements With the Marshall Islands and Micronesia
July 26, 1989

I take great pleasure in signing into law H.R. 2214, which approves diplomatic relations agreements with the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia. Since 1986, these countries have been our partners in free association. Our ties to them go back to the last world war when American forces liberated their islands in some of the bloodiest fighting of the Pacific campaign. We administered the islands as part of a United Nations trusteeship until late 1986.

Under the agreements now approved, our current representative offices in Majuro, the Marshall Islands, and in Kolonia, Micronesia, will become full-fledged embassies with resident American ambassadors. The same welcome transformation will occur here in Washington, and our diplomatic community will be enlarged by the addition of ambassadors from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia. This change will portray accurately the nature of our relationship with these countries under the Compact of Free Association, the treaty linking our nations in a special partnership.

I would like to recognize the contributions of all those who labored to negotiate and conclude these two agreements. The one person who deserves special mention is Representative Bob Lagomarsino of California, who introduced this bill into the House and who has been a tireless supporter of the American position in the Pacific. I will also pay tribute to Their Excellencies Wilfred Kendall of the Marshall Islands and Jesse Marehalau of Micronesia. With the entry into force of the agreements, let me be the first to address them as Ambassador Kendall and Ambassador Marehalau.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
July 26, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2214, approved July 26, was assigned Public Law No. 101–62. The statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 27.

Remarks to Representatives of the Future Farmers of America
July 27, 1989

I want to apologize for keeping you waiting. I'm blaming your six national officers—[*laughter*]—putting the blame squarely on them. It doesn't deserve to be there, but they gave me a warm greeting outside on your behalf—a lovely plaque that I will treasure. And I see them here, and I want to say thank you publicly.

I want to salute my two able assistants and friends up here on the platform, both of whom are not only experts in agriculture but both of whom are shaping the destiny of our country in terms of agricultural policy. Cooper Evans, a former Member of the United States Congress, son of Iowa—former Congressman from Iowa here in the White House on ag policy. And then Fred McClure, whom I'll refer to in a bit, but whose job is working with Congress as we try to move certain kinds of legislation through the Congress itself.

But I'm just delighted to welcome you to the White House. Thirty years ago this very week, President Eisenhower told the FFA, "I always get a kick out of meeting with a bunch of young people." Well, today, with apologies to Cole Porter, let me say, "I get a kick out of you." And I'm delighted you're here, and I remember the warm hospitality a year ago at Kansas City—modest turnout of about 24,000, but nevertheless—[*laughter*]. I'm delighted to see Tony and

Larry once again, to be among so many new friends—no longer just the Future Farmers of America, as impressive as that is, now also the future leaders of America.

And 2 days ago, I guess it was—did you talk 2 days ago? I want to be sure of my facts—Fred McClure, who handles, as I say, congressional liaison, talked to you all. Perhaps he didn't sing his own praises as a former national secretary and head of the Texas FFA. Like all Texans, he loves our State's memorable phrases. You know what we call catfish? Tourist trout. [*Laughter*] And we don't refer to animals as animals. The saying goes: They're critters, if they are friendly, and they are varmints, if they're not. [*Laughter*] And on and on it goes.

But whether you're from Texas or not, we know what to call the FFA. We call it America at her best, America at her most generous, an America embodied by your motto: learning to do, doing to learn; earning to live, and then living to serve. And these guys were telling me, in a nice presentation of this plaque, the emphasis on service. And I think it is appropriate, whether you're in FFA or whether you're President of the United States of America.

And last month I announced what we call a Points of Light Initiative, which asks every American to bring this service into every corner of our country. And today I want to renew that challenge, and I know that you will meet it, for since 1926 FFA has done much and served many. And you have been a Point of Light, and today you're still shining—all 50 States, nearly 8,000 chapters, more than 400,000 members. And you serve through faith in God, strength of character, and through the belief in family, which makes us whole. And you know that what we are matters more than what we have—working with your minds, your hands, as farmers and as Americans.

And now, I know you like to spread the credit around. After all, that's rural America's way: modest and understated. And I'm reminded of how a noted comedian once bought a chicken farm. A friend was astonished. "Do you know anything about breeding chickens?" he asked. "No," the comedian replied, "but the chickens do." [*Laughter*] And the thing is—I'm going to divert from my text to tell you one of President Reagan's favorite stories about the guy driving down about 50 miles an hour down the highway. And he sees a chicken run by the car, speeding on past him. "My golly," he said, "that chicken looked like it had three legs." So, he pulled into the—screeched—the chicken dashed into the farm, and the guy screeched on the brakes, turned into the farm, said to the farmer, "I thought I saw a three-legged chicken run by my car a minute ago." And the farmer said, "Well, yeah, we breed three-legged chickens. You see, there's me, my wife, and our kid here, and we all like drumsticks. And it's wonderful." [*Laughter*] He said, "Well, how do they taste?" He said, "Well, I don't know. I've never been able to catch him." [*Laughter*]

But anyway, where were we? No, but seriously, the credit does belong to you and to your parents. This family matters. Two years ago—it was two years? I thought it was just last year—the Kansas City convention, the theme: "Agriculture's New Spirit." I do remember that. And today, thanks to the hard work and self-reliance, now that spirit is still alive and well. Do you want evidence? Consider that only 4 years ago, the Congress passed a pioneering farm bill to help a whole community in crisis. And yet this year, farm income and agricultural exports are nearing record highs. Our surpluses of farm commodities have been drastically reduced, and most of our good land has been brought back into production. And the farm credit situation has greatly improved over the last decade.

This progress has occurred while cutting the cost of Federal farm programs in half. For when the farm economy is strong and government has to pay less, all America benefits. You have told government to tear down the roadblocks of tariffs and trade barriers, and that the wave of the future lies in competition and free enterprise. And given agriculture's commitment to these principles, I had an opportunity to take that message to the leaders of Western Europe, our close allies there, just a couple of weeks ago in Paris.

Our task now is to build upon that spirit, the spirit of "America can," not "Washington must." And we don't want government to spend more; we want people to earn more. And we must remember that next year when we write a new farm bill, these principles must be kept in mind, ensuring the many good features of the 1985 act and, at the same time, making what I think we all would agree are needed improvements.

You know, Will Rogers once said: "A man in the country does his own thinking, but you get him into town and he soon will be thinking secondhanded." Well, our new farm bill must be evenhanded, levelheaded. And in response to market forces, producers must have more flexibility to decide what crops they grow. And regarding agriculture and the environment, we must see these concerns as compatible. Both, for example, need clean, safe, and quality water. But we can't stop there, for we must work to expand efforts. And the key to that achievement is the current round of these GATT talks. And, yes, we want free trade, but we will keep insisting that it be fair trade. And that's why, like the walls of Jericho, these barriers which distort world trade must come tumbling down.

As you well know from your studies and real-life experiences, ours is a global economy now, and America must be able to compete. And that means, as our relations improve, expanding our ties with the Soviet Union, already the third largest customer for U.S. agricultural commodities, and enlarging our trade with other countries who know and need the farming genius of America. At home, the need to compete means developing new crops and uses for agricultural commodities as raw materials for industry. And for you, our global economy means there has never been a better place nor more crucial time to start a career than in America today.

I'm sure all of you have read or been exposed to—and most read in school—Carl Sandburg. He was America's poet laureate, a graceful, lyric writer. And he spoke beautifully and movingly about American agriculture and about the vast horizons and beauty that form the heartland of our country. Once he said simply: "The Republic is a dream. Nothing happens unless first a dream." And your dreams are big dreams: future farmers who will feed the whole world of tomorrow, future leaders whose character and commitment will enrich America's destiny not merely for your generation but for all the generations to come.

So, I came over here to thank you for coming to Washington, and may your dreams become a reality. God bless you, and Godspeed to the Future Farmers of America, and most of all, God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much for coming.

Note: The President spoke at 11:09 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Cooper Evans, Special Assistant to the President for Agricultural Trade and Food Assistance; Frederick D. McClure, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs; and Tony Hoyt and Larry Case, program specialist and national adviser of the Future Farmers of America, respectively.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters During a Meeting With District of Columbia Police Chief Maurice Turner

July 27, 1989

The President. I just want to take this opportunity to welcome Chief Turner, whom I've known as a friend for several years, into the Republican Party. This is a significant switch. The man has been a lifelong Democrat, but he made a principled decision based on what he feels is the best answer to helping solve the problems of urban America. And I think we share the same family values that unite our party and with the chief himself. I feel very good about this day. I think it's a major step for our party as we try to broaden it out and have the broadest possible appeal. And so, welcome!

Mr. Turner. I thank you very much, Mr. President. It's an honor to be here, and I will hopefully add something to some of the problems—especially the drug problems that we're having in this city and in most urban areas of the country.

The President. Well, I know we'd be working with you anyway, but Bill Bennett, who I'm sure will be as enthusiastic about this, and having you as close in as possible with your day-to-day experience in fighting drugs. And I think this is a very good move. But anyway, in any event, welcome.

Mr. Turner. Thank you again, Mr. President.

Q. You going to be running for mayor, Chief?

Mr. Turner. No, right now I'm just becoming a member of the Republican Party. I'm not running for mayor at this time.

Q. Have you given the job any consideration?

Jesse Jackson

Q. Mr. President, do you have some advice for Jesse Jackson if he wants to run for mayor of the District? Would you like to get involved in that?

The President. I gave Jesse my advice all last year—[*laughter*]—all during the campaign, in a gentle, kind way. And I might note, he gave me plenty, too—and still is.

Q. Mr. President, since this seems to be sort of a question op——

The President. Yes, this is a limited photo-op, in which we will permit four questions.

Felix Bloch Espionage Investigation

Q. There has been some discussion that maybe the Felix Bloch case has shown up some need for change in our counterintelligence capabilities, and that maybe even in the defense bill some think you could go into putting more money into changing or tightening embassy security and whatnot. I just wanted to know if you think that there is a need for such change.

The President. Well, I ran the Central Intelligence Agency and the entire intelligence community for a year, and you are always concerned about people who are willing to betray their country. And I will say on this case, it's allegation at this juncture, and it's being investigated. I will also point out that it is the counterintelligence capability of our country that at least is bringing some of the facts to light so far. But the question is: Can we improve counterintelligence? We always want to be striving to do that. Can embassy security be improved? We go through this periodically, and the answer is, I'm sure it can. Nobody is sanguine. And even back then I was unrelaxed about moles or spies or people that would betray our country by dealing with the Soviets in this regard. But again, I want to be very clear: I am not passing judgment on this case which is under investigation.

Q. Are they going to be able to charge Mr. Bloch?

The President. As I say, this matter is under investigation, and I can add nothing more.

Third question. One to go.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. Mr. President, on another subject, are you at all concerned about the problems Mr. Gorbachev is having in the Soviet Union—his ability to push reform and East Europe might be in jeopardy?

The President. I don't think the economic reform and political change taking place in Eastern Europe is in jeopardy. As you know, I have said time and again, and I'll repeat it here, we want *perestroika* and reform to succeed. And I think it might be somewhat inappropriate to comment on every problem inside the Soviet Union that Mr. Gorbachev is facing in this time of enormous change.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Felix S. Bloch was a State Department official suspected of espionage.

Continuation of Dallas Lynn Peck as Director of the United States Geological Survey

July 27, 1989

The President today announced that Dallas Lynn Peck will continue to serve as Director of the Geological Survey, Department of the Interior. He was appointed on September 19, 1981.

Since 1981 Dr. Peck has served as the Director of the Geological Survey. Prior to this, he was Chief Geologist at the Geological Survey, 1977–1981, and a geologist with the same organization, 1954–1977. Dr. Peck was head of the delegation to the International Geological Congress in Moscow, U.S.S.R., 1984; U.S. delegate to the assembly in Durham, England, of the International Association of Volcanology and Chemistry of the Earth's Interior, 1977; and a delegate to Moscow, U.S.S.R., as a member of the U.S./U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation, 1972. He is the current chairman for the Committee on Earth Sciences and has held this position since 1987.

Dr. Peck graduated from the California Institute of Technology (B.S., 1951; M.S., 1953) and Harvard University (Ph.D., 1960). He was born March 28, 1929, in Cheney, WA. Dr. Peck resides in Virginia.

Nomination of Pamela Talkin To Be a Member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority

July 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Pamela Talkin to be a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years expiring July 1, 1990. She would succeed Henry Bowen Frazier III.

Since 1986 Ms. Talkin has been Chief of Staff for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she was Assistant Regional Director for the National Labor Relations Board, Region 20, in San Francisco, CA, 1984–1986. She was Special Assistant to the Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1984–1985; supervisory compliance officer for the National Labor Relations Board, Region 20, 1981–1983; national president for the National Labor Relations Board Union, 1977–1981; and labor-management relations examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, Region 20, 1973–1981.

Ms. Talkin graduated from the City University of New York, Brooklyn College (B.A., 1968; M.A., 1971). She currently resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Justin W. Dart, Jr., as Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities

July 27, 1989

The President today announced his decision to appoint Justin W. Dart, Jr., to be Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities. He would succeed Harold Russell.

Currently, Mr. Dart is chairperson of the Congressional Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans With Disabilities and member of the National Council on the Handicapped, 1988 to present. Prior to this, he was founder and chief executive officer of Japan Tupperware, Ltd. Mr. Dart has served as Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration, 1986–1987; member and Vice Chairperson of the National Council on the Handicapped, 1983–1986; member and chairperson of the Texas Governor's Committee for Persons with Disabilities, 1980–1985; and chairperson of the Governor's Long Range Planning Group for Texans with Disabilities, 1982–1984.

Mr. Dart graduated from the University of Houston (B.S., 1953). He was born in Chicago, IL, in 1930. Mr. Dart is married and resides in Washington, DC.

The President's News Conference
July 28, 1989

The President. Well, in the past 7 months, many distinguished Americans serving in congressional, State, and local offices across this country have decided to change their party allegiance from Democrat to Republican—men and women of great diversity, but they're united by a deep devotion to this nation's traditional values, to building an economy that provides growth and opportunity, and to ensuring that America stands for peace with freedom in every corner of the globe. They represent a growing ground swell of support, a new majority that sees the Republican Party—our Grand Old Party, the grand new party—as best able to lead a strong America through the decade of the nineties into the new millennium.

And so, it is a great privilege for me to welcome to the Republican Party a man who stands by the faith of his principles and has helped keep America free: Arkansas Representative Tommy Robinson, a man of exceptional caliber. Tommy Robinson is a man of the people, a man who believes in straight talk, hard work, and getting the job done—rebuilding our defenses; standing up for veterans, for small business; and fighting the war on drugs. So, Tommy, welcome to our party.

Representative Robinson. I'm on the wrong side. The Democrat—he looks to his left. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, I should—my welcome—your party, the Republican Party—we look forward to working with you. And I'm going to ask the Congressman to say a few words, and then both he and I will respond to some questions. I might welcome my old colleagues, John Paul Hammerschmidt here and Guy Vander Jagt—two classmates of mine in the Congress who feel as enthusiastic about this as I do, and also, of course, our party chairman [H. Lee Atwater].

All yours.

Representative Robinson. Thank you, Mr. President, for your kind words of welcome to the Republican Party. I am grateful for your confidence and support. I look forward to working closely with you in building an even stronger America in Arkansas.

Public service has been the cornerstone of my life. I have served at the local, county, State, and Federal levels for the past 30 years. I chose a life of public service because my parents taught me that if you work for the government, you work for the people, you serve people. My parents raised me in the tradition of Harry Truman: lunch-bucket Democrats and patriotism without apology.

But today, to best serve the people of Arkansas and to stay true to the values of my family and an ever-increasing number of Arkansans, I can no longer be a member of the national Democratic Party. This is a very personal, private decision. It has been long in coming, because frankly, I hoped that the national Democratic Party would come back home and once again be in touch with the mainstream of the American people.

But even after losing five of the last six

Presidential elections both nationwide and in Arkansas, the leadership of the national Democratic Party still is unwilling to listen to the majority of the American people. If I am to meet the needs of my people, I simply cannot wait any longer for the liberal leadership of the Democratic Party to see the light. The hard fact is that there is and will be no room for conservative Southern Democrats in today's national Democratic Party. Now my conscience is clear. I have made my decision. I am excited about our new partnership with President Bush. I know it will be good for the future of all the people of Arkansas.

Mr. President, I am proud to stand with you and the Republican Party, knowing we share the common goal of getting the job done for America and Arkansas. I am, as are most people in my State, impressed with the philosophy and the practical solutions you are presenting. I, too, believe in less government, not more. I, too, believe that we must first seek government efficiency and cut government waste before asking the American taxpayers to pay even more. I, too, believe that we must dramatically improve our educational institutions if we are to compete in the modern world. I, too, believe in the strong defense policy which has finally forced the Soviets to real negotiations. Mr. President, peace through strength is once again a proven concept. And I, too, believe in preserving the traditional family values that must be the moral backbone of the Nation.

Mr. President, today I am translating our shared beliefs into positive action by joining the Republican Party. I am enthusiastic about working with you. I know that my optimism about what this new partnership will mean for all the people of Arkansas is fully warranted.

Thank you, Mr. President. We in Arkansas are proud of you.

The President. Thank you, Tommy.

Now, I'll be glad to take questions, and I expect the Congressman will, so address them as you will. But we should start off with the AP [Associated Press], I think, today.

Defense Budget

Q. Mr. President, the House has just turned your Pentagon spending priorities inside out, and it's leaving a shambles that Congressman Aspin [chairman of the House Armed Services Committee] says is a Michael Dukakis defense bill. What movement are you willing to make to turn it back to a George Bush defense bill? And I have a followup.

The President. Put a lot of emphasis on the Senate. Work with people like Chairman Aspin, who does not want to see the defense bill gutted. And I think that we will prevail for most of what we want. We have a strategic concept, and what I need is a strong SDI program, a strong B–2 program. We're doing reasonably well on many of our conventional allocations there.

But I do not want to negotiate with the Soviet Union without as many cards in my hand as possible, so there's an arms control dimension to what we're talking about, too. But we've sent up a solid strategic program. I'm disappointed that the House did what they did. We have a Defense Secretary who has made some tough cuts and set some priorities and done that which many have failed to do, and that is to cut out some systems. But then the House, regrettably, is looking at it more narrowly than I am; and they have restored some of the very things that the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs felt that we could get along without. In fact, I see that they're even talking about trying to keep open some of the bases that we have suggested be closed, and it's not easy to close a base. So, I want to get support across the board in the Congress for our defense program. And yesterday was not the House's most memorable moment, but we're going to keep fighting on for what we believe in.

Q. You said that you think you can get most of what you want. Would you be willing to scale back on SDI, for example, to win back some money for the Stealth bomber, which you say is so critical?

The President. I will point out to the American people that SDI has already been cut in our own setting of priorities. We didn't want to do it. It was a tough decision for Secretary Cheney to make. I approved the decision. And we don't need further cuts in SDI.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]?

Possible Vetoes

Q. Mr. President, in the veto department, will you veto the S&L bill if a portion of the bailout is on the budget? And will you veto the flag desecration bill?

The President. It won't come to vetoing the S&L because we have 40-plus votes in the Senate that—staying firm—will see our proposal prevail. The House, as you know, has disagreed with us; but I'm confident that we will do all right on that one. I worry about bending and breaking the Gramm-Rudman limits, and I think it would send a very bad sign to international markets. So, I don't think there's a problem there.

And on this other one, different people have different ways of expressing their outrage about the desecration of the flag. It's very interesting to see a ground swell of support for the principle of protecting the American flag. And so, I will see what comes down here, but I will continue to push for the approach that I think is the best, given the Supreme Court decision.

Q. It sounds like you might sign it.

The President. Didn't say that.

Congressional Relations

Q. Mr. President, you have courted Members of Congress individually and collectively quite assiduously. You've been gentle in your criticism of them when things have not gone your way. You have been so again here today. In light of what is happening up there to these defense priorities and in light of what I think many Members of Congress would acknowledge is a lot of parochial politics being played with that bill, do you think it may now be time for some stronger medicine from you?

The President. Well, if I could think of a medicine that would cure the ill, I would certainly apply it, because I'm not sure name calling or questioning somebody's motives—sometimes happens on the Hill, questioning my motives. Helen just asked about the flag. But I don't know that that's the approach that's going to be successful. We're going to keep working with the Congress, but—here's Tommy Robinson, here's a good time to say, with the underpinning of the principles that I was elected on. And we're going to keep doing that. I'm not sure I need to get into the name calling. We'd be out here all day if I said what I felt on that.

Q. Are you not concerned, sir, that this affable approach to this sort of thing will make you appear weak?

The President. No, I'm not concerned at all. We have a Democratic majority in the Senate, a Democratic majority in the House. I have to work with these people; I will work with these people. I've never been too hot at being a name caller. And I think they know the principles upon which I stand, and I think we're going to prevail. And I am going to keep working for what I believe in, but it's a question of style, I think. But I'll take a shot at them once in a while if they get too outrageous.

Israeli Kidnaping in Lebanon

Q. I wondered about your reaction to the Israeli kidnaping this morning of Hizballah [radical Shi'ite Moslem group in Lebanon] leader Obeid, and whether you think that improves chances now for getting back Colonel Higgins or any of the other American hostages.

The President. Well, I don't know, because the freeing of Colonel Higgins is very much on my mind, and the freeing of the other hostages is. I can't tell you, Jackie [Jacqueline Adams, CBS News], whether I think these two things can interact, the kidnaping and perhaps the subsequent release of this man, whether that will benefit the Higgins case or not. I just don't know.

Q. Have you been in touch with the Israelis about the kidnaping, and do you approve of that?

The President. Well, I know that our people will be in touch. This just happened. I haven't, personally.

Assistant Attorney General-Designate Lucas

Q. Mr. President, during the John Tower controversy, you spoke out strongly and often in his defense. Right now, your nominee for Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, William Lucas, is under fire on the Hill, yet we haven't heard from you on the subject.

The President. You just haven't been listening or reading because—let me use this occasion—I'm glad you raised it. I strongly support Bill Lucas. I am convinced that much—not all—that much of the criticism of him is pure, gut American politics. And it started long before day one of the hearings. And here's a man that served as a Democrat, was widely respected, switched to the Republican Party, and then people piled on to a fare-thee-well. And he has my confidence, and I'm glad you gave me this opportunity to express that confidence more publicly.

But let the record show I've made phone calls for him. We had an interview with Owen Ullman [Knight-Ridder Newspapers] here and others—sorry, Ellen—[*laughter*]—the other day on this subject. And so, I feel strongly about it. And I told Bill last night—he was over at the house for dinner here—and I told him, I am staying with you 100 percent, and it's going to be right there and solid.

Israeli Kidnaping in Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, back on the Israeli kidnaping. Does this help the cause of peace in the Middle East, particularly at a time when there seems to be a lot of behind-the-scenes activity with the PLO and the Israelis, passing messages in various ways?

The President. I don't think kidnaping and violence helps the cause of peace.

High-Technology Exports

Q. Mr. President, recently your Secretary of Commerce announced that we would sell computers to the Soviet Union. We hadn't sold them before—and which drew a protest from Secretary Cheney. In light of the Felix Bloch case and the new allegations of possible spying, do you think it's time to begin relaxing our controls on technology?

The President. I don't want to send technology to the Soviet Union that will enhance their military capabilities. And we did have a difference inside the administration on this question. I'm confident that, after having looked at it subsequent to Secretary Mosbacher's decision, that this will not enhance the technological—or won't—put it this way, that this will not endanger the legitimate national security needs of this country.

So, we have had a difference on it. I've talked to both Cheney and Mosbacher. I don't see any connection, however, to the allegations against Mr. Bloch.

Felix Bloch Espionage Investigation

Q. Sir, how concerned are you that the Bloch case will actually endanger national security? And can you give us any indication how long this has been going on, whether it's been a year or——

The President. I can't give you the facts on it. I don't want to go into it while it is being under investigation. I am very disturbed about the premature discussion and disclosure—that means leaks—on this matter because I think you can jeopardize the case itself and perhaps the man's ability to get a fair hearing. So, I am troubled by it, but I can't really help you on the facts on the matter.

Congressional Relations

Q. I'd like to continue with this kinder, gentler theme for a moment. You've tried this with Congress for the entire 6 months you've been in office, yet your crime bill has failed; your defense bill appears to have been savaged; your nominee for the civil rights post, whom you say is qualified, is being given a rough ride, to say the least; and the S&L bill you have great concerns about. How would you rate your own legislative success in your first 6 months?

The President. I'd be rating the Congress, wouldn't I, if I rated the legislative success; and I wouldn't give it very high marks. I sent a savings and loan bill up there, and it's been there for—how many days? Since February 23d. And I challenged the Congress to get something done in 60 days, and it wasn't done. So, in not going after people in a very personal way, attacking some Congressman or Senator with whom I differ, that does not mean I'm happy or relaxed about the legislative calendar and the performance on legislation. I am concerned about it.

Every day the savings and loan sits out there unsolved, it's costing the American taxpayer—some estimates go from $10 million to $30 million a day. I'll take the fault, responsibility, when we're slow getting legislation up. We've been criticized, and I think properly so, on a couple of subjects—not getting the legislation there on time; but on this one, I think the Congress has taken too long to resolve the matter. And there are others. The defense budget's not a question of timing so much as it is the mix on our strategic system. So, I would not give Congress very high marks on doing what I want done on legislation. Putting their spin on it, why, that's something else.

Q. Do you think this is just a harbinger of things to come—a Republican President working with this Democratic Congress, converts notwithstanding?

The President. Nobody ever said it would be easy in this department.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. On a related matter, there are some fairly intense negotiations on your capital gains tax cut proposal going on right now. Are you willing to accept some kind of an index on the capital gains rather than the cut you've asked for as an alternate that might be more acceptable to Democrats?

The President. Look, what I want to do is see capital income at different rates. I want what's known as the differential. And so, let's see what can be worked out. If there is some compromise that can spur investment, spur jobs, increase employment because of new jobs starting up, I'd be interested in it. And so, I want to see what could be worked out; I don't think I should ever say it's got to be done just this way in terms of the bills up there in the House Ways and Means Committee right now.

But I have a good, sound proposal, and it was tested—it was one of the things, I think, that was clearly in focus in the campaign. And the other side, particularly the liberal Democrats, particularly, attacked me as having some kind of a tax favoring the rich. It's nothing like that at all. It will stimulate jobs. It will encourage small business creation, and I stand for it. And if there's some way that that can be achieved by changing the proposal I sent up there—fine, I'm willing to listen.

Q. Is there a compromise in the works?

The President. Well, there's been some discussion, and I can't tell you how far along it is, but there has been some discussion. I want to see something happen. I don't want to fall on my sword. I want to see this country have more job creation, and that would be a part of this. And I want to get on with the job of balancing this budget eventually.

Representative Robinson's Party Affiliation

Q. Mr. President, when Senator Phil Gramm of your adopted State resigned his House seat, he switched parties and resigned his seat. Have you advised Congressman Robinson that that would be the noble thing to do, to see if the voters approve of that conversion you've just announced?

The President. Well, I don't know that he needs any advice from me, just like Phil didn't seek any from me in that regard. But you can ask him the question if you want.

Q. Congressman, do you plan to offer yourself for election as a Republican?

Representative Robinson. That sounds like a typical Democratic question.

Q. Awww!

Representative Robinson. Let me say this, let me say this: I represent 550,000 people in the Second District of Arkansas—Democrats, Republicans, independents, and people, quite frankly, that don't care about any of the three above. We have no party registration in Arkansas. Republicans vote for me, Democrats, Independents, the like. I am not going to resign. I am going to be a good Republican Congressman over the rest of this session of Congress and work very hard for President Bush.

The President. Thank you.

Aviation Safety

Q. Mr. President, the airline passenger group would like to see the DC–10 planes grounded in the wake of that accident in Sioux City. There have been other concerns about hydraulic problems with planes. Are you concerned at all about the safety of our fleet, and do you have any opinion about the grounding of the DC–10's?

The President. I don't have an opinion about the grounding, but any time there are accidents of this nature you are concerned. The Safety Board is doing a thorough investigation, obviously, on the flight coming out of Colorado. And I expect the Department of Transportation has taken a hard look at this in the light of the two recent happenings, but I can't really give you a judgment as to whether I personally feel the answer at this juncture is the grounding of this fleet.

Flag Desecration

Q. On the flag desecration amendment, there was testimony to the Judiciary Committee that, however you word it, such a constitutional amendment would make an exception for the first time in 200 years to the first amendment. I wonder if you have any misgivings about the possibility that you may be weakening the first amendment?

The President. I thought about it, Saul [Saul Friedman, Newsday], because I don't want to weaken anything. But I feel so strongly that a very carefully drawn amendment can solve this problem that I don't worry about it, because I also fall back on the fact that the Founding Fathers did provide for the amendment process and—but it's not a—I mean, I don't have disrespect for those who want to find a different answer.

The thing that I think is heartening is that there's a wide array of support for doing something about this question—people that have, maybe in the past, not been identified as I got to be over some years in this department. So, I don't question motives on this one, but I know what I think is right; and I know what our attorneys have advised me is right, given the recent Supreme Court decision. And I also would say I don't think this does violation to the Constitution of the United States. If I did, I wouldn't be making this proposal.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. Mr. President, if I could follow on capital gains. If the goal is to generate new investment in jobs, why not design the tax so that it only applies to new investment and long-term investment rather than providing a windfall for people who already hold assets?

The President. Because I think there are also revenue aspects of it, so when you turn over in accordance with this capital gains proposal, you're actually going to increase revenues to the Federal Government, as happened when the Steiger amendment was passed. So, it's not a revenue loser.

Counterespionage Measures

Q. Mr. President, without discussing the specifics of the Bloch case, could you tell us whether you would support random polygraphs or some other increased security measures to lessen the possibility that this might happen in the future—that espionage might happen in the future?

The President. Well, when I was head of the intelligence community, I supported the polygraph program there in CIA. I'm not sure that it needs to be extended to other agencies. I am one who is very concerned about the security implications of this, but polygraphing, regrettably, has taken on a concept of being against somebody's rights, like drug testing in a sense. And I think it's got to be very careful, because you want whatever program you have to be effective. You don't want to discourage good people from signing up. But I haven't rethought my position, if that's the question, in the wake of the allegations against Mr. Bloch.

War on Drugs

Q. Customs Commissioner von Raab has said that the war on drugs by the Federal Government is a dismal failure, that the State Department is the Department that wasn't there, that Treasury Secretary Brady is disengaged and disinvolved in the war on drugs. I suspect I have an idea what your answer to that might be, but it is true that drug use is way up, that Congress has not funded the drug programs that have been passed in the last couple of years. What can you say, in light of those facts? How could you dispute Commissioner von Raab—if, indeed, you'd like to do that?

The President. Well, I don't see much reason getting into a—I want to phrase this very politely—[*laughter*]—a match of any kind with Willie von Raab as he leaves the Government. And I think he's worked very hard in his field at Customs. I worked with him when I was on the Vice President's task force that I headed up.

Look, the answer is not to respond to criticism who goes after people that are working hard like Secretary Brady, who has my full confidence, but it is to do better. And that's what, I'm confident, the whole drug plan that Bill Bennett [Director of National Drug Control Policy] is coming up will address itself to: How do we do better?

You know, it's easy to sit without a tremendous amount of experience in foreign affairs and say, well, we ought to cut off Colombia; we ought to do no business with Colombia whatsoever, because an awful lot of this insidious stuff comes out of Colombia. The Colombian Government is trying. They are cooperating with us—President Barco is. What I think we ought to do instead of taking that kind of action is find ways to help him more. And I talked about that, incidentally, with [British Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher and [West German Chancellor] Helmut Kohl on the recent trip.

But look, I can't go into responding to the personal criticism. But I want to see us do better. We've got good proposals that—some of which we have made and some that are on the drawing board right now. And no American can be relaxed about where things stand. But going around assigning blame to people that are trying hard—I don't think that's the answer.

This is the last one.

Panama

Q. Mr. President, Noriega is still in charge in Panama. The GAO says the sanctions haven't worked. Where are you going on Panama? What are you going to do? Are you going to accept the situation the way it is?

The President. Well, the OAS meeting passed a resolution that offers some hope. The American position is, and will remain, that Noriega has to get out. I wish I could give you a much clearer answer, that there is some plan that is going to solve this problem in the way it must be solved. And the way it must be solved is: Noriega out, and a free, fair election recognized—or, if the Panamanians decide to go with another election, held and recognized. But there is a great frustration level for me on this one; there's no question about that.

Thank you all. Ellen [Ellen Warren, Knight-Ridder Newspapers], are you feeling deprived because you thought I had pointed to you, and I—go ahead, and then I'll do the walking exit here. [*Laughter*]

Alaskan Oilspill

Q. Exxon says it wants to take its cleaning equipment and go home—the date certain. You said during the campaign you're an environmentalist. Is there anything that you can do to convince them to finish the job?

The President. Well, Exxon—I don't know whether John's [Sununu, Chief of Staff] talked to them or [Secretary of Transportation] Sam Skinner. An awful lot has been done, thank heavens, on this cleanup, and we will stay engaged and encourage whoever it is to stay engaged until this cleanup is complete. The reports on fishing and some of these matters are quite encouraging, I might add. So, we'll wait and see. You know, the final assessment won't be in for a long time.

But I don't want to see Exxon prematurely leave the scene or prematurely fail to live up to the firm commitments they made. I heard a statement—again, it was only part of it—which I took to be somewhat encouraging from an Exxon spokesman who referred to taking a look, once the weather was agreeable again, to the kind of work that needs to be done. But if I had the feeling Exxon was going to pull back on an agreement or fail to fulfill an agreement they'd made with us, with the Government, or with the State of Alaska, I would be very much exercised about that and try my best to do something about it.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President's 19th news conference began at 1:15 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Remarks on Signing the National POW/MIA Recognition Day Proclamation

July 28, 1989

Well, thank you, George and Ann. And wasn't that music magnificent—add to the occasion? And let me say to all of you that it's an honor to be back with the National League of Families. Earlier I was reflecting on the magnitude of what you've endured through so many years of uncertainty. And despite your burdens, you brought about a change in our nation that will never be reversed. Your organization provides us all with a stirring example of how citizens working together can help craft sound policy.

And as you know, Barbara and I returned from central and Eastern Europe just 2 weeks ago. And in the faces of the brave workers of Gdansk and the hopeful students of Budapest, I saw a truth that cannot be denied: The democratic ideal is winning the hearts of people all around the world. And it is this ideal that we honor when we fly the flag, and it is for this ideal that so many Americans were ready when their country called.

Today, we see the symbol of this commitment, the League's POW/MIA flag, on permanent display in the rotunda of our nation's Capitol. It stands in a position of tremendous honor, and it will not come down until we have the fullest possible accounting of your missing loved ones. Your flag can be seen across this land, over statehouses and fire stations and schools and military installations and stadiums, even on ships at sea—a stirring reminder that America's sons are still missing.

The ideals for which your loved ones fought may finally be coming to pass, the failure of totalitarian and repressive Communist regimes. The evidence is clear through recent events in China, the Soviet Union, and Cambodia—where Vietnam appears to finally be withdrawing its troops. Some of our finest young men and women were lost during the many long years of the Vietnam war. And the divisions that resulted from our involvement there shook our country to its very core. But as tragic as the loss of a loved one is, even more difficult to endure is the uncertainty which, for you, has extended over so many years. And now we are coming to a time when the divisions of the Vietnam war are healing. We've let go of some of the bitterness of the past, but with this reconciliation comes a temptation to forget those who served. And yet we will not forget, and we will never break ranks.

My friend and predecessor, Ronald Reagan, had a personal commitment to determine the fates of your missing loved ones. And because of his commitment and your perseverance, the policies of this organization are now the policies of the United States Government. When I sought this office—when I sought the Presidency—I renewed President Reagan's pledge that we would write no last chapters, we would close no books, we would put away no final memories until your questions about missing and possible prisoners of war have been answered.

And it is as your President that I repeat this pledge today. Let me simply state the policy of this new administration. The fullest possible accounting remains a matter of highest national priority. We will do everything that a government can to recover the missing and, if we discover proof of captivity, we will take action to bring our men home. And so long as you must live without knowing the fate of your loved ones, the United States will insist, in the name of humanity, that the governments of Indochina give the fullest possible accounting.

Frustration on this sensitive issue is totally understandable, and I hear those who say more must be done. And if more can be done, then it will be. And understand this: I don't counsel a timid patience, I counsel a bold persistence. And our persistence is showing some results—I should say your persistence. Since the Government embraced the goals of this organization, many more of you have found answers. Each answer has been another sad truth to learn. But every POW/MIA relative that I meet tells me that truth is preferable to the greater agony, that of not knowing. The task of learning more is daunting, but we can count on some powerful allies.

First are the national veterans organizations, those who have stood side by side with us through these long years. And it was these veteran groups, supporting you, which protested government indifference to the POW/MIA issue in earlier years, and their contribution has been indispensable. Other partners in our quest are the men and women in government who are dedicating their careers to learning the truth about our POW's and MIA's. These public servants are not uninspired bureaucrats just going through the motions. They have a deep and they have an abiding commitment to their task. This is a commitment shared by people in the military services, in the Defense Intelligence Agency, in Embassies throughout the world, and among those American pilots who bring our fallen soldiers out of Hanoi to at long last come home.

You also have many friends in both parties in Congress. I especially want to commend Bob Dole and John McCain and Steve Solarz and Bob Lagomarsino and Ben Gilman, for showing the governments of Indochina the strength of bipartisan congressional commitment to find answers. To keep this issue at the forefront, they have again passed resolutions establishing National POW/MIA Recognition Day this year on September 15th.

I just must mention how invaluable the guidance of Ann Mills Griffiths has been through the years. Her knowledge and determination are an inspiration, and her participation in the interagency group provides critical insights. And so we will, Ann, continue to look to you for advice and leadership and thank you for all you've done.

And let me just say, finally, I pledge to do all I can. In just a few minutes, I will sign this proclamation calling upon all Americans to honor their missing countrymen and those who served as POW's by participating in ceremonies across our nation. But this is just a beginning.

In Southeast Asia, there are Americans who are unaccounted for. And as I said in my Inaugural Address, in part: "Assistance can be shown here and will be long remembered. Good will begets good will." And we appreciate Vietnam's increased responsiveness to that appeal. An unprecedented level of joint operations has already brought significant progress, but despite our increased activities, many questions remain. And once again, I call on Hanoi to swiftly dispel the shadow of doubt, to shed light on the fate of your loved ones. I call on Hanoi to remove the last vestige of armed conflict between us.

We look forward to normalizing our relations with Vietnam once a comprehensive settlement has been achieved in Cambodia. And that settlement must include genuine power sharing with the non-Communist Cambodians led by Prince Sihanouk, and an internationally verified troop withdrawal. But Hanoi must clearly understand that as a practical matter the pace and scope of this process will be directly affected by the seriousness of their cooperation on the POW/MIA and other humanitarian issues.

In Laos, so many questions remain and so few answers have been received. In light of the difficulties involved, their agreement earlier this year to a year-round program of cooperation is, indeed, encouraging. And you can be certain that we are seeking to expand this agreement in every possible way. And we also welcome the Lao Government's agreement to work bilaterally with us on combating the international scourge of narcotics. Implementing this agreement will be critically important to our improved bilateral relationship, which has, indeed, expanded steadily since 1982. We look to the future in our relations with Laos, recognizing the importance of steps they are taking toward opening their society and developing their economy for the good of the Lao people.

To the families of those missing in Cambodia, I must tell you that our efforts to gain Phnom Penh's humanitarian cooperation on resolving the fates of your missing loved ones have thus far been unsuccessful. And despite their public claims to be holding remains of some Americans, officials there have been deaf to our appeals. And I have just asked our Secretary of State, Jim Baker, to raise this issue during the international conference in Cambodia beginning this weekend. I call on Phnom Penh to act responsibly, humanely, and to return these remains. And failure to do so will surely hinder their efforts to gain international respect and support.

The policies pursued during the past 8 years have shown some success. Incomplete? Yes. But progress is being made because our government is giving it high priority. And as we proceed, we will continue to search for ways to improve the process. We will continue to assemble the best resources, technology and, most of all, qualified people to interview refugees and evaluate the intelligence information and negotiate with foreign governments.

It is with that last mission in mind that I reappointed a man of the highest integrity and qualifications, General Jack Vessey, as my special POW/MIA emissary to Hanoi. I know that he was here with you this morning, and senior officials from the Departments of State and Defense and the National Security Council will follow me here. And I have charged them all, all of them, to do their utmost. They know and share my deep commitment to your missing loved ones and to you.

The principal responsibility for the POW/MIA issue rests with the Department of Defense. And for that reason, we are fortunate to have a very talented public servant as our Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney. His years in Congress and his knowledge of intelligence matters give him a rare understanding of, and a deep appreciation for, your concern.

In closing, I want you to know that in my frequent travels to cities and towns across America I see many heartfelt demonstrations of support for our cause. Americans know that across our land, every Thanksgiving, there are families that still set an empty chair at the table. We know that faded photographs and school mementos are still being lovingly kept in scrapbooks. And questions remain—and will remain until answered.

And now the mothers, fathers, wives, children and friends of another great power share the same kind of grief, share with you lingering doubts about missing loved ones. That this power, the Soviet Union, backed the North Vietnamese; and the United States backed the Afghan freedom fighters—there's an irony there. But there is no room in the American heart for a mean-spirited and petty indifference—far from it.

I am pleased to note that Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev recently made a humanitarian appeal for our help in obtaining the fullest possible accounting for Soviet citizens still prisoner and missing in Afghanistan. And let me answer him today: We will do everything we can, everything that we possibly can. And in return, we confidently expect that the Soviets will do all they can do to encourage more serious and timely cooperation from their allies. Working together, we can resolve the anguish of many families in two lands. And we can do something more: we can build a new spirit of peace.

In Ecclesiastes, it is written that there is a time for war, a time for peace, and a time to heal. We will never forget those who served our country. And when we receive final answers about their fate, then this will truly be a time for healing. Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. And now I'm honored to sign this proclamation.

Note: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel, at the annual meeting of the National League of POW/MIA Families. In his opening remarks, he referred to league members George Brooks and Ann Griffiths. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Appointment of Shellyn Gae McCaffrey as the United States Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labor Office

July 28, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Shellyn Gae McCaffrey as U.S. Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labor Office for an indefinite period, and accordance of the personal rank of Ambassador in her capacity as head of the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Conference. She would succeed Eugene Kistler Lawson.

Since 1988 Ms. McCaffrey has been Associate Deputy Secretary at the Department of Commerce. Prior to this, she was Deputy Executive Secretary of the Economic Policy Council at the White House, 1985–1988, and senior staff member in the Office of Policy Development at the White House, 1981–1985. Ms. McCaffrey was a press aide and fundraiser for the Bush and Reagan/Bush campaigns, 1979–1980.

Ms. McCaffrey graduated from Pennsylvania State University (B.S., 1979) and Washington College of Law, American University (J.D., 1988). She resides in Alexandria, VA.

Statement by Principal Deputy Press Secretary Cooper on the President's Meeting With Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev of the Soviet Union

July 28, 1989

The President met with Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev of the Soviet Union for approximately 1 hour in the Oval Office. Marshal Akhromeyev, who is visiting Washington at the invitation of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. William Crowe, is a special adviser to President Gorbachev on security and arms control matters.

The President and Marshal Akhromeyev exchanged views on a wide range of topics, including the status of arms control negotiations. The President reiterated his desire to see early agreement in these negotiations. He was particularly interested to hear the views of Marshal Akhromeyev on the relationship of domestic reform to Soviet security policy.

The President and Marshal Akhromeyev discussed *perestroika*, and the President took the opportunity to reiterate his support of President Gorbachev's reform programs. Also attending the meeting were the Vice President, Secretaries Baker and Cheney, and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft.

Remarks to the National Governors' Association in Chicago, Illinois

July 31, 1989

The President. Thank you, Governor Baliles. Thank all of you—Bill [Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas].

Before I make my remarks, I want to comment on a very disturbing report that we've just heard. There are unconfirmed reports that Colonel Higgins has, indeed, been executed. And I had planned to go on out to Nevada for another appearance today and then to go to Oklahoma tonight.

But this matter is of such concern to me and to all of you and to the American people that I think it's appropriate that I go back to Washington.

Whether the report is true or not, I know I speak for all here when I try to express to the American people the sense of outrage that we all feel about this kind of brutality, this uncalled-for terrorism. And this was a young American colonel serving in an international force, and it is incumbent on all of us to try to rectify this situation, if at all possible. And I have no more to share with you on this. We have not been able to confirm this horrible report, but I will go back to Washington and convene our top national security people and, first, establish to the best of our ability if the report is true and then figure out what might conceivably be done. So, I'm sorry to bring to this meeting a message of that nature, the bad news, but I felt you would want to know about it.

Jerry, that said, thank you very much. I want to commend you on your success as chairman of this group. I studied Latin for 4 years. Soon you will be chairman emeritus. "E" in Latin means out—"meritus" damn well deserves to be. So, I will—[*laughter*]—but I want to commend you—that having been said—commend you on that. It's been a joy working with you.

And I want to salute our host and my friend, Jim Thompson—a great Governor, former NGA chairman, who's rocked the world of Illinois politics by announcing that he will not run for a fifth term. They were just getting used to him out here, and now he's not going to run. But thank you for your hospitality.

I'd like to rise to John Sununu's defense: He is not quiet and retiring. That's all I will say about it. [*Laughter*] But I think it is good to have a Chief of Staff who knows how the Governors function and the importance of the Governors in this whole Federalist system.

I think Jerry mentioned Ed Derwinski, a member of my Cabinet, a good friend of longstanding. And I want to salute him and also our Secretary of Transportation, Illinois' own Sam Skinner, who is with me here today. Both doing outstanding jobs—Sam digging in now, working on a national transportation strategy.

And Terry Branstad, the incoming president—let me say I look forward to working with you, and I hope we'll have an era of real cooperation, just as we have with Governor Baliles.

Let's begin by saying what is the role of the Governor in the American political life? Well, de Tocqueville, the great 19th century observer, once asked a country politician the same question, and the answer he got was this: "The Governor counts for absolutely nothing and is paid only $1,200." Well, you still can't get rich off a public salary. But today I don't think there's any question in the minds of the American people that the office of Governor counts for an awful lot—counts for a great deal. In fact, leadership in America is increasingly the sum of your efforts and of your vision.

And that's why I consider myself a Federalist. I was there when President Reagan issued the Executive order on federalism, and I want you to know that I stand by it.

We believe in federalism, and yet we are a people, one nation, indivisible. And just as we share our cherished Constitution, so we also share common challenges and responsibilities. To cure our nation of illiteracy and drug abuse and crime, we must act in tandem—President with Governor, Governor with mayor, up and down the line—and in short, we've got to find our collective will as a nation.

And that's why I've come to Chicago to meet with all of you fellow chief executives. We share as executives a special responsibility, and some describe it as a great burden. But for us, if it is a burden, it is one that is cheerfully accepted. And to sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need and to set a course for the future, is to know a special kind of satisfaction.

In fact, our missions as executives are so similar that many Presidents have called on you for guidance. Teddy Roosevelt, who called the Nation's first conference of Governors, the forerunner of this association, convened the Governors at the White House. And he brought the Nation's Governors together to call for conservation, for an end to the reckless denuding of our forests. And they started a tradition that we are carrying on today: working together as President and Governors for a cleaner environment.

I thought you might be interested in a peripheral note here. I'm just back from the economic summit in Europe, and the whole question of environment is on the minds of these Western European leaders, unlike any time that I've ever seen. And I think that's a good thing. And I think it is going to cause all of us to work together internationally—just as my plea is here—that we work together inside our great country.

We have proposed, as you know, the first major revision of the Clean Air Act in more than a decade. And I read a headline in one of the great newspapers of this country where some say it didn't go far enough and others said it went too far. I figured, well, maybe we're not doing too bad on it. But it sets tough standards; it gives States and industry the flexibility needed to reduce costs and break the longstanding legislative logjam. The potential for consensus is there. The American people want clean air, and we can work together to see that they get clean air.

Then it was another Roosevelt—great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt—who called on the Governors to help him stem the financial crisis of the Great Depression. And today we don't meet in a spirit of immediate crisis; plenty of problems out there, but the Nation is fundamentally sound. But the decline of our educational system and the threat of crime and drugs, the economic dependency of so many, and yes, that ever-present Federal deficit and the problems that come with it—these problems threaten to endanger the very leadership position of America in the next century. And for America to remain competitive will require your best efforts and your executive know-how. The ultimate challenge, as Governor Baliles put it, is "to become again the Yankee traders that we once were." And he's not talking about George Steinbrenner [New York Yankees owner]. He is referring to the clipper ships. Your creative response to our nation's competitive position is more than perceptive; it's forward looking, an attribute to the best kind of leadership.

At this economic summit that I mentioned, the competitive position of our nation was an underlying theme in the discussions of the great economic issues of trade and monetary policy and international debt. But no less important to America was the start of my journey, that part that took us to Eastern Europe and central Europe. Poland and Hungary today are not the economic magnets that we find in Western Europe or the Pacific rim, but I saw a tremendous potential in the awakening spirit of those lands. It is absolutely amazing—the changes that are taking place on the economic front there and on the political front as well. And the beauty of it is that we can boost reform without massive government-to-government programs. We can do the most good as American leaders by simply facilitating trade and investment, by simply opening doors for opportunity and encouraging those governments to move as fast as they can towards privatization.

But to open these doors will require leadership at every level of government. You've already established a great tradition of searching for those opportunities abroad, and now I ask you to include Poland and Hungary on your list. While Governors have no formal role in foreign policy, you are becoming our economic envoys and ambassadors of democracy. You're a new force in restoring American international competitiveness and expanding world markets for American goods and services.

And of course, your focus is and, I think, must be on the critical domestic issues. As chief executives, we know firsthand how crucial our social health is to the future position of America. A nation in which half of our youth is ignorant of geography, in which drugs are rampant, in which a substantial proportion of the population knows little hope—such a nation will not long remain competitive. And in the final analysis, improving our schools, driving out drugs, and bringing hope and opportunity to those who need it most—these are issues of our national well-being, even our national security.

First and foremost are our children and their education. Working together, we can raise the level of learning in the classrooms of America. On April 5th, I sent a package to the Congress, an educational reform package based on four principles rooted in the practical experience of the States. To have reform, excellence and achievement must be recognized and rewarded; to have reform, Federal dollars should be targeted to those most in need; to have reform, we need flexibility and choice—choice for parents, choice for schools in their selection of teachers and principals. And finally, the essence of reform is accountability in education and reward for those schools that show progress. If implemented, I believe that these measures will restore the quality of American education and redeem the future of millions of children, but there is more to be done.

On June 5th, I asked the business community to study what the private sector can do to energize and support educational reform. And there are wonderful programs in effect now where business leaders assign people from their companies to help in the local school districts. These have been pushed and fostered by many of you around this table.

I want to renew my pledge to assemble the Governors in a summit to share ideas and to explore options for educational progress. Only twice before have the Governors met with the President on an issue of vital national importance. And now there will be a third such conference, an historic meeting on education. And so, I invite you to work with me at a Governors' summit on education to be held on September 27th and September 28th. We have not yet selected a place, but we want to go forward and do that. And together, we can find ways to strengthen our schools, to enlarge opportunities, and to improve our nation's educational performance.

As chief executives, we also see drugs and crime as the most harrowing domestic threat to the future of America. And I proposed on May 15th a commonsense approach to deter the criminals' use of weapons, to reform the criminal justice system, to enhance enforcement and prosecution, and to expand prison capacity to ensure both the certainty and the severity of punishment. I proposed the hiring of 825 new Federal agents and staff, 1,600 new prosecutors and staff, and an additional $1 billion for Federal prison construction. And I've proposed tough new laws, including mandatory prison terms, no deals without cooperation, and the death penalty for those who murder our police officers. But I need your leadership to see results. Work with me. Toughen your laws and put the worst offenders behind bars. And if you do, we will take back the streets.

And finally, America cannot continue to lead the world if we lag in providing opportunity at home. And last year, as you know, Congress and the administration enacted major welfare reform legislation—the Family Support Act of 1988. And this act grew out of a consensus that the well-being of children depends on more than material needs. Children need a family environment that encourages self-sufficiency—in a word, character.

With this in mind, I reestablished the Low Income Opportunity Board within the White House. And I've asked that board to assist you in the complex and time-consuming process of obtaining these Federal approvals for experiments in State welfare reform. So many innovative policies have come from the States. So, we want to work together to keep your administrations free to experiment, free to be creative. In fact, I have asked our Domestic Policy Council and the Low Income Opportunity Board to make flexibility the guiding principle, so that States will have greater freedom to experiment with welfare reform. And I am pleased to announce that this week the DPC, Domestic Policy Council, has committed itself to give you greater room to maneuver and to grant waiver requests as quickly as possible.

Many of our responsibilities overlap in education, law enforcement, and welfare. At times, there's been friction, a lot of friction between the States and the Feds. And perhaps what we need between the Federal Government and the States is a friendly competition well-known to Chicagoans. Here, along the majestic lakefront skyline, there's been an ongoing competition among developers to retain the title of the world's tallest building. You talk about one-upsmanship, this is it—a whole new meaning. Yet this is the kind of one-upsmanship that builds, not destroys; that lifts, not lowers; that takes us all a little closer, a little closer to the stars.

I have committed the powers of my office to lift America, starting in the classrooms and the streets. Working together, I am absolutely convinced that we can achieve a national consensus in spite of the overriding budgetary problems that the Federal Government faces. Working together, we can make the next century an American century.

Thank you. Thank you all for what you do for this country, and I'm just delighted to have been with you. Thank you very much.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. The President has agreed to take a couple of questions. I'll call on our vice chairman, Governor Branstad of Iowa, for the first question.

Education

Q. Mr. President, we're very honored that you've invited us in the third only Presidential summit with the Governors on the topic. And I'm delighted that you've chosen education because that's going to be an area of focus of the Governors for this coming year. And I just want to add my appreciation and say that we look forward to working with you and developing consensus goals to improve the quality of education, and we want to involve all the people in this nation that are concerned about rebuilding and strengthening the quality of education. Thank you for that commitment.

The President. Thank you for your question. [*Laughter*] No, but thank you, Terry, and we look forward to working with you.

Q. Mr. President, first of all, we appreciate your speech and your commitment both to fighting drugs and to improving education. I support, as I think you know, your education position. I'm for accountability, choice, alternative certification. One thing that concerns me in our State, and I think is a concern around the table here that I'd like to hear you comment on, is the relative lack of competitiveness of our high school seniors with many of the other countries with which you've been negotiating new economic, environmental, and defense arrangements.

What do you think the Federal role ought to be in trying to increase the number of people who can afford to go on to college—or who can't afford to go on to college but need to so that they can be internationally competitive? And do you believe that that ought to be a part of our education summit in September? I'm very concerned about that, and that's something that neither the States nor the Federal Government has adequately addressed, in my judgment, in these 3 or 4 years.

The President. I think, clearly, the Federal Government has a role. We have some programs. I know everybody would like to see them financed more fully, thinking of Pell grants and things of this nature. And I've been intrigued with some of the private sector approaches. A fellow named Pat Taylor in New Orleans has a program that I believe—I don't know whether Governor Roemer—I didn't—where is he—can comment on. I don't know whether he likes it or not. But nevertheless, it's a program that has some applicability to what we're talking about here. It's happened in other States. But, yes, I think it should be a key agenda item for the summit that we're talking about. Again, every time we get to worthy goals, I have to say: Wait, how do we meet Gramm-Rudman's targets and all of that? But clearly, in terms of objective, it must be that.

But, Bill, I'd also say that what you've talked about and you've pioneered, along with others around this table—I can single out Governors Baliles and Kean because they'll both be unemployed here in a few weeks. But this concept of encouraging excellence the way your States have done it I think has great applicability for how a high school senior goes forward and gets into college. So, anyway—but it should be an agenda item.

Q. Governor Celeste of Ohio.

The President. Where's Dick? I didn't recognize you. Yes? [*Laughter*]

Health Care

Q. Mr. President, you just alluded to the notion of worthy goals and budget realities. And this morning the Governors around the breakfast table talked at length about the problems we're facing now with Medicaid and the mandated costs that are built in as a consequence of decisions that have been made in the Congress. And I think it's our feeling that we would like to, number one, share with our congressional delegations the realities we're now contending with as Governors—but to call on them and perhaps to seek the assistance of the administration, as well, to have a 2-year moratorium on any additional mandates in terms of Medicaid with a commitment that all of us sit down together on a bipartisan basis—Governors, the Congress, the administration—to look at this whole issue of health care: how we assure coverage to those who need it; how we deal with this problem of sort of backing into a system which is virtually universal now for various pregnant women and small children, and to do it in a cost-efficient way. And I'm wondering whether you would be comfortable with a notion, for example, of a moratorium on additional mandates at this point and whether there's a way in which we could work together on this important issue?

The President. Well, I'd like to consider it. And certainly you're trying to hold the line on the spiraling costs. We're in a battle now—and I think we can resolve it properly—with some of our doctors in terms of the increased costs of physicians' fees. But, yes, without getting into the specifics, I'd certainly think we could cooperate fully. Maybe we could take one more, okay?

Transportation

Q. Mr. President, under our chairman's direction this spring and summer, I conducted a series of hearings around the Nation on our nation's transportation infrastructure. Two key facts came out of those hearings. One, those nations which make an increased investment in their highways, their bridges, their harbors, their air and rail systems, their water systems are more competitive in the world economy than those nations who do less. And secondly, those nations who make such investments stimulate more private investment than those nations who do less.

I don't have a question; I have a suggestion, if I might be so bold. Could you ask Director Darman, Secretary Brady, Secretary Skinner, and Secretary Mosbacher to form kind of a working group to make sure that our tax laws and our transportation policies are doing everything we can to encourage a renewal of America's transportation infrastructure? I know it will be part of Secretary Skinner's national strategies plan, but I think there needs to be more focus in Washington on the benefits of infrastructure investment and a return to our economy, especially our competitive world economy. And I think those four good men could really help in that effort.

The President. Well, let us try, and I appreciate the suggestion. And for those out around here from Illinois, I must say I am very pleased to be working with Sam Skinner in this field. I know the frustrations around this table when you see this tremendous highway trust fund and wonder why those funds aren't immediately available for the purposes for which they were earmarked. And the answer, obviously, is budgetary. But, yes, I'd be very happy to ask the four of them to get together.

Competitiveness

Q. Nice to see you again, Mr. President. I just wanted to follow up on the point that you had made and offer, for whatever it's worth, my congratulations on the September 27th summit, vis-a-vis education.

I would like to say that the Southern Growth Policies Board, which Carroll Campbell has headed for this past year and which I will head for this next year, is concerned. As the world grows smaller, cheap is not enough; we must be flexible and smarter. And we've undertaken, Mr. President, the goal to address adult illiteracy in our part of America. And I would encourage your team at the educational summit to address that question in context of the whole nation.

It seems to me that we're going to be making more products—one product, one person, one sale, rather than mass production. And it seems that the quality of our work force will be the key to us being competitive—not just the price of the work force, but the quality of the work force. That's one of our assignments in the South, and we're hoping you can help us nationwide. What I'm trying to say, Mr. President, is send money. Thank you. [*Laughter*]

The President. I thought I heard that.

Q. I said it poorly, as usual, but—[*laughter*].

The President. Let me say that, on this educational summit, I don't view this is as something where—like today where I come here for 2 minutes and then take off. I mean, this is going to be a session where we will have an opportunity together, you and me, to take a considerable amount of time to discuss these kinds of issues. I think it is important, and maybe Governor Branstad would be the one to turn to to have a little group for the agenda on this. And our Education Secretary will be involved; but sure, we should take that up. And I want you to know I will be personally involved in learning from this kind of involvement.

But thank you all very, very much. With permission, could I just say hello to everybody here.

Note: The President spoke at 10:08 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. He was introduced by Gov. Gerald Baliles of Virginia. In his opening remarks, he referred to Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, who was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989.

Remarks on Presenting the "E" Award to the Illinois Export Council in Chicago

July 31, 1989

Thank you, Governor. I know that some of you all here have been actively involved in this whole field of exports. And this "E" Award for excellence in export service is being given to your Export Council, the State's promotion agency.

We are committed in the administration to strengthening our trade, eliminating that imbalance; and that means, of course, strengthening our own competitiveness. The national economic power depends on our ability to compete effectively in world markets. And you are a leader—this State, under Governor Thompson—a leader in developing an export-based economic strategy. And this Illinois Export Council really has been in the forefront of developing the State's entire effort.

Your council established the World Trade Center in Chicago; conducted trade missions and trade seminars, export counseling, overseas visitors program, and export internship program. And to recognize these achievements, I am honored to present the "E" Award for excellence in export service.

I'm sorry that the Lieutenant Governor's not here because he's had a keen interest in all of this. And I think the answer is he got fogged in. But he's chairman of the council, and I want to pay my respects to George Ryan, as well as, of course, to Governor Thompson and all of those of you here who've done the work.

With this award comes the "E" pennant that is quite well-known around the country. I hope that you'll display it with pride. And your contribution has been recognized and appreciated. Thank you all very much for taking the time for this symbolic ceremony, and I hope other States do as well as you have in the future. It would be a great thing for our international competitiveness. Congratulations, Jim.

Note: The President spoke at 10:48 a.m. in Ballroom B at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. James R. Thompson and Lt. Gov. George Ryan of Illinois. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on the Murder of Lieutenant Colonel William R. Higgins

July 31, 1989

The President. Let me just say a word here and then go on. Let me just, on behalf of the American people, express the outrage that we feel at the brutal murder of Colonel Higgins. At this juncture, I don't have what I would call a final confirmation. On the way home from Chicago, I was on the phone to the Secretary-General [of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar]. And he, at that moment, which was about an hour ago, was still hoping that Higgins had not been murdered. I called Colonel Higgins' wife and talked to her—wonderfully stoic individual who is going through sheer hell. And I will convene a meeting here in the White House about 5:30 p.m. to get an update on the intelligence and to meet with my top advisers on this whole matter.

And there is no way that I can properly express the outrage that I feel. And somehow there has got to be a return to decency and honor, even in matters of this nature.

And I will have nothing more to say about this until I have had this meeting and been with some—I may say something more today, but probably not. And at this juncture, we want to get all the information and be sure we're dealing from the facts, not from—regrettably—from hearsay. But it is a most troubling and disturbing matter that has shocked the American people right to the core.

Q. Have you talked to the Israelis, sir?

The President. That's all I have to say about it. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 2:18 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House. Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989.

Message to the Senate Returning Without Approval the Bill Prohibiting the Export of Technology for the Joint Japan-United States Development of FS–X Aircraft

July 31, 1989

To the Senate of the United States:

I am returning without my approval S.J. Res. 113, a joint resolution that would prohibit the export of certain technology, defense articles, and defense services in connection with the codevelopment and coproduction of the FS–X aircraft with Japan. The resolution is neither necessary to protect the interest of the United States, nor consistent with long-standing requirements of the Arms Export Control Act. Further, the resolution contains binding provisions that unconstitutionally infringe on the powers of the Executive.

I am committed to the protection of U.S. security, economic, and technological interests. Shortly after assuming this Office, I directed that a review of the FS–X program be undertaken to reassess its impact on the United States. This evaluation included active participation by the Departments of State, Defense, and Commerce, and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, among other agencies. Following the review, we reopened discussions with the Japanese and clarifications were made to ensure that valid U.S. concerns and requirements were met in such areas as U.S. workshare and technology flowback.

With agreement reached on these clarifications, I decided that we should proceed with the joint development of the FS–X aircraft. I determined that the program is in the strategic and commercial interests of the United States and will contribute to our security and that of a major ally. The ability of Japan to carry its share of the defense burden will be enhanced as a result of the program, at no cost to the American taxpayer. Moreover, the program will produce substantial work for the U.S. aerospace industry without jeopardizing our commitment to the continued excellence of that industry. The U.S. economy will gain some $2.5 billion and 22,700 man years of employment over the course of the codevelopment and coproduction phases.

I remain fully convinced that proceeding with the program is in the best interests of the United States and that the additional conditions prescribed in this resolution are unnecessary. Such conditions include an unprecedented absolute prohibition on sales or retransfers of the FS–X weapon system or any of its major subcomponents codeveloped or coproduced with the United States. This prohibition is inconsistent with the current agreement with Japan and goes beyond the current requirements of the Arms Export Control Act, which permit such sales or retransfers, but only if the written approval of the United States Government is first obtained. This requirement of prior consent completely protects U.S. security and other interests.

The resolution also conflicts with the President's proper authority under the Constitution. The Constitution vests executive power in the President. Executive power includes the exclusive authority to conduct negotiations on behalf of the United States with foreign governments. S.J. Res. 113 violates this fundamental constitutional principle by purporting—in binding legislative language—to direct the United States and Japan to conduct negotiations if coproduction of the FS–X is sought, and by purporting to define in advance both the form and substance of any resulting agreement. In the conduct of negotiations with foreign governments, it is imperative that the United States speak with one voice. The Constitution provides that that one voice is the President's. While of course the Congress has authority under the Constitution to regulate commerce with foreign nations, it may not use that authority to intrude into areas entrusted by the Constitution exclusively to the Executive. And while I am eager to cooperate with Congress in shaping a sound foreign policy for our Nation, and will consult with Members of Congress at every opportunity—indeed, the ultimate shape of the agreement with Japan reflects healthy cooperation between our two branches—I cannot accept binding provisions like those in S.J. Res. 113 that would tie my hands in the exercise of my constitutional responsibilities.

The Constitution's vesting of executive power in the President requires that the President exercise supervisory authority and control over the internal deliberations of the Executive branch. The resolution intrudes on this constitutional principle by purporting to direct a particular Executive department to solicit and consider comments or recommendations from another department and to make certain recommendations to the President. The resolution also purports to require the President to consider these recommendations. Such provisions interfere with Executive branch management and infringe on the President's authority with respect to deliberations incident to the exercise of Executive power.

The reporting requirement imposed by this resolution would inject the General Accounting Office, a legislative entity, into the execution of the FS–X program in a highly intrusive manner. It would require the GAO, for example, to track within the Japanese aerospace industry all applications of technology involved in the development of the FS–X, including technology developed solely by Japan. Such a role, tantamount to intelligence gathering, is inappropriate for a legislative entity, and poses the clear and significant risk of legislative entanglement in functions assigned under our Constitution to the Executive branch.

The FS–X program is the first major military codevelopment program between the United States and Japan. The FS–X will bolster Japan's self-defense capability, strengthen our overall alliance with Japan, and allow Japan to assume a larger share of the common defense burden. The importance of these achievements cannot be overstated, particularly given the fact that our relationship with Japan is a foundation for our political and strategic relations throughout the Pacific.

To reopen discussions now for additional and needless changes can only damage the prospects for a successful agreement. If this occurs, substantial injury to the U.S.-Japan security relationship is likely and the considerable strategic and commercial benefits to the United States will be lost. This compromising of U.S. interests is simply not acceptable.

Finally, acceptance of this resolution would constitute a setback in our objective of achieving a close working relationship and mutual respect between our two branches through the minimization of legislative micromanagement of both foreign affairs and Executive branch internal deliberations.

For all the reasons stated above, I am compelled to disapprove S.J. Res. 113.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
July 31, 1989.

Nomination of Terrence O'Donnell To Be General Counsel of the Department of Defense

July 31, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Terrence O'Donnell to be General Counsel of the Department of Defense. He would succeed Kathleen A. Buck.

Since 1977 Mr. O'Donnell has been a partner with the law firm of Williams and Connolly. Prior to this, he was a Special Assistant to the President of the United States, 1972–1977. Mr. O'Donnell was a legal officer in the Office of the Judge Advocate General, 1971–1972; a U.S. Air Force counterintelligence officer in South Vietnam, 1969–1970; and stationed at the United States Air Force Headquarters, 1966–1969.

Mr. O'Donnell graduated from the U.S. Air Force Academy (B.S., 1966) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1971). He was a captain in the U.S. Air Force, 1966–1972. Mr. O'Donnell was born in New York, NY. He is married, has three children, and currently resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of J. Daniel Howard To Be Under Secretary of the Navy

July 31, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Daniel Howard to be Under Secretary of the Navy. He would succeed H. Lawrence Garrett III.

Mr. Howard previously served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs from February 1988 to May 1989. Prior to this he was Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the White House, 1986–1988. He has also served as public affairs adviser for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State. Since 1972 Mr. Howard has been a career Foreign Service officer and has served at the U.S. Embassies in Cyprus, Poland, and Japan. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he worked for the American Red Cross in Denver, CO. He was awarded the State Department Superior Honor Award in 1986.

Mr. Howard graduated from the University of Chattanooga (B.A., 1968) and the University of Tennessee (M.A., 1972). He was born August 24, 1943, in Chattanooga, TN. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1961–1965. Mr. Howard is married to the former Mary Ruth Elam of Knoxville, TN. They have three children and reside in Arlington, VA.

Continuation of Timothy Lathrop Towell as United States Ambassador to Paraguay

July 31, 1989

The President today announced that Timothy Lathrop Towell will continue to serve as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Paraguay.

Since 1988 Ambassador Towell has served as United States Ambassador to Paraguay. Prior to this, Ambassador Towell was Deputy Chief of Protocol at the Department of State, 1983–1988. He was the legislative management officer for Europe in the Office of Congressional Relations at the Department of State, 1980–1983. Ambassador Towell has been a political-economic officer in the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, Cuba, 1979–1980, and first secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Brussels, Belgium, 1975–1979. He served as the U.S. consul in Porto Alegre, Brazil, 1972–1974, and at the Department of State as a Spanish desk officer, 1970–1972, and as a Bolivian desk officer, 1968–1970. He has served in various other capacities in Bolivia and Spain.

Ambassador Towell graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1957) and Case Western Reserve University (M.A., 1962). He served in the U.S. Army Reserve, 1959. He was born January 31, 1934, in Cleveland, OH. He is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Juliette C. McLennan as the United States Representative to the Commission on the Status of Women of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations

July 31, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Juliette C. McLennan to be the Representative of the United States of America to the Commission on the Status of Women of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Mrs. McLennan served in several capacities on the Bush/Quayle campaign in 1988, including assistant director in the office of the national voter coalitions coordinator; cochair of the American Nationalities Coalition; national director of the Irish Coalition; and campaign liaison for Republicans abroad. Prior to this, she served as assistant director of surrogate scheduling on the Reagan-Bush campaign, 1984; managing director of Blair House for the U.S. Department of State, 1981–1983; and vice chairman of operations for the Presidential Inaugural Gala on the Presidential Inaugural Committee, 1980–1981. In addition, she served as scheduler for celebrities and athletes on the Reagan-Bush committee, 1980; deputy director of the volunteer office of the George Bush for President committee, 1979–1980; and national coordinator for the volunteer office on the President Ford committee, 1975–1976. She has served on several international committees, including cochair of the Belfast Children's Summer program, 1981–1988; director and past president of Committee for a New Ireland, 1982–1988; and past U.S. representative for the International Cooperative Alliance, Women's Committee, 1977–1980.

Mrs. McLennan currently resides in Washington, DC.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Hostage Situation in Lebanon

July 31, 1989

The President met at 5:30 this afternoon in the Cabinet Room with senior advisers concerning the hostage situation in Lebanon. The President received a briefing on the status of our knowledge of the situation. This was primarily an informational meeting at which all aspects of the case involving Colonel Higgins and the other hostages were discussed. Under Secretary [of State] Eagleburger discussed the United Nations resolution today which condemned hostage-taking.

Attending the meeting were the President, the Vice President, Secretary Cheney, Admiral Crowe [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff], Under Secretary Eagleburger, Attorney General Thornburgh, CIA Director Webster, NSC adviser Scowcroft, Bob Gates [Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs], and Governor Sununu.

Note: Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989.

Statement on American Hostages in the Middle East

July 31, 1989

Our grave concern over the taking and holding of American citizens as hostages has been made clear on numerous occasions in the past.

On Friday, I said that the taking of any hostage was not helpful to the Middle East peace process. The brutal and tragic events of today have underscored the validity of that statement. That position, and our firm opposition to negotiating with hostage takers, was further reinforced in my discussions this evening within the administration and in consultations with the congressional leadership.

Tonight I wish to go beyond that statement with an urgent call to all—all parties who hold hostages in the Middle East—to release them forthwith, as a humanitarian gesture, to begin to reverse the cycle of violence in that region.

Note: Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989.

Nomination of Jonathan Moore To Be an Alternate United States Representative to the United Nations

August 1, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jonathan Moore to be the Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador. He would succeed Hugh Montgomery.

Mr. Moore was the U.S. Coordinator and Ambassador at Large for Refugee Affairs at the Department of State, 1986 to June 1989; and the Director of the Bureau for Refugee Programs, 1989. Prior to this, he was director of the Institute of Politics and a lecturer in public policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, for 12 years. Mr. Moore has served as Associate Attorney General at the Department of Justice, 1973; Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1973; Counselor to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970–1973; and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 1969–1970. He has also served as Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary of State, 1969. Mr. Moore has also served as foreign policy adviser on the national campaign of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, 1968; chief foreign affairs adviser on the national campaign staff of Gov. George Romney, 1967–1968; and legislative assistant to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, 1959–1961. He began his government service in 1957 as a public affairs assistant with the U.S. Information Agency in Bombay and later Monrovia. He served as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, 1964–1966.

Mr. Moore graduated from Dartmouth College (A.B., 1954) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1957). He was born September 10, 1932, in New York City. He is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Continuation of William P. Albrecht as a Member of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission

August 1, 1989

The President today announced that William P. Albrecht will continue to serve as a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for the term expiring April 13, 1993.

Since 1988 Dr. Albrecht has served as a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. Dr. Albrecht has served in various capacities for the University of Iowa, including associate dean for external programs for the College of Business Administration, 1987 to present; professor of economics, 1982 to present; acting associate dean for external programs for the College of Business Administration, 1986–1987; visiting professor at the University of the Andes in Merida, Venezuela, 1986; and associate dean for undergraduate programs for the College of Business Administration, 1984–1987. In addition, he served as legislative assistant to Senator Dick Clark, 1974; associate professor of economics at the University of Iowa, 1970–1982; assistant professor of economics at the University of Iowa, 1965–1970; and acting instructor of economics at Yale University, 1964–1965.

Dr. Albrecht graduated from Princeton University (A.B., 1956), the University of South Carolina (M.A., 1962), and Yale University (M.A., 1963; Ph.D., 1965). He was born January 7, 1935, in Pittsburgh, PA. Dr. Albrecht was a commissioned officer in the U.S. Navy, 1956–1961. Dr. Albrecht resides in Iowa.

Statement on Food Assistance for Poland
August 1, 1989

I am pleased to announce today that the United States will provide additional support for the Polish people and the democratization process. We are prepared to provide Poland with up to $50 million in food aid in fiscal year 1990. It will include, but go far beyond, the 8000 metric tons of surplus commodities to be provided in FY '90 in accordance with the American Aid to Poland Act. We intend to provide to Poland supplies of sorghum, corn, and butter, subject to the availability of those commodities. We anticipate that all this aid will be on a grant basis. The commodities would be sold in Poland, with the proceeds being used to fund agricultural development activities there.

Last month in Paris at the economic summit and at an August 1 meeting in Brussels of 24 concerned countries chaired by the EC [European Communities] Commission, the industrial democracies expressed concern over Poland's urgent need for food aid. Food shortages are a heavy burden on the people of Poland and could undermine the historic political and economic reforms Poland is undertaking. The U.S. food aid program—the commodities themselves and the projects funded through their sale—should be of real benefit to the Polish people. It will assist in alleviating the impact of market-price reforms and support continued efforts toward economic and political liberalization.

Nomination of Ronald J. Sorini for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as United States Negotiator on Textile Matters
August 1, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ronald J. Sorini for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as U.S. Negotiator on Textile Matters, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

Since March 1989 Mr. Sorini has been Chief Textile Negotiator in the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative in Washington, DC. Since 1983 he has been involved with textile matters at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, serving as Deputy Textile Negotiator, 1984–1988, and Assistant Chief Textile Negotiator, 1983–1984. Prior to this, he was an international trade specialist at the Department of Commerce, 1980–1983.

Mr. Sorini graduated from the University of Illinois (B.A., 1978) and Georgetown University (M.A., 1980). He was born July 7, 1955, in Chicago, IL. He is married to Desiree Tucker-Sorini and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of James Richard Cheek To Be United States Ambassador to Sudan
August 1, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Richard Cheek, of Arkansas, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Sudan. He would succeed G. Norman Anderson.

Mr. Cheek joined the Foreign Service in 1962. He has served in numerous assignments with the Department of State, including chief of the political section in Managua, 1971–1974; congressional fellow for the United States Senate and House of Representatives, 1974–1975; Deputy Director for Regional Affairs in the Bureau of Near East and South Asian Affairs, 1975–1977; and deputy chief of mission in Montevideo, 1977–1979. He has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, 1979–1981. Mr. Cheek was a foreign affairs fellow at Howard University and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1981–1982; deputy chief of mission in Kathmandu, 1982–1985; and chief of mission and Chargé d'Affaires in Addis Ababa, 1985–1988. Since 1988 he has been diplomat-in-residence at Howard University.

Mr. Cheek graduated from Arkansas State Teachers College (B.A., 1959) and American University with a master of international service degree in 1961. He was born April 27, 1936, in Decatur, GA. He served in the U.S. Army, 1954–1956, and on active reserve, 1956–1967. Mr. Cheek is married, has three children, and resides in Virginia.

Remarks at a White House Barbecue for Members of Congress
August 1, 1989

Well, what a great, sheer pleasure it is to have these Oak Ridge Boys here at the White House, and what a marvelous evening! Richard and Duane and Joe are in good health, but Steve got out of a sickbed to join us here tonight, and I want to thank him, especially, for being with us. And let me just say on behalf of our family—I loved that family song—and on behalf of our family, dispersed to the winds—Barbara is sick at heart that she's not here, but she's looking after the grandchildren in Maine and sends her greetings.

These are not easy days, either in the Congress or in the White House. There are some overwhelming events that concern everybody here. But even though they're complicated times, I think an evening like this, of just plain relaxation with friends, is very, very significant and very important. And I'm grateful to all these people on the stage and their families who are with us—and some of their kids are here—for bringing us this touch of joy, touch of brightness in our lives.

And to every Member of Congress here, let me just repeat that this is a special evening for me—a special evening, I think, for our country—when we can have the executive branch, and many of my associates in that branch here tonight, and the legislative branch come together in a spirit of just plain good will. Thank you all very, very much. And once again, my heartfelt thanks to the Oak Ridge Boys. They are fantastic.

Note: The President spoke at 8:36 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Richard A. Sterban, Duane D. Allen, Joseph S. Bonsall, and Steve H. Sanders, members of the country music group, the Oak Ridge Boys.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Proposed Civil Rights Legislation for Disabled Americans
August 2, 1989

The administration has reached a consensus with key Senators from both parties on legislation that would expand the reach of this country's civil rights laws to include disabled Americans. This will be landmark legislation not only for the 37 million Americans with some form of disability but for all Americans, demonstrating, as the President said in his Inaugural Address, that "this is the age of the offered hand."

The President endorses this legislation as the vehicle to fulfill the challenge he offered in his February 9 address to the Nation: "Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society." The President has pursued a commonsense approach, seeking a practical bill that will help the disabled reach their full potential. He is committed to producing a bill that can be signed this year.

The discussions have resulted in an agreement we expect to be reflected in today's markup in the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The agreement provides for:

—Federal protection for the disabled against discrimination in the workplace, paralleling existing protections that apply to entities that receive Federal funds. The requirement would initially apply to employers of 25 or more and phase down to employers of 15 or more. Covered employers would have to make reasonable accommodation to disabled persons.

—Prohibition of discrimination against the disabled in public accommodations. The agreement adopts a broad definition of public accommodations, including restaurants, stores, and health care providers. Public accommodations would be required to make readily achievable alterations to existing facilities to accommodate the disabled. This legislation is designed to achieve access for the disabled in the most efficient manner, with emphasis on making new buildings accessible.

—Enforcement of the new protections through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and suits seeking injunctive relief.

The President is committed to bringing persons with disabilities into the mainstream, including full participation and access to all aspects of society. He wants to do this through a framework that allows for maximum flexibility to implement effective solutions, builds on existing law to avoid unnecessary confusion and litigation, and attains these goals without imposing undue burdens. The President believes this can be accomplished by using reasonable measures, phased over time, as this legislation does.

We are pleased that substantial progress has been made. We will continue to analyze the full ramifications of the legislation and look forward to working with the Senate and the House to complete the legislative process this year.

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on the Hostage Situation in Lebanon

August 2, 1989

Q. Mr. President, are you going to discuss the hostage crisis? Do you think that there is—any other hostage is in danger?

The President. Well, we're considering that that might well be the case, given statements that we've seen. And yes, indeed, my old friend—we have started to discuss it, and I'm not going to put words in his mouth, but he expressed his concern. You're free to say something if you want to. You're our guest, sir.

The Foreign Minister. Mr. President, I would like to express our condemnation for such a terrorist act which we think is not aimed against the United States, but against all humans everywhere. And this man, Colonel Higgins, is an international figure. He represented the United Nations. He's American citizen, but he is a world citizen. And the attack on him is really against us all. And we think, worldwide, not only condemnation but action should be taken to stop such acts.

Q. What action are you going to take, Mr.

President, or are you considering taking?

The President. Well, you can just rest assured that we're going about our business in a—I'd say, a prudent way—with a heavy heart, obviously, because of the feeling that the Minister expressed on behalf of the whole world, but the feeling that I feel just so personally about what happened to Colonel Higgins. But I would just leave it, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], that—please assume we are thinking prudently about this matter in every way possible.

We have exercised every diplomatic channel that I can think of—some personal, some through our Secretary of State and our national security adviser. We've been in touch—I have, personally—with many world leaders; and our State Department has fleshed this out, so we're leaving no stone unturned. But regrettably, as you know, sir, we're dealing with less than a full deck when it comes to information. It is very hard when you're dealing with this kind of cowardice and this kind of dastardly act to get all the information that you need to make a decision.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel you've received assurances from any of the other countries that you've contacted that they will be able to help in the situation? Is there anything you can tell us today that you feel—have some new confidence at all?

The President. I feel that everybody I have talked to—and including my distinguished guests here—would do everything they can to try to help. And yet, they face the same problems that we face when it comes to information and trying to find out exactly what happened. We are not dealing with all the facts. But I've had assurance after assurance from world leaders that they want to help. I'm sure you know, I was very recently on the phone with Margaret Thatcher and many others—several others—today and quite a few yesterday, and so it transcends religion, it transcends alliances.

It gets in, as the Minister said, to a matter that concerns the entire civilized world, and so we will keep on trying. And in the meantime, we've got to go about our business, and I'm doing that. But I don't want anyone in this country or around the world to think that it is anything of other than tremendous concern. But we must prudently move on with the business of our country.

Q. Mr. President, would it help if the Israelis release Sheik Obeid?

The President. I have made clear the position of the United States that I think—or, at least of everyone held against their will, would be a good thing.

Q. How about the ship movements, Mr. President? Are you planning any kind of military action?

The President. We're prudently planning.

Q. Like what?

The President. Like that's all I've got to say about it. [*Laughter*]

Q. Thank you.

The President. You see Helen hasn't changed. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 1:31 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House following discussions with Foreign Minister Muhammad bin Mubarak Al Khalifa of Bahrain. Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989.

Nomination of Stephen Read Hanmer, Jr., To Be Deputy Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

August 2, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Stephen Read Hanmer, Jr., to be Deputy Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He would succeed George F. Murphy, Jr.

Ambassador Hanmer is the Chief U.S. Negotiator for Strategic Offensive Arms in the U.S.-Soviet Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms. Prior to this he was Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon. He has served as the Director of the Office of Theater Nuclear Forces Policy in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, 1981–1984. From 1978 to 1981, he served as the nuclear plans officer in the United States mission to NATO. Prior to joining the civil service, he served 21 years as an officer in the United States Army, retiring in 1977 with the rank of colonel.

Ambassador Hanmer graduated from the Virginia Military Institute (B.S., 1955) and received two master of science degrees from the University of Southern California. Ambassador Hanmer is a 1968 graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. He is married and has three children and two grandchildren.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Abortion Funding in the District of Columbia Appropriations Bill

August 2, 1989

Dear _________:

The House soon will consider the District of Columbia Appropriations bill for Fiscal Year 1990.

If the bill presented to me permits the use of appropriated funds to pay for abortions other than those where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term, I will veto it.

I urge the Congress to vote to protect the lives of America's unborn children.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Representatives Julian C. Dixon and Dean A. Gallo, chairman and ranking minority leader of the District of Columbia Subcommittee on Appropriations. The letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 3.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Savings and Loan Financing Legislation

August 3, 1989

Dear _________:

I have repeatedly urged the Congress to act on legislation to resolve the crisis in the savings and loan industry. Indeed, the insolvent thrift institutions have had estimated losses of more than $6 billion since I proposed legislation on February 22 and asked Congress to take action within 45 days.

The conference report currently before the Congress incorporates key reforms that I requested. It also adds other important provisions developed by Congress through long and serious effort. Unfortunately, the conference agreement includes a financing plan that amends the requirements of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget process, as well as other provisions that will reduce asset recoveries for the taxpayers and add inappropriate subsidies. If the conference report is presented to me in its current form, I will veto the bill.

While Gramm-Rudman-Hollings is not perfect, it represents the only available institutional requirement for fiscal discipline by the Congress and the executive branch. Exempting $44 billion in spending from this budget process, as would occur under the conference provisions, would be unprecedented. It would also seriously undermine the future value of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings as a source of budgetary restraint—risking adverse effects on both markets and the economy.

I am prepared to work with Congress to bridge the divergent positions on the financing issue in a manner that preserves the budgetary discipline of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. It is essential to resolve this dispute this week before Congress adjourns for the August recess. Working together in a bipartisan spirit, we can achieve a fully responsible result for the American public.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; George J. Mitchell and Robert Dole, majority and minority leaders of the Senate, respectively; and Robert H. Michel, minority leader of the House of Representatives.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Hostage Joseph J. Cicippio

August 3, 1989

We have seen the statement this afternoon declaring a freeze of the sentence issued earlier against hostage Joseph Cicippio. We regard this as an encouraging and hopeful development, but it still does not answer our continuing concern for release of all hostages. We urge that all parties in the region use whatever influence they have to end the tragedy of hostage taking and to release those remaining in captivity. And we express our appreciation to all those who have been thus far trying to help.

Note: Joseph J. Cicippio, acting comptroller at the American University of Beirut, was abducted from the campus on September 12, 1986.

Remarks on Receiving Proposed Line-Item Veto Legislation and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters

August 4, 1989

Senator Coats. Mr. President, it's a pleasure for me to present to you on behalf of these Senators with us here—Senator Humphrey, Senator McCain, Senator Armstrong—a bill which we think will move us toward spending control from the executive branch and in the Congress, a much-needed tool that you must have and that we want to give you to enact some fiscal discipline in our spending process. Thirty-two senators have signed this piece of legislation, a legislative line-item veto. Senator McCain and I have worked very closely with Senator Humphrey and Senator Armstrong and others to put together what we think is a terrific piece of legislation. Thirty-two of our Members have signed it. We want to present it to you this morning and pledge our very best efforts to get this enacted into law. And we hope in a very short time we are back here standing with you and you have a pen in your hand and you're signing this into law.

The President. Well, thank you Senator Coats. And first, let me thank Senators Armstrong, Coats, Humphrey, McCain. Senator Dole was to be here, but I understand he's very enthusiastic about all of this. And I'm delighted to endorse the Legislative Line-Item Veto Act of 1989. And I'm especially pleased that we have now more than 30 sponsors, cosponsors, for the legislation. It's a long-overdue budget reform piece of legislation.

And on February 9th, I asked Congress to enact reform legislation to give the President greater control over spending. And present law allows for the cancellation of an appropriation only through rescission, but Congress can reject a Presidential rescission simply by inaction. And that's precisely what's happened to the vast majority of rescission proposals submitted by three Presidents since the present law went into effect in 1974.

And so I asked Congress to pass a budget reform proposal that would require an up-or-down vote by Congress on Presidential rescissions. And this legislation really gets to the heart of that goal. It's a tough bill; it forces Congress to act on rescissions. And if Congress does not act, the rescissions take effect. And if they do act, then the bill, of course, would be subject to a veto. So this is one of the tools the President of the United States needs to do what the American people want, and that is to control spending.

And I've said the President needs the power to make the tough calls on spending, to take the heat. I'm perfectly prepared to do that. And that's what, in my view, this forward-looking legislation does. So I endorse this legislation. And I want to thank each and every one of you for playing a significant part in it. And I look forward to working with you to see it enacted. Thank you very much.

Senator Coats. Well, this is the result of some very tough negotiations between all of us, and I think we've fashioned a bill here that will have some real teeth, some real meaning. And we're pleased that you're endorsing it. Thank you.

American Hostages in Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, what do you make of Rafsanjani's [President of Iran] offer to help resolve the hostage crisis?

The President. We have engaged in an extraordinarily broad exercise of diplomacy here in the last couple of days, and let me say I am pleased about that. I don't know what it means fully, but I think the world is familiar with our policy. But there will be nothing that will be done ever that will create a new incentive for taking somebody else hostage.

But I feel the burden of going to every end possible to try to find—get the return of these Americans to their loved ones and find out the truth about Colonel Higgins.

Q. What do you think was the motivating factor for the freeze on the execution? And where do you go from here?

The President. I like to think that a broad-spread appeal to nations in every corner of the globe had something to do with it. And many——

Q. You don't know?

The President. I don't know for sure. And the response that I have had on my personal calls and that the Secretary [of State] has had on his has been heartwarming. It's come from all sectors. And I've been very, very encouraged by that. And where we go from here, though—we'll just keep on trying.

Q. Mr. President, what has Iran's role been in this? And do you see an opening in the structure here to allow you to work for the release of the hostages?

The President. Well, I just answered I was certainly pleased that that brutal murder that had been threatened was set aside. I don't know the total role of any individual country in that area in all of this, but when you see a statement that offers hope for the return of our hostages, I want to explore it to the fullest.

Q. Have you made a decision to take military action if another American hostage is killed?

The President. I have made—I wouldn't—if I had made such a decision, I expect this would be the last place I'd be talking about it.

Q. Well, surely, you must see this as a golden opportunity now—you have the momentum, you have a diplomatic flurry going on in Damascus, International Red Cross, apparently. I mean, is there a new impetus?

The President. I'm encouraged, but I don't want to get the hopes of the hostages' loved ones up once again to have those hopes dashed. This is a brutal process, where you see people paraded before cameras and their families get their hopes up. My heart is still with Mrs. Higgins. We can't tell her with any definition what—of her husband's fate. And I have made appeal after appeal for the return of Colonel Higgins's remains if, indeed, he has been killed.

And so you deal with what you have out there, and what is foremost on my mind are the families and the hostages themselves. And I don't want to raise hopes beyond fulfillment, but there's reason to be somewhat encouraged. But I think of the brutality of the process: a man condemned to die at 11 and then it's moved to 3 in the afternoon. Put yourself in the position of these families. Think of the hurt that just that 4 hours of experience causes somebody. And I would just appeal to the civilized world or any country anywhere in the world to lay aside this holding of people against their will—hostages—and do what is right and decent and honorable in terms of the release of those hostages that are still held, and a full accounting in the case of Colonel Higgins, a distinguished officer who was wearing the uniform of the United Nations.

As the Foreign Minister of Bahrain [Muhammad bin Mubarak Al Khalifa] said in this office yesterday or the day before, this is the business of the whole world. Sitting at this desk—you ask what I feel about it? I feel for the families and for those that are held.

Q. Mr. President, this hostage, Mr. Cicippio, was among those who stayed on in Beirut after the United States had warned him to get out—had warned all Americans to get out or stay at their own risk. What kind of a claim should such a person have on the diplomatic resources of this country when they act against the wishes of the Government?

The President. We have put people—in the past, people in that part of the world on notice. But that doesn't fulfill my obligation as President if a person is held against his will, in the case of Mr. Cicippio. That doesn't mean we wash our hands of it. He's an American, and he is entitled to the concern of the President and every one of these Senators and everybody in our administration. And he's got a great, big, wonderful family up there that are eating their hearts out in Norristown, Pennsylvania——

Q. Did you call them?

The President. ——and we're very much concerned about it. I've not talked to Mr. Cicippio, and the State Department has been in daily contact with them—daily.

All right, thank you all. Anybody got any questions on the line-item veto legislation? I would like to speak up once again for that.

Note: The President spoke at 10:34 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989. Joseph J. Cicippio, acting comptroller at the American University of Beirut, was abducted from the campus on September 12, 1986.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Proposed Line-Item Veto Legislation

August 4, 1989

The President today endorsed legislation providing legislative line-item veto authority which would enable the President to rescind appropriations deemed to be wasteful or unnecessary. This legislation will provide needed reforms in the budget procedure known as rescission. Present law allows for cancellation of an appropriation only through the rescission process. Congress, however, can thwart a Presidential proposal for rescission simply by inaction. In fact, the vast majority of rescission proposals submitted by three Presidents since passage of the present law in 1974 were never acted upon.

The legislation the President has endorsed was developed by leading proponents of previous bills and would reform the rescission process by requiring that Congress take affirmative action to disapprove any rescission. The legislation would provide two periods during which the President could propose rescissions. First, after the signing of individual appropriations bills, the President would have 20 days to propose rescissions. The rescissions would go into effect after a specified period, up to 35 days in length, unless Congress passes, and there is enacted into law, a bill disapproving the rescissions.

Second, the President could also forward rescissions at the time of his budget submission to Congress each fiscal year. Again, the rescissions would go into effect unless a law is enacted disapproving the rescissions. The legislation also provides expedited congressional procedures to speed consideration of the President's rescission proposals.

Nomination of William Ludwig Jacobsen To Be United States Ambassador to Guinea-Bissau

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Ludwig Jacobsen, Jr., to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. He would succeed John Dale Blacken.

Mr. Jacobsen is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service with the rank of Counselor. From 1988 to 1989, he served as Director of African Affairs on the National Security Council. Prior to this, Mr. Jacobsen was a member and then Director of the President's Task Force on Southern and South Africa at the State Department in Washington, DC, 1985–1988.

Mr. Jacobsen received a bachelor's degree from the University of Washington and a master's degree from Harvard University. He was born in Seattle, WA, on December 2, 1936. He is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of James M. Strock To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate James M. Strock to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (Enforcement and Compliance Monitoring). He would succeed Thomas Lynch Adams, Jr.

Since 1988 Mr. Strock has served as General Counsel at the Office of Personnel Management. Prior to this, he served as senior associate at the law firm of Davis, Graham and Stubbs in Denver, CO, 1986–1988; special counsel on the Committee on Environment and Public Works in the United States Senate, 1986; associate counsel on the Committee on Environment and Public Works in the United States Senate, 1985; and Special Assistant to the Administrator at the Environmental Protection Agency, 1983–1985. In addition, he served as senior political analyst in the issues and research division on the Reagan-Bush campaign, 1984; special consultant to the Office of the Majority Leader in the United States Senate, 1982–1983; law clerk with the law firm of Fulbright and Jaworski in London, England, 1981–1982; and a teaching fellow at the department of government at Harvard University, 1980.

Mr. Strock graduated from Harvard College (A.B., 1977) and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1981). He resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of Elizabeth M. Tamposi To Be an Assistant Secretary of State

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Elizabeth M. Tamposi to be Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs. She would succeed Joan M. Clark.

Ms. Tamposi is currently vice president and partner of the Tamposi Co. in Nashua, NH, a family-owned development company. Ms. Tamposi is also president and sole stockholder of Hollis Crossing Realty, Inc., a real estate marketing and sales company.

Ms. Tamposi graduated from the University of New Hampshire (B.A., 1978) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1984). She was born February 13, 1955, in Nashua, NH. Ms. Tamposi is married, has two children, and resides in Nashua, NH.

Nomination of Sidney L. Jones To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Sidney L. Jones to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Economic Policy). He would succeed Michael R. Darby.

Since 1986 Dr. Jones has served as an associate faculty member for the Center for Public Policy Education at the Brookings Institution, and as a professor of public policy at Georgetown University, Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Under Secretary for Economic Affairs at the Department of Commerce, 1983–1986.

Dr. Jones graduated from Utah State University (B.S., 1954) and Stanford University (M.B.A., 1958; Ph.D., 1960). He was born September 23, 1933, in Ogden, UT. Mr. Jones is married, has five children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Nomination of Reginald J. Brown To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Reginald J. Brown to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development (Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination), United States International Development Cooperation Agency. He would succeed Richard E. Bissell.

Since 1982 Mr. Brown has served as a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as executive vice president of DECA Group, Inc., in Miami, FL, 1979–1982. From 1974 to 1979, Mr. Brown served in various positions in the U.S. Government: Director of Energy, Chemicals, and Public Utilities in the Office of Price Monitoring, Council of Wage and

Price Stability; Executive Director of the President's Commission on Military Compensation; principal analyst in the Congressional Budget Office; and Associate Director for Economic Analysis at the Defense Manpower Commission. In addition, he served as Deputy Administrator in the Office of Food on the Cost of Living Council, 1973–1974.

Mr. Brown graduated from the U.S. Military Academy (B.S., 1961), and Harvard University (M.B.A., 1965). He served in the U.S. Army, 1961–1971. He resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Gene McNary To Be Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gene McNary to be Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice. He would succeed Alan C. Nelson.

Since 1974 Mr. McNary has served as St. Louis County's chief executive. Prior to this, he served as St. Louis County's prosecuting attorney, 1966–1974; assistant public defender for St. Louis County, 1963–1966; and an attorney at Lashly, Lashly and Miller in St. Louis, 1961–1963.

Mr. McNary graduated from Indiana University (B.S., 1957; J.D., 1960). He was born September 14, 1935, in Muncie, IN. Mr. McNary was in the Army Reserves from 1960 to 1966. He is married, has three children, and resides in St. Louis, MO.

Nomination of Robert M. Gates To Be Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs
August 4, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Robert M. Gates to be Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs.

Mr. Gates has served since March 1989 as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Nomination of James David Berg To Be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation
August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate James David Berg to be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. He would succeed L. Ebersole Gaines.

Mr. Berg is currently serving as the Director of the Office of Freely Associated State Affairs at the Department of State. He has served as the head of the political and economic section of the National Security Council Office for Micronesian Status Negotiations. Mr. Berg was a staff officer for political and congressional affairs at the Department of the Interior.

Mr. Berg graduated from Northwestern

University (B.A., 1971). He received a Woodrow Wilson fellowship for graduate studies and master's in public and international affairs (M.P.A.) in 1976. He was born March 31, 1949, and is a native of Louisville, KY. Mr. Berg is married, has two children, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of Robert Clifton Duncan To Be Director of Operational Test and Evaluation at the Department of Defense

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Clifton Duncan to be Director of Operational Test and Evaluation at the Department of Defense.

Since 1987 Dr. Duncan has served as the Director of Defense Research and Engineering at the Department of Defense. Prior to this, he was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Technology, 1986, and Director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, 1985.

Dr. Duncan graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy (B.S., 1945; B.S., 1953) and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.S., 1954; Ph.D., 1961). He served in the U.S. Navy from 1945 to 1960. Dr. Duncan was born November 21, 1923, in Jonesville, VA. He is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Harold B. Steele To Be a Member of the Farm Credit Administration Board, and Designation as Chairman

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Harold B. Steele to be a member of the Farm Credit Administration Board, Farm Credit Administration, for the remainder of the term expiring May 21, 1992. He would succeed Frank W. Naylor, Jr. Upon confirmation he will be designated Chairman.

Mr. Steele is currently a member of the board of directors of the Midwest Financial Group, Inc.; a member of the Illinois Speakers Advisory Committee of the 1992 World's Fair Committee; a member of the board of directors of Illinois Society of Scientific Surveys; and a member of the board of directors of the Agrarian Management Corp. Prior to this, he was chairman of the National Commission on Agricultural Finance, 1987; and was named State chairman of Farmers for the Reelection of James Thompson for Governor in 1986.

Mr. Steele attended the University of Illinois, College of Agriculture, 1940–1943. He was a U.S. Army captain, 1943–1947. Mr. Steele was born July 8, 1922, in Sublette, IL. He is married, has four children, and resides in Princeton, IL.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Savings and Loan Financing Legislation

August 4, 1989

Dear _________:

Last night the savings and loan conferees reached a compromise on the financing plan included in the savings and loan legislation. The compromise avoids any amendment of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget process, while including both the Administration's approach to financing and direct Treasury borrowing.

The conferees deserve our thanks and our congratulations. They have worked diligently to fashion a strong and responsible bill to deal with this extraordinarily serious problem. Importantly, the bill includes tough and sensible new capital and accounting standards. Final passage remains critical to the stability and solvency of our financial system.

This legislation has been developed in a bipartisan process. It is badly needed, and must be enacted without further delay. Consequently, I ask that the House and Senate approve this legislation today, and that we pledge to maintain our commitment to resolve this problem.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; George J. Mitchell and Robert Dole, majority and minority leaders of the Senate, respectively; Robert Michel, minority leader of the House of Representatives; Senators Donald Riegle, Jr., and Jake Garn; and Representatives Henry B. Gonzalez and Chalmers P. Wylie.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism

August 4, 1989

The President has announced his intention to form a Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism to review and evaluate policy options in connection with aviation security, with particular emphasis on the destruction, on December 21, 1988, of Pan Am Flight 103. He has complimented the efforts of Majority Leader Mitchell and Republican Leader Dole, and their staffs, on their work with families of the victims and with the administration in the creation of this commission.

The Commission's terms of reference call for a comprehensive study and appraisal of practices and policy options with respect to preventing terrorist acts involving aviation security; an evaluation of the adequacy of existing procedures for aviation security, including compliance and enforcement; and consideration of options for handling terrorist threats. In addition, the Commission will make recommendations regarding policies and laws concerning the families of victims of terrorist acts. Ongoing, intensive investigations into all aspects of the destruction of Pan Am Flight 103 will not be affected by the Commission's work; rather, the Commission will focus on the need for additional measures to improve aviation security.

The Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism will be independent, have access to all information it needs to perform its functions, and report to the President within 6 months of its formation. In the event the Commission's report contains classified portions, a report for public distribution shall also be prepared. The Commission will have seven members. Four members will represent both parties in the Senate and the House of Representatives and will be appointed in consultation with congressional leadership.

Nomination of Stuart Michael Gerson To Be an Assistant Attorney General

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Stuart Michael Gerson to be Assistant Attorney General (Civil Division). He would succeed John R. Bolton.

Since 1980 Mr. Gerson has served as a member of the law firm of Epstein Becker and Green in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as a member of the law firm of Reed Smith Shaw and McClay, 1975–1980; Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, 1972–1975; and counterintelligence officer in the United States Air Force, 1967–1972.

Mr. Gerson graduated from Pennsylvania State University (B.A., 1964), and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1967). He was born January 16, 1944, in New York, NY. He served in the U.S. Air Force, 1967–1972. He is married, has two children, and resides in Maryland.

Nomination of Warren G. Leback To Be Administrator of the Maritime Administration

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Warren G. Leback to be Administrator of the Maritime Administration, Department of Transportation. He would succeed John A. Gaughan.

Mr. Leback most recently served as the senior vice president of Puerto Rico Marine Management, Inc., 1985–1988. Prior to this, he was Deputy Administrator of the Maritime Administration at the Department of Transportation, 1981–1985. Mr. Leback held several positions from 1975–1980, including vice president of the El Paso LNG Co., and vice president of marine operations and director of the El Paso Marine Co.

Mr. Leback graduated from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy (B.S., 1944). He is a merchant marine veteran of World War II and is retired from the U.S. Naval Reserve. Mr. Leback was born March 17, 1914, in Chicnook, WA. He is married, has three children, and resides in Princeton, NJ.

Nomination of Forrest J. Remick To Be a Member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Forrest J. Remick to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 30, 1994. He would succeed Lando W. Zech, Jr.

Currently, Mr. Remick serves as associate vice president for research and professor of nuclear engineering at Pennsylvania State University. Prior to this, he served as Director of the Office of Policy Evaluation at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and administrative judge for the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board Panel at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. In addition, he has served in several positions at Pennsylvania State University: coordinator of university energy programs, associate professor of nuclear engineering, director of intercollege research programs and facilities, and assistant vice president for research and graduate studies.

Mr. Remick received a B.S., M.S., and Ph.D. from Pennsylvania State University. He was born March 16, 1931, in Lock Haven, PA. He is married, has two children, and resides in State College, PA.

Nomination of Penne Percy Korth To Be United States Ambassador to Mauritius

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Penne Percy Korth to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Mauritius. She would succeed Ronald DeWayne Palmer.

Mrs. Korth most recently served as cochair of the American Bicentennial Presidential Inauguration, 1988–1989. Since 1986 Mrs. Korth has been the senior Washington associate and client liaison and representative of the trust and estate division of Sotheby's.

Mrs. Korth graduated from the University of Texas in 1964. She was born November 3, 1942, in Hattiesburg, MS. Mrs. Korth is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Christopher H. Phillips To Be United States Ambassador to Brunei

August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Christopher H. Phillips to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Brunei Darussalam. He would succeed Thomas C. Ferguson.

Mr. Phillips retired in 1986. He has served as president of the U.S.-China Business Council since 1973. Prior to this, he was the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador, 1970–1973.

Mr. Phillips graduated from Harvard University in 1943. He served in the U.S. Army Air Corps from 1942 to 1946. Mr. Phillips was born December 6, 1920, in the American Legation, The Hague. He is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

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Nomination of Joan D. Aikens To Be a Member of the Federal Election Commission
August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Joan D. Aikens to be a member of the Federal Election Commission for a term expiring April 30, 1995. This is a reappointment.

Since 1975 Ms. Aikens has served as Commissioner of the Federal Election Commission. She is the only sitting Commissioner to have served on the original panel. Commissioner Aikens served as Vice Chairman in 1985. She served as Chairman from May 1978 to May 1979, and again in 1986.

Ms. Aikens is a native of Delaware County, PA. She has one son and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of John Warren McGarry To Be a Member of the Federal Election Commission
August 4, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John Warren McGarry to be a member of the Federal Election Commission for a term expiring April 30, 1995. This is a reappointment.

Since 1978 Mr. McGarry has served as Commissioner of the Federal Election Commission. Prior to this, he served at the Federal Election Commission as Vice Chairman, 1980 and 1986, and as Chairman, 1981 and 1985. He was Special Counsel on Elections in the United States House of Representatives for the Committee on House Administration, 1974–1978.

Mr. McGarry graduated from Holy Cross College (B.S., 1952) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1956). He served as a signalman first class in the U.S. Navy for 3 years. Mr. McGarry is married and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Department of War
August 7, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Secretary; Deputy Secretary Atwood; and our service chiefs, Chairman Crowe and members of the Joint Chiefs; distinguished Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Dick, first let me just thank you for the splendid job you're doing at the Defense Department. I don't know if you've found the barber shop, but I hope you're finding how to get from the E Ring to your car without getting lost. [*Laughter*] You all remember the Secretary's dilemma, and now they've made a movie about the Pentagon called "No Way Out." [*Laughter*]

Secretary Marsh—Jack, this is an appropriate time to thank you for your splendid performance in service to the United States Army and service to your country. And I just can't tell you how much respect I have for the job you have done. And I also want to congratulate your successor, Mike Stone, who will lead the Army into the 1990's as Secretary of the Army.

I'm pleased to join with all of you in celebrating the 200th anniversary of this historic Department, now part of the Department of Defense. And in honoring the bicentennial of this Department, we're also honoring the heroes of America, past and present. The Department of War—the very name sounds antiquated, even bellicose; and certainly today, the title Department of Defense is more appropriate since the purpose of our Armed Forces is to deter war, not to seek it.

And yet the title was undeniably forthright, for the War Department fought and won six wars in its 158-year history. It was the War Department that waged the most tragic conflict in American history, a Civil War in which one Secretary, Edwin Stanton, was pitted against one of his predecessors, Jefferson Davis. And it was also the War Department that trained and dispatched vast armies of Doughboys over to France. And it was the War Department that served as America's nerve center in the struggle against the Axis powers, leading to the greatest military and moral victory in our history.

Winston Churchill gave much of the credit for this to the Army Chief of Staff, George Marshall, calling him the true organizer of victory. Everyone remembers George Marshall as a great Secretary of State. He deserves no less credit for his service to the Army and later as Secretary of Defense.

And none of us who served in the Second World War will ever forget the great leaders of the War Department, nor will we forget the great lesson of those years: Only the strong can keep the peace. It is no discredit to the War Department that at the outbreak of the Second World War our Armed Forces were still drilling with wooden rifles and hauling massive but useless radios and planning to wage land warfare with the horse cavalry.

And today, of course, it is not a shortage of rifles that threatens to undermine America's ability to keep the peace. To preserve the peace today, we must be strong in other ways, and this means that we must rely on advanced technology, not the strategic equivalent of the horse cavalry.

The United States today requires a closely integrated strategic program designed to enhance our strength, bolster deterrence, and facilitate arms control. It demands that we modernize our ICBM force, redeploying the Peacekeeper missile and rail garrison; and it means completing and development of the new small ICBM and its deployment when ready. And these mobile systems will bring improved survivability and stability to the land-based leg of our strategic triad. A strong defense also means something else: sufficient funding for the B–2 bomber. And it means one thing more: support for the Strategic Defense Initiative—SDI. It offers the promise of a stable nuclear balance that relies increasingly on defense. It provides an incentive for the Soviets to return to the negotiating table, and it will make any START treaty more effective. It represents a firm step towards stability, the same goal we seek through modernization of our nuclear arsenal and arms control. This is the program that our country needs, and I will work to see that this is the program that our country gets.

Just as critical to our nation's defense are the men and women of this Department of Defense. You are called upon to do a difficult, often dangerous job, and you perform your duty with great distinction. The history of this Department is nothing less than the history of American bravery. Whether we call it the Department of War or the Department of Defense, this tradition of service to country lives on in each and every one of you.

And so, today, in commemorating the Department of War, we also salute you and every brave American who ever served in the original War Department, in the U.S. Army, in your Air Force and Navy compatriots and now, with you in the Department of Defense. We also salute those who served in the two great conflicts of this century, and those who served in Korea and in Vietnam. And we cannot leave here today without pausing to salute one who stands as a symbol of the courage that burns in the breast of every American in uniform, one marine who has been very much in our thoughts, Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, William Richard Higgins.

It is an inspiration to be here today among America's finest and to honor a great Department and its great traditions. God bless you all, and God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 9:32 a.m. on Sommerall Field at Fort Myer in Arlington, VA. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney; Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald J. Atwood; and Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989.

Remarks at the Boy Scout National Jamboree in Bowling Green, Virginia

August 7, 1989

Bill, thank you for that generous introduction, and to you and Ben Love, my sincere thanks for inviting us to this unbelievable gathering of Scouts from all across the country. If you will permit me a note of regional pride, I understand that my home State of Texas has a pretty good-size delegation over here. I saw that flag, and I wanted to acknowledge it. Thank you, Curtis, for the Pledge of Allegiance and, Calvin, for that national anthem. Once again, I salute the colonel and the great Marine Band over here. You guys are lucky to have them. They are outstanding, and thank you, Colonel Bourgeois.

I want to salute our Secretary of Transportation, Sam Skinner. We flew down here; you saw us coming in on Marine One. And sitting with me on that plane was Sam Skinner, our outstanding Secretary of Transportation; Andy Card, an Assistant to the President; Bob Gates, an Assistant to the President for National Security—all three of them Eagle Scouts, so that tells you something about how we feel.

The last Jamboree, I understand you had an unwelcome visitor by the name of Bob—Hurricane Bob. And Bill tells me you didn't have a camp out, you had a damp out. But today I want credit as the guy that brought you the cool air down here. I would like full credit for that.

But I'm told that this Jamboree has come together marvelously—canoeing, kayak, swimming. You can race trailbikes and compete in archery. You can earn merit badges while you work your way down the midway. And some of you undoubtedly, you wise ones, will be asked to organize snipe-hunting expeditions. [*Laughter*] And this all sounds like a lot of fun, but there's one activity here that really tempts me to leave the White House behind and spend a few days with you here at Fort A.P. Hill. And I'm talking about Fish Hook Lane.

You see, I started fishing at age 5 or so, in the cold waters along the Atlantic coast at Maine, using a lead jig with—[*applause*]—modest, but reasonably good delegation there, I'd say; thank you very much—you know, fishing with one of these lead jigs with a little white cloth for bait, trolling with one of those old green cotton lines. And after awhile you get the hang of it, pulling in the fish—mackerel and maybe a flounder. But I became acquainted with the waters up there, and so well that now I think I know every reef, when the swells will break and where they will, the sea conditions and where you can find the seals on a given day.

And since the time I was your age, I've waded in a clean, clear river in Iceland next to the Prime Minister of that land, catching my first salmon up there. I've pulled in bass in many, many of the States that are represented here today, fought dolphins and kings and tarpon and bluefish in Florida on the high seas—the earlier ones. [*Applause*] Good sound system here. Thank you, Florida. And as you might have guessed then, fishing, I guess, is my favorite source of relaxation. And it's with a rod and reel that I tend to count my blessings, especially if I'm out there with one of our grandkids or with Barbara, the only woman on Earth who can read and fish at the same time—[*laughter*]—and catch every word and every fish.

But no matter where I fish today, I always look back to the days when I trailed that little piece of white cloth along the shoreline. And there's a lesson here that I want to share with you. Whatever you love to do—whether it's hiking, hunting, kayaking—hang on to it. As you pursue success in school—and if there is ever a group that epitomizes the pursuit of success, it's you—and later in your careers, don't forget to find time for the things you love to do. If you stay true to the hobbies of your youth, you'll find a source of relaxation and replenishment that will never fail you.

There are other things that you will learn as a Scout that will serve you well through your entire life. Your Scout law commands you to be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent—What a mouthful! And that might sound like a lot to remember, but it isn't. For at the core of that code is something simple: a desire to serve with honor, a sincere feeling for one's fellow man and for one's country. Serving is not a lifelong chore to be carried out. As Chief Scout Citizen Teddy Roosevelt put it: "The full performance of duty is not only right in itself but also the source of the profoundest satisfaction that can come in life." In short, to serve and to serve well is the highest fulfillment we can know. Bill Swisher, who gave so much time and commitment to this Jamboree—he certainly knows this. Around the country, Americans like you are serving others in a thousand ways, providing a Thousand Points of Light and doing a good turn daily.

I know that Boy Scouts have always helped out through times of disaster, from fires to flash floods. The Boy Scouts were there when Franklin Delano Roosevelt appealed for help during the Great Depression, gathering almost 2 million articles of clothing, household furnishings, and food for the needy. And the Boy Scouts were a strong helping hand at home when older brothers fought a war in Europe. And today the Boy Scouts have taken on a new struggle: to defeat what you call the five unacceptables: illiteracy, unemployment, child abuse, drug abuse, and hunger. In fact, fighting hunger alone, Scouts, Cub Scouts, and Explorers rounded up—now get this—65 million cans of food for local food banks, the largest collection of food ever undertaken in the history of the United States of America.

And your focus, then, is right on target. Today we can be grateful as a nation that no depression or no war looms ahead of us. But this doesn't mean that the times we live in are less demanding. The Boy Scouts of this 12th National Jamboree will face challenges unimagined by your parents. Perhaps the greatest challenges of our times, I'm sorry to say, is one of the unacceptables: the continuing struggle to keep drugs out of our high schools—a form of pollution, a poisoning of the mind, a corruption of the very soul of young America.

And we had some good news last week about drug use in America. The number of overall drug-users in the United States is down by almost 40 percent. And this is a real tribute to those who have worked in the service organizations, the youth clubs, and communities across this country. And it's especially a tribute to the Boy Scouts of America, but we cannot yet claim victory. The number of people addicted to cocaine and crack has almost doubled, and we must work harder. And I'm especially looking to you to encourage friends to refuse drugs—any illegal drug. I don't want any young American starting down the path to cocaine and crack.

Last week, a Wall Street Journal reporter wrote movingly of his son, a boy named Ryan. Ronald Shafer remembered his Ryan as an enthusiastic collector of baseball cards who could name every batting champion back to the sixties—the kind of bright kid for whom life was an open invitation to succeed. But Ryan started using drugs and alcohol at age 12 and soon became a stranger to his parents and his classmates. And by age 16, Ryan was dead. There are thousands of Ryans across America, thousands of young men and women who are in danger of losing their future, their very lives, to this scourge called drugs.

The Boy Scouts of America has assumed a leadership role in confronting this problem. You are teaching self-protection strategies against drugs and other dangers, and you've circulated these strategies in direct language in a very successful pamphlet called "Drugs: A Deadly Game." And you've done something else: You are leading the youth by example. For years, the Boy Scouts of America has led our nation in taking the antidrug message to every community. By actively engaging in the lives of others, you are demonstrating a central theme, a central idea of this administration: that from now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. Now I want to challenge you to take the final steps. Ask yourself if you know someone like Ryan Shafer. And if so, have you done everything that you possibly can to help him or her?

And there are other, more positive challenges facing your generation. When the first Boy Scouts chapter was formed, Americans had just tamed the farthest reaches of the West. There were only a few remote places in the world, unseen by man. And since then, the world has become smaller, and so has the room for our imagination and daring—a narrowed space for the restless spirit of freedom that is so much a part of our national priority and of our national identity. But you and I know that there's a new frontier, a frontier without limits—space.

And once again, the Boy Scouts has played a leadership role in preparing a generation for space exploration. It's no coincidence that half of all astronauts were once Scouts: Admiral Richard Truly, who ably heads NASA, is an Eagle Scout; Gus Grissom, an American hero who lost his life in the early space program, was a Scout; David Scott, who operated that first lunar rover, was a Scout; And Jim Lovell, another lunar explorer, whom I'm told is with us today. And I guess, Jim, if you're here, it's true what they say: Once an Eagle Scout, always an Eagle Scout. And I doubt that any of the Scouts who participated in the 1969 seventh Jamboree in Idaho will ever forget Eagle Scout—[*applause*]—go Boise—will ever forget Eagle Scout Neil Armstrong, who made man's first step on the Moon and later sent his greetings to the Jamboree from deep space. The first spacefarers were unique, the lucky few. But your generation will have a broader, greater opportunity to live in space, to travel, to establish an outpost on the Moon, and explore the mysteries of Mars. And this is the challenge of the next century—your century, your challenge.

Near the Jamboree area is a NASA exhibit called *Freedom* Station, which includes a display of our nation's first permanently manned space station in the next decade. And nearby are also large-scale models of the space shuttle and other spacecraft. This is America's space fleet, and its mission is gradually changing from exploration to settlement. When we aim for the stars, it will be to stay.

And this brings to mind a small coincidence: Just a few miles away, along the Tidewater coast of Virginia, the first Englishmen arrived in the New World—also not just to explore, but to stay. Those early Colonists faced a terrible struggle. Their first autumn brought a bitter harvest of hardship. Their first winter brought tragedy. But in the end, the generation of Captain John Smith escaped the confines of the Old World and settled the New—a fresh frontier, a boundless promise called America.

And today, as before, some timid and chiding voices caution us against the danger, the hardship, and the expense. Perhaps they should have seen Steven Spielberg's extravaganza. Or perhaps they should listen to Ray Bradbury, a writer who once said that space will make children of us all. He meant that the strange beauty and mystery of space will teach even the most cynical and world-weary among us to rediscover the wonder of their first glimpse of the night sky. It is this sense of wonder and curiosity that draws you from the comfort of home, comfort of television, to the outdoors. And tonight, when you are lying around the campfire, surrounded by dark forest, looking up at the stars of the night sky, I want you to consider something. Perhaps you, or even your kids—or as hard as it is for you to imagine, your grandchildren—will one day look up at the night sky before going to sleep, and see the Earth as a faint, twinkling blue star.

It is this spirit, a spirit of wonder, of discovery and adventure, that is surely drawing us to a new destiny on new and far distant worlds. You are privileged to be the generation that will witness the first large movement of men and women into space. And as this happens, I know that the Boy Scouts of today will be in the lead. Thank you for inviting me to your Jamboree. God bless you, God bless the Boy Scouts of America, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:44 a.m. at Fort A.P. Hill. In his remarks, he referred to G. William Swisher, Jr., chairman of the National Jamboree; Ben H. Love, chief Scout executive of the Boy Scouts of America; former Scout Curtis Hawkins; entertainer Calvin Grant; and Col. John R. Bourgeois, USMC, Director of the U.S. Marine Corps Band.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Execution of Lieutenant Colonel William R. Higgins

August 7, 1989

The Federal Bureau of Investigation today released the results of forensic examinations of the videotape purported to be of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins. Mrs. Higgins was informed of the results by the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Al Gray. President Bush called Mrs. Higgins at about 2 p.m. to offer his support and encouragement. The President said the U.S. Government will continue to do all it can to obtain a full accounting of what happened to her husband.

Note: Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989. After examining a videotape released by the terrorists, FBI forensic experts and pathologists concluded that, although a positive identification could not be made, the person depicted in the videotape probably was Lieutenant Colonel Higgins and that he was "within a reasonable degree of medical certainty" dead.

Remarks at the National Urban League Conference

August 8, 1989

Thank you very much, Dr. Watson. And to you, my friend John Jacob, thank you, sir—Tony Burns, the chairman, and all the other Urban League leaders. I single out my Cabinet-mate, Secretary Kemp. I'm delighted that you're here, Jack. Thank you all.

You know, Jack told me coming over that you had a moment of silence—a prayer, really, for Mickey Leland, my fellow Houstonian. And let me just say that we have been in touch with the Government of Ethiopia and the United Nations to learn the whereabouts of Congressman Leland's plane. Our Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney—seeing what he can do in terms of search assets.

I think it says a lot about Mickey that he was on his sixth humanitarian mission to help feed the hungry in that part of the world, and so, I would just like to join you all in what you did this morning to say that our thoughts and prayers are with him. I talked to Alison, his wife, late this morning—earlier this morning, I guess. She's strong, has a lot of hope. And we all pray that he's safe and that he and the others with him on that humanitarian mission will be found and that they'll all be safe. And we will, I can tell you as President, do all we can to learn what has happened.

I want to speak to you today about the state of urban America, about the future that I see for American cities and for the many millions of Americans who make them their home. In many respects, let's face it, urban America offers a bleak picture: an inner city in crisis. And there is too much crime, too much crack, too many dropouts, too much despair, too little economic opportunity, too little advancement, and—the bottom line—too little hope. But there's something else that's true about our inner cities, something we can't overlook, something the Urban League has worked tirelessly to strengthen; and that's a core community that is simply too strong to succumb, a community where there is too much faith, too much pride, too strong a sense of family not to fight back—whatever their challenge, whatever the odds.

But the challenge for urban America is a challenge for all America. It's a challenge for my administration. It's a challenge every American must embrace. The condition of our inner cities isn't a matter of charts and graphs and these cold statistics. It's more than an exercise in sociology or public policy. It's a question of how people live their lives, a question of human dignity; and it's a challenge that I take to heart. Your problems are my problems; your hopes, the hopes all Americans hold dear. Today I offer you my hand, and I offer you my word: Together we will make America open and equal to all. And together we must and will find a way to stop the decline in our inner cities, to restore hope, and make the nineties a decade of urban renaissance.

And whether we succeed depends on how well we meet three key tests. First, we must strike down barriers to advancement and opportunity for American minorities—and strike them down for good. And second, we must create conditions for urban growth and economic revival, conditions that leave no one behind. And finally, we must secure the most fundamental right of all: the right of young and old alike of any race to walk any street without fear.

Let me start with equal opportunity. Not just in urban America but across this nation, we must continue the crusade for equality. Just over a week ago, a collection of scholars released a monumental study called "A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society." It offers detailed evidence of the progress our nation has made in the past 50 years in living up to American ideals. But the study makes clear that our work is far from over. The great gulf between black and white America has narrowed, but it's not closed. And closing that gulf, eliminating it for all time, is the next chapter we must write in the unfolding history, the unfinished history, of civil rights. And that chapter will be written because today, as in the past, advancing the cause of equal rights is in keeping with our highest ideals. It's the right thing to do.

Think back to 1954, the Court's decision in favor of Linda Brown; a year later, another decision, Rosa Parks' refusal to go to the back of the bus; the 1960's, the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, Fair Housing; and in this decade, the elevation of Dr. Martin Luther King to a place of honor among American heroes. It was the right thing to do. And today, when our challenge is securing true equality for every American, once again, we will succeed because it's the right thing to do.

Discrimination—of course it still exists. Race hate, born of ignorance and inhumanity, still exists. The day of the poll tax is over. The day of Jim Crow is gone. Today bigotry and bias may take more subtle forms; but they persist, and as long as they do, my work is not over; your work is not over; our work is not over.

Before I go on, I want to make sure everyone in this room knows just exactly where I stand and just where my administration stands. My administration is committed to reaching out to minorities, to striking down barriers to free and open access. We will not tolerate discrimination, bigotry, or bias of any kind, period, just as Dr. Watson said.

Now, we've all spent a lot of time over the past two decades debating the best means of ending unequal treatment. And we've argued—I've even argued with John Jacob; you try that one on for size—we've argued, society's argued, about affirmative action, about quotas, about goals and timetables, about set-asides and 8–A firms. Well, while society's been debating these important issues, society's also been changing. The economy's been changing. Our world, the world our children will inherit, is changing. And part of the change is the progress we have made—hard-fought changes in which the Urban League can take pride. Part of the change is simply a matter of the dynamics at work in our world.

Take the economy: We're used to thinking of unemployment as a case of too many people and too few jobs. I remember playing musical chairs when I was a little kid—a game of musical chairs. And all too often, it's the minorities left standing when the music stops. In the 1990's, into the next century, our problem—our nation's problem—will be just the opposite: more than enough jobs and too few people qualified to fill them.

The last of the baby boom generation are in their thirties. And there's been a slowdown in the number of new workers that are entering our economy, and that's going to continue into the 1990's. Talk to any demographer, and they'll tell you that's true. New works will be in demand—new workers—and the simple fact is that 8 out of every 10 new workers will be women, minorities, and immigrants. Think about what that means. Think about it: For every child growing up today—black or white and, yes, urban or rural—there will be a job waiting. The question, our challenge, is whether they'll have the education and the skills that they need to seize that opportunity. And that's the new frontier for civil rights.

Opportunity means education. The jobs open to the 21st century worker are going to require higher skills. And never has education been more important than for the next generation, for the first-grader—today's first-grader—who is a member of the high school class of the year 2001. The package of education initiatives that I sent to the Congress this spring will make a difference for urban America and for American minorities. And I've called on Congress to provide a $250 million increase in funds for Head Start, a key program in getting disadvantaged children ready for school. And back in April, I signed an Executive order that will strengthen our nation's historically black colleges and universities and expand opportunities for their students and their graduates.

In many urban schools, the key is creating a sound learning environment, one that keeps the dropouts in and keeps the drugs out. And that's why I've called for the creation of urban emergency grants to help clean up schools hit hardest by the drug scourge. Education is the way to turn dreams into reality, and even in the inner city, every kid has a dream.

And opportunity means job training, building the employment skills and basic literacy ability that everyone needs to get and keep a job. For 6 years now, the Job Training Partnership program has been equipping the disadvantaged youth to enter the work force, to start that climb up out of the poverty trap. JTPA—it works. The proof is its 68-percent success ratio, and we're working to make the program even stronger. Last month we introduced amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act to target it more tightly on at-risk youth, kids with the most urgent need for job training.

But growth creates jobs, and the future of urban America depends on bringing growth to our inner cities. One entrepreneurial answer to inner city poverty—and I salute my Secretary of HUD for being in the foreground on this one—is enterprise zones. Enterprise zones can be a source of jobs, growth, and advancement. And the payoff isn't simply economic. When you create jobs, you create hope. We've debated the idea of enterprise zones long enough. And I've asked Congress to create at least 50 enterprise zones between now and 1993, and now is the time for action.

But enterprise zones are meaningless if we don't create economic incentives for urban expansion. And that's why I've also called on Congress to enact changes in the Tax Code that will make enterprise zones magnets for capital, magnets for job creation. And I'm talking about incentives to increase investment, to open a flow of seed capital into urban areas. And if we're going to make inner cities attractive to new capital, individuals who invest in enterprise zones should get an immediate tax savings.

And we've also got to reward risk-taking. I've proposed a zero capital gains rate for eligible business investments in enterprise zones. If you take your capital and go there to invest, you ought to have that as an incentive to put the business where the jobs must be for outside—[*applause*]. It should be a powerful incentive for outside investors and a rate of return fitting for urban entrepreneurs.

And I'm talking about incentives for working people. We want to establish what's known as a refundable wage credit for low-income employees in enterprise zones. In many cases, this credit will cut the taxes of low-income workers to zero. And for some low-income families who already owe little in taxes, a refundable credit will not only take them off the Federal income tax rolls; it will put money in their pockets.

Opportunity, education, advancement, equality: each is essential. But we can't talk about the future we want to see for urban America without talking about the number-one threat in our inner cities today. You know what that is, every one of you: illegal drugs. And you know the simple truth: Our inner cities cannot become centers of opportunity as long as they are battle zones in a drug war.

A little over a week ago, our Secretary of HHS, Dr. Louis Sullivan, released the newest statistics—maybe some of you all saw it in the paper—the newest statistics on illegal drug use in America. The statistics show two trends, one positive and one profoundly, earthshakingly disturbing. Overall use of cocaine has declined by almost half—testimony to the years of dedication and hard work of parents, educators, religious and community leaders, all determined to end this plague. But our greatest challenge is yet to come. Frequent cocaine use—frequent use—is up sharply.

And that means while our message is getting across to the casual user, hardcore drugs, drugs like this insidious crack cocaine, are tightening their grip. And that's grim news, that's bad news for the United States of America, because crack, crime, and violence—they're the unholy trinity in our inner cities. And urban communities suffer the most. And when the crackhouse is on your block, and when the stray bullet from a drug war shootout kills some mother sitting on her porch, and when parents and teachers and churches struggle to teach the values of honesty and hard work and then find themselves up against the fast-money lure of the drug trade, there's a certain hopelessness.

But our children can live and learn in peace. Urban communities can thrive again. And that's why we've got to combat drug violence, and that's why we've got to eliminate fear, and that's why we've got to create a climate of hope. The Federal Government is doing its part. We're going to do more. We've taken forceful action to speed up the eviction process for drug dealers in America's public housing. And in less than a month, we'll unveil a new national drug strategy, our comprehensive battle plan to wage the long, hard fight against illegal drugs.

And there's a message that I want to send today, all out across this country, to all law-abiding Americans: The war on drugs is a battle that can't simply be waged from Washington, DC. When I was in Chicago last month, I asked this nation's Governors to pass laws in each of their States that parallel the tough Federal stand that we've taken against illegal drugs. And today I ask each of you to do the same at the local level, in urban America. Let's put more police on the streets, tougher laws on the books, build the jail cells that we need to put drug criminals where they belong—behind bars—and, in my view, keep them there. Let's not point the finger or look for scapegoats. Let's enlist every asset that we have, form a united front, and fight this war together.

There are some who say—and you've heard it—the state of urban America is hopeless. The National Urban League doesn't believe that. I say they're wrong. We've got to see past the stories on the 6 o'clock news and past the statistics. We've got to see the potential for progress; we've got to see the face of hope in our inner cities.

And, now, I'm not afraid to say we've got hard work ahead of us: We've got to wage war on poverty and wage war on despair and wage war on the hopelessness that robs us of our future. And I want to tell all of you here today: I'm not going to relax in this job, or rest, until I know that I have done everything in my power to ensure that we succeed, that every child in our inner cities has a shot at a good job, that every kid stays in school and gets a quality education—yes, lives in decent housing in a neighborhood free of drugs, fear, and violence. We've got to work together to achieve these goals. I know we will, and I know why. John, you know why. Jack Kemp, Dr. Watson, you know why. Everyone here today knows why: Because, simply, it is the right thing to do. Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. at the Washington Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Bernard Watson, John Jacob, and M. Anthony Burns, senior vice chairman, president and chief executive officer, and chairman of the National Urban League, respectively, and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack F. Kemp.

Remarks on Signing the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989

August 9, 1989

Well, Secretary Brady and Secretary Jack Kemp, Chairman Greenspan, Senators Riegle and Gramm, and Congressmen Wylie and Gonzalez, and other distinguished Members of the House and Senate, ladies and gentlemen, and friends: Thomas Jefferson once observed that "the care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government." And today we gather here to sign legislation, the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989, which reaffirms those words.

This legislation comes to grips with the problems facing our savings and loan industry. It'll safeguard and stabilize America's financial system and put in place permanent reforms so these problems will never happen again. And moreover, it says to tens of millions of S&L depositors: You will not be the victim of others' mistakes. We will see—guarantee—that your insured deposits are secure.

And this, of course, was government's intent when, in 1933, it created the Federal Deposit Insurance [Corporation]. And yet as that system incurred massive loans over the past couple of decades, the fund designed to protect depositors itself became insolvent. And the crisis has been told and retold: The Federal insurance fund was unable to make good on its commitments to the public or to close insolvent institutions, and—their losses mounting—hundreds of bankrupt institutions were allowed to continue operating.

On February 6, I announced a plan to change all that: to protect insured depositors and to responsibly finance the closing or other resolution of all insolvent institutions. And we sought to abolish lax regulations, to increase penalties for wrongdoing, and to reform the financial system. And above all, we sought to protect those who have relied on government to faithfully fulfill its obligations.

I take a special pleasure in the historic legislation that I will sign here this morning. For the Task Group on Regulation of Financial Services, which I was proud to chair, began the effort to strengthen our financial system. And its work, and that of many others, was debated and refined by the United States Congress—and you see it here, all 371 pages of it. And, no, the bill is not perfect, but it is a first step, a crucial step, toward restoring public confidence. H.R. 1278 is responsive and responsible, and for that I salute the Congress. This bill balances America's need for financial security, competitiveness, and equity.

In particular, I want to thank two committee chairmen, Senator Don Riegle and Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, here with us today for their superb leadership in an extraordinarily difficult proceedings. And they were aided by Senator Jake Garn and Representative Chalmers Wylie, who helped make these proposals a reality; and of course, Senator Phil Gramm, who I mentioned earlier; and numerous other members of the banking and other committees, from both sides of the aisle, who took up the cause of the public's interest.

And then there's my friend, the Treasury Secretary, Nick Brady, whose dedicated efforts have been vital and whose leadership has been truly outstanding. And so have those of Director Dick Darman, over here, the head of the OMB. I'd also like to mention Richard Breeden of the White House. I'd be remiss not to salute hundreds of others on the staffs of the various regulatory agencies and congressional committees. They, too, deserve our thanks.

And because of them, of you here today, and so many others, this legislation will give us the tools to make our thrift institutions and our financial system as a whole strong and stable. With this bill's substantial funding, we will begin—here and now—to eliminate the ongoing losses of the insolvent firms and to ensure that not one dollar of insured funds will be lost by any depositor.

Toward that end, this legislation abolishes the agency once responsible for thrift supervision. And in its place a new agency will operate as part of the Treasury Department, ensuring the taxpayers' interests will always come first. And at the same time, a completely new insurance fund will protect deposits in thrift institutions. The obligations of the new fund, called Savings Association Insurance Fund, SAIF, will be fully guaranteed by the full faith and credit of the United States. The new seal displayed here symbolizes this new fund and our commitment to protecting depositors.

Good steps? I'd say vital steps, and this legislation goes still further. Beginning today, penalties for wrongdoing by officers and directors of insured institutions will be increased up to $1 million per day. And criminal penalties will be toughened from yesterday's slap on the wrist to the clang of a prison door. Those who try and loot the savings of their fellow citizens deserve, and will receive, swift and severe punishment. And also, starting today, tougher requirements for safe and sound operating practices will begin to take effect. Never again will America allow any insured institution to operate normally if owners lack sufficient tangible capital to protect depositors and taxpayers alike. And today, too, we begin using the new resources available to accelerate the resolution of failed institutions and to recover every possible dollar from their assets for the taxpayer. And at the same time, we will seek to minimize adverse impact on local markets.

These reforms will help our system right itself. For while the S&L crisis isn't behind us, we have met and passed our first critical test. More hard choices, more challenges, lie ahead. But we will meet them as we have this challenge—consulting, cooperating between Congress and the executive branch. And as we do, we will keep the new Federal deposit insurance system solvent and help serve those millions of small savers who make America great—the local paperboy looking ahead to college or the young couple dreaming of their first home, the retired teacher whose savings are her entire lifetime. We have a commitment to protect the savings of these Americans and millions like them across this country, and we will honor that commitment.

And so, together, Republicans and Democrats, we can keep America's economy number one in the world. We can and will preserve a safe, efficient, and equitable financial system for ourselves and, yes, for our kids. So, thank you all very much for coming here and for your support, both past and future, because plenty of work lies ahead. Thank you all very much and now, I'm proud to sign this monster.

Note: The President spoke at 10:49 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack F. Kemp; Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the

Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; Senators Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Phil Gramm, and Jake Garn, chairman and members of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, respectively; Representatives Henry B. Gonzalez and Chalmers P. Wylie, chairman and member of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, respectively; and Richard C. Breeden, Assistant to the President for Issues Analysis. H.R. 1278, approved August 9, was assigned Public Law No. 101–73.

Informal Exchange With Reporters
August 9, 1989

The President. Well, first let me welcome His Eminence, Cardinal Law, once again to the White House—a friend of longstanding and a man for whom I think we all have great respect. But I just want to suggest that this weekend, each in our own way, that we say a prayer for the American hostages, for their family, and indeed, for world peace. I believe in prayer, and I think it would be most appropriate with the situation that we consider this. So, I would ask the churches and other places of faith to say a special prayer this weekend.

U.S. Hostage Policy

Q. Mr. President, you seem to be moving away from the Reagan interpretation of what is a negotiation. You have fine-tuned it in the Boston Globe interview. To really make it specific, is there a subtle change, any change?

The President. I don't think there's any subtle change from the report that I signed, and indeed was the father of, sponsored obviously by President Reagan. I'm not going to do anything that would put some other American, perhaps in some other place, at some other time, at risk—and that means trading off or negotiating for hostages.

Q. But you are talking, and when you talk you obviously are——

The President. Excuse me, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I hope I'm openminded enough to talk and to exercise every diplomatic channel I can to free these Americans. No American is going to be content until these people are free, and I would be not doing my job if I didn't approach it in that manner.

Q. Well, isn't talking really trying to find out what their terms are and trying to persuade?

The President. I'm not talking about terms; I'm talking about talking to get people out that are held against their will. And I think I covered that pretty well in my inaugural address when I said good will will beget good will. And if ever there was a clearer signal, in my view, that's it. So, I repeat it. And if there are changes taking place and signals that are shifting, I don't want to miss a signal. The life of every single one of these people is too precious for me to be sticking my head in the sand and miss some subtlety in this highly complicated corner of the world. So, we are in touch with as many people as possible, anyone that I think can help either me or the Secretary of State or others who are in contact with them. We're going to keep on doing that.

Q. Is it possible to even discuss the question of the Iranian assets and the United States unfreezing them without encouraging the taking of other hostages?

The President. I'm not going to go into the details of the question you've asked. I've seen conflicting statements coming out of Iran on this question. And my view is to make the statements unconflicting, and my view is to do nothing that will be seen as quid pro quo for hostages.

Q. Mr. President, is it possible for you to elaborate on what you mean by that? How you——

The President. No.

Q. No?

The President. No, it's not possible for me to elaborate on it.

Q. After some original statements of optimism, you now seem a little bit more pessimistic about the prospects for getting the hostages out anytime soon. Why do you feel that way?

The President. Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], how do you know what I feel? It's the first time you've seen me in 4 days.

Q. No, I'm looking at your comments in the Boston Globe interview.

The President. What does it say there?

Q. In which you say "I have no reason to say just over the horizon that I think that this problem will be solved."

The President. Well, so I never said that I thought it would be solved just over this side of the horizon, did I?

Q. But you just said——

The President. What I'm saying hasn't changed anything. I don't go up and down by some headline, some newsclip. I'm conducting the foreign policy of this country in a prudent manner that I hope will get these people out of there. But the last thing I want to do is elevate the hopes of these families who have been disappointed over and over again, to have those hopes dashed. I think that would be not a good way to behave. So, I don't know. Put it this way: I don't think, in reply to your question, that I've changed my views. I've never felt that the hostages would be here tomorrow, but I want to—I hope they will, hope that something will happen. But in terms of my emotions, or how I view it, I haven't shifted.

Q. But "cautiously optimistic" means more hope than you seem to have had before.

The President. Come again?

Q. "Cautiously optimistic," which is the word you bought yesterday in your interview, seemed to have raised hopes.

The President. But he just said I dashed the hopes by saying it was too far away in the same interview. Come on, lighten up here. I mean, you can't have it both ways. You interpret the interview one way, he interprets it another. And I'm telling you what I think.

Q. Are the signals for Iran still positive? Are the signals from Iran still apparently positive?

The President. They're mixed, they're very mixed, John [John Cochran, NBC News]. And this is one of the difficulties. They're very mixed.

Disappearance of Mickey Leland

Q. Mr. President, do you have any late word on Congressman Leland?

The President. No.

Q. Is there anything the U.S. conceivably could do that it's not yet doing?

The President. No, we're cooperating and trying. Any late news on the Leland matter?

General Scowcroft. No late news, but the Ethiopians have asked for our help in searching for it.

The President. Well, they're getting it, and we are——

Q. What about the search plane they've asked for?

The President. What?

Q. What about the search plane that they've asked for?

The President. They're going to get all the cooperation we can give them. Cheney's trying to find what assets are available. Indeed, I think we've already mobilized——

General Scowcroft. We've sent some, and we're sending more, Mr. President.

The President. But this matter is of great concern to us.

Yes, Tom? And this is the last question.

Death of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins

Q. Mr. President, have we made any progress at all on the possible return of Colonel Higgins' body?

The President. No. And again, I'm not going to give up on it. I'm not going to say there is no hope. I talked to the [U.N.] Secretary-General yesterday, who is meeting with his representative, Goulding [Marrack Goulding, Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs] today. He's coming back from his vacation to talk to him, and I expect I'll be in touch if there is any reason.

I'll tell you one thing, Tom [Tom DeFrank, Newsweek], that is interesting—out of this—and perhaps hopeful. Some who—don't ask me to elaborate—some who heretofore have been ambivalent or silent in the face of Americans held hostage because of political reasons have been so infuriated or angered or repulsed by the brutality of the Higgins film and then having Cicippio come out and read under obvious duress that statement—they've been so offended by that, regardless of their view on the politics of the Middle East or any other area, that we are finding more and more of a willingness to help. And I'd say that's a positive thing. That might offer more hope to those families that are just being so hurt by the recent revelations.

Q. You mean in the Mideast?

General Scowcroft. All over.

The President. All over in the diplomatic efforts we're engaged in people have—there's a common thread—look, this is too much, enough is enough. And so, maybe that—it's just a hunch, but perhaps that will lead us to some solution here.

Cardinal Law

Q. Why is the Cardinal here? Do you have some special message? From divine providence or from anywhere else?

Cardinal Law. No.

The President. His Eminence has a keen interest in many areas in the world, including Cuba, Haiti, Eastern Europe. And as I do with a lot of people, I talk to a lot of people outside of the White House and outside of our government in order to learn, in order to see how we can help the cause of world peace, the cause of human rights. And I expect we're going to touch on those three areas here, along with others. His Eminence knows of my respect for the Holy Father; indeed, has helped me understand the dedication that the Pope has to world peace. Perhaps, through Cardinal Law, I have a more personal feeling about the Holy Father that made me feel the other day just inclined to pick up the telephone and call him and ask for his help in the return of Rich Higgins. And so, I learn from wise people.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The exchange began at 12:09 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House prior to a meeting with Bernard Cardinal Law, archbishop of Boston. Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989. Joseph J. Cicippio, acting comptroller at the American University of Beirut, was abducted from the campus on September 12, 1986.

Continuation of John J. Welch, Jr., as an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force

August 9, 1989

The President today announced that John J. Welch, Jr., will continue to serve as an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Acquisition).

Since 1987 Mr. Welch has served as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition. From 1965 to 1987, he was vice president of the Ling-Temco-Vought Co. and served in several capacities, including senior vice president, 1975–1987; corporate vice president, 1974–1975; LTV Aerospace vice president for programs, 1970–1974; and vice president of the missiles and space division, 1965–1970. He served as Chief Scientist for the U.S. Air Force, 1965–1970.

Mr. Welch received a bachelor's degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1951. He was born August 23, 1930, in Cambridge, MA. He is married, has four children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Charles E. Cobb, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Iceland

August 9, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles E. Cobb, Jr., to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Iceland. He would succeed Nicholas Ruwe.

Since 1987 Mr. Cobb has served as Under Secretary for Travel and Tourism at the Department of Commerce. Prior to this, he served as chairman and chief executive officer of Arvida Disney Corp., 1983–1987. He was senior vice president and chief operating officer and director of the Penn Central Corp., 1982–1983, and group president of the Penn Central Corp., 1980–1982. In addition, he served as president and chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Arvida Corp., 1972–1980, and president and chief financial officer of several subsidiaries of Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp., 1964–1972.

Mr. Cobb graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1958; M.B.A., 1962). He was born May 9, 1936, in Fresno, CA. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1958–1960. He is married, has two children, and resides in Miami, FL.

Statement on Signing the Bill Concerning the Cordell Bank National Marine Sanctuary

August 9, 1989

Today I am signing H.J. Res. 281, a joint resolution relating to the Cordell Bank National Marine Sanctuary. The Secretary of Commerce designated Cordell Bank as a sanctuary pursuant to a procedure established by the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act of 1972 (MPRSA). That law allows the Congress 45 days of continuous session to disapprove any part of the designation. In the first section of H.J. Res. 281, the Congress attempted to disapprove the part of the designation allowing the regulation of oil and gas activities within the sanctuary, but it did not present the joint resolution to me until after the review period expired. Thus, that part of the designation was not "disapproved by enactment of a joint resolution of disapproval" within the time period permitted by the MPRSA.

Section 2 of the resolution, however, accomplishes essentially the same objective that the first section would have accomplished. Section 2 prohibits *all* oil, gas, and mineral activities within the sanctuary. That prohibition becomes law upon my approval of H.J. Res. 281, and it will now govern the management of the sanctuary.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
August 9, 1989.

Note: H.J. Res. 281, approved August 9, was assigned Public Law No. 101–74. The statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 10.

Statement on the American Hostages in Lebanon
August 10, 1989

This Sunday millions of Americans of every faith will attend worship services. We have much to give thanks for in this country. But I ask that each of you say a special prayer this Sunday for the American hostages being held in Lebanon.

In the last several days, we have all struggled with the reality of Americans being held in a foreign land, tortured, and sometimes killed by their captors. Even as we search for political solutions to this problem, I believe that prayer is the most important way to deal with the human response to this tragic situation. I believe in prayer. It gives us strength in times of need. It gives us hope in times of despair. It gives us optimism in times of opportunity. So, I ask again that each of you join me this Sunday in saying a special prayer for the American hostages, their families, and their friends.

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of General Colin L. Powell To Be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
August 10, 1989

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, I am most pleased to introduce the man that I have selected to be the next Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: General Colin L. Powell. Colin Powell has had a truly distinguished military career, and he's a complete soldier. He served two tours in Vietnam and has had many important assignments around the world, including commander of the Fifth Corps in Germany and, most recently, as commander of all Army forces stationed in the United States. He is also a distinguished scholar, with a postgraduate degree, diplomas from our major war colleges, and a unique tour as a White House fellow.

The position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has always been a special and important one. Our Chairman today has unique responsibilities. He has a significant role in determining our military requirements and developing the defense budget. He is the principal adviser on all military issues to the Secretary of Defense and to the President. And Bill Crowe has performed these duties in an absolutely splendid way, and we can be most thankful that we have had his special leadership during the past 4 years. Bill, words can never fully acknowledge what you have done for your country, and thank you very, very much for that.

As we face the challenges of the nineties, it is most important that the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff be a person of breadth, judgment, experience, and total integrity. Colin Powell has all those qualities and more. His wealth of military experience, coupled with his most distinguished assignments, including Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, have prepared him for this challenging and demanding role. He will bring leadership, insight, and wisdom to our efforts to keep our military strong and ready, prepared to defend our security and to safeguard the peace. Colin Powell will be a key member of my national security team, a team of close-knit, experienced professionals. And I am very proud of this team and proud to add Colin Powell to it.

Colin, welcome, sir.

General Powell. Thank you, Mr. President, for your very kind words, and thank you, sir, for this new opportunity to serve you, to serve the men and women of the Armed Forces, and to serve our nation. I'm very pleased to be joining your national security team; and I look forward to working with you, the Vice President, and all the members of the team, as you face the historic opportunities and challenges that are before us. I also feel it a special privilege to be the spokesman for all the millions of great young men and women who are serving their nation voluntarily in uniform.

I also feel especially privileged and somewhat humble to be following a man like Admiral Bill Crowe, a distinguished sailor, great friend, and an outstanding Chairman. They are big shoes to fit into. I will give it my very best. The Nation owes Bill Crowe a great debt of gratitude. And Mr. President, I am ready to go to it, and I look forward to the challenges ahead. Thank you, sir.

Note: The President spoke at 2:32 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Disappearance of Representative Mickey Leland in Africa

August 11, 1989

We understand the frustration and grief that Congressman Mickey Leland's family and staff must be enduring as the search for his aircraft and its passengers continues. This is indeed a time of great apprehension and sadness for all those who know Congressman Leland. President Bush has long been a friend and colleague of Congressman Leland. They share mutual political interests in Houston and have worked together on any number of Texas issues. The President remains hopeful that the Congressman and his party will be found alive and well. He has expressed those sentiments personally to Mrs. Leland.

The United States Government and the Ethiopian Government have committed unprecedented amounts of people, equipment, and other resources to the search for the Leland aircraft. From the U.S. point of view, we have more than 160 U.S. military personnel in Ethiopia operating C–141, HC–130, C–21, C–5, and MH–60 aircraft and helicopters involved in the rescue effort. A U–2 reconnaissance aircraft that took photographs of the search area yesterday returned to the area today to take more pictures. Both of the beeper findings which have been detected have been investigated without success.

The United States commitment to this search is the largest, most comprehensive undertaking in recent memory. The U.S. commitment, coupled with thousands of Ethiopians making ground searches, will continue.

Note: Representative Leland, chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, disappeared en route to a refugee camp in Fugnido, Ethiopia.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Education Summit With the Nation's Governors

August 11, 1989

The education summit with the Nation's Governors will be held in Charlottesville, VA, on September 27 and 28.

In his speech to the National Governors' Association in Chicago on July 31, President Bush invited the Governors to work with him at a Governors summit on education to share ideas and to explore options for educational progress in order to find ways to strengthen our schools, to enlarge opportunities, and to improve our nation's educational performance.

This will be the third time in history that a President has called the Nation's Governors together to address a single problem facing our country. In 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt called the Governors together to address problems of conservation. In 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt called for the Nation's Governors to assemble to consider solutions to the Great Depression. President Bush calls the Governors together because he believes raising the level of learning in the classrooms of America is crucial to our nation's future.

Statement on the Anniversary of the Berlin Wall
August 12, 1989

Twenty-eight years ago, a barrier of steel and stone was erected in the heart of Berlin. It stands there still—now more than ever a relic of a bygone era and a failed philosophy. The barbed wire that severed a great city also proclaimed in stark, inhuman terms the unnatural division of Europe. Beyond its tragic human cost over the years, rending families and friends, the Berlin Wall has affronted the free world with an alien vision of closed societies where basic freedoms are denied.

The courageous people of West Berlin tend the precious fire of freedom as an example for us all. The city prospers and benefits from their innovative spirit and from expanding international ties. Its cultural diversity, economic vigor, and political pluralism are the fruits of boundless imagination at work in a democratic community. The United States is proud to have contributed to Berlin's freedom and vitality. We remain firm in our commitment to assure the city's security and well-being. In a year which marks the 40th anniversary of the airlift, such historic bonds between Americans and Berliners carry special meaning.

The United States is also committed to improving the lives of Berliners and to bringing closer the day when the city is again united. Together with our British and French allies, we have put forward an initiative to make such progress a reality. We want Berlin to enjoy greater access to the world through expanded air links, to be a center of international meetings and sports events, and to foster more human contacts which lead to better understanding. As I said in Mainz on May 31, we want Berlin to be a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. We have asked the Soviet Union, as part of its four-power responsibilities for Berlin, to join us in achieving these goals. We still await what we hope will be a positive response.

We observe this sad anniversary with renewed determination to overcome the division of Berlin and of Europe. On behalf of the people of the United States, I reaffirm this nation's commitment to Berlin's freedom and prosperity. The tide of history has turned, and we look to a future Europe whole and free. As we now mark the day the wall was built, so shall we inevitably celebrate a day when it no longer divides Berlin, the German people, and the nations of Europe.

Statement on the Death of Representative Mickey Leland
August 13, 1989

Barbara and I were truly saddened to hear that the discovery of Mickey Leland's aircraft revealed that apparently there were no survivors of this tragic accident.

Mickey Leland and the other members of his traveling party, both Americans and Ethiopians, were engaged in a noble cause: trying to feed the hungry. I have known, admired, and worked with Mickey Leland for many years. His sense of compassion and desire to help those in need has aided millions of people from Houston to Addis Ababa.

Our hearts go out to Alison Leland and to the family and friends of the congressional staff members, State Department, Agency for International Development, and Ethiopian officials who joined Mickey on his important mission and who died with him trying to carry it out. Barbara and I extend our sympathy to the families of all the victims.

Note: Representative Leland, chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, died when the small plane in which he was traveling crashed en route to a refugee camp in Fugnido, Ethiopia.

Remarks on Signing the Disaster Assistance Act of 1989

August 14, 1989

Well, all of you, welcome to the White House. And I want to salute Bob Dole, a driving force behind this bill; of course, Senator Bond, Kit Bond, helping so much; and Governor Hayden, Congressman Stenholm from Texas; and our outstanding Secretary of Agriculture, Clayt Yeutter—all of whom have played a key role in bringing this important relief to farm families hit by the extreme weather. And let me give a special welcome to the representatives of the American farm community that are here with us today.

I'm sure some of you heard the story of Mark Twain and his friend Howells, William Dean Howells, walking together when a thunderstorm broke out. Howells looked up to the clouds and he said, "Do you think it'll stop?" Mark Twain looked at him and says, "Well, it always does." And Twain may have been many things, but he wasn't a farmer. [*Laughter*]

And the farmer is at the mercy of the forces of nature, and sometimes nature fails him. And I know, Bob and Mike, that Kansas was hit especially hard—this year's winter wheat crop is less than half of normal levels. In a number of States—from the Dakotas to the Texas Panhandle, and in the mid-Atlantic States as well—farmers have indeed suffered.

And this bill provides relief: Disaster payments totaling approximately $900 million to compensate farmers for the wheat, soybeans, cotton, and other crops they lost due to damaging weather conditions this year. And this act will help farmers recover after damaging rain and wind and will see others through a year when they've had to stand by and watch their crops fail.

All of us know that the prevailing climate here in Washington is one of fiscal restraint, and money's tight. And that's why it is good news that the cost of the disaster relief that I'm authorizing today is reasonable; it'll provide relief only to those farmers hardest hit by adverse weather. And it wisely rewards those who took the prudent step of purchasing crop insurance.

We've seen a dramatic reduction in agricultural surpluses over the past years—in part, unfortunately, due to the drought, but even more, due to the resurgence of America's farming and a sharp increase in ag exports. And that's meant higher prices for the farmers, it's meant lower budget costs, and it's meant a better balance of trade for our nation. And that's a trend that certainly I want to help see that that continues. With Clayton Yeutter in the lead, we're working to keep world markets open for American agriculture.

And in addition to disaster relief, this law loosens some of the controls that limit what farmers can plant, leaving more farmers free then to choose the crops they grow and to diversify agricultural production. It's a provision I'm pleased to see that's included in this act.

The farmer is one of the original American entrepreneurs—men and women whose phenomenal productivity feeds America and indeed the rest of the world—risk-takers who start from scratch each season, staking their fortunes on the new year's harvest. And disaster can strike, and this year it did. And that's why I'm pleased to show our country's appreciation and support for farmers by authorizing the Disaster Assistance Act of 1989.

So thank you very much for coming. And now we will get on with the signing.

Note: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Mike Hayden of Kansas. H.R. 2467, approved August 14, was assigned Public Law No. 101–82.

Nomination of Richard C. Breeden To Be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and Designation as Chairman

August 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard C. Breeden to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1993. He will succeed Charles C. Cox, whose term has expired. Upon confirmation by the Senate, Mr. Breeden will be designated Chairman of the Commission.

Since January 20, 1989, Mr. Breeden has served as Assistant to the President for Issues Analysis. As a member of the White House senior staff, Mr. Breeden has been responsible for in-depth analyses of major issues, such as the problems of the savings and loan industry. Mr. Breeden helped develop the landmark legislation recently signed by the President to overhaul Federal regulation of this industry. From 1982 to 1985, Mr. Breeden served as Deputy Counsel to then-Vice President Bush, during which time he was staff director of the President's Task Group on Regulation of Financial Services. The Task Group was a Cabinet-level group established to recommend methods of improving all Federal financial regulatory programs. From 1981 to 1982, Mr. Breeden served as Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary of Labor. Mr. Breeden was a partner in the law firm of Baker and Botts in Washington, DC, from 1985 until joining the administration in January of 1989. He practiced law in New York City from 1976 to 1981, prior to entering government service. Mr. Breeden's law practice has covered a wide range of securities, banking, and other financial transactions and matters, both in the United States and internationally. He has written a number of articles on regulation of financial institutions, and has lectured both here and abroad on financial markets issues.

Mr. Breeden is a graduate of Stanford University (B.A., 1972) and the Harvard Law School (J.D., 1975). He resides in Great Falls, VA, with his wife Holly and their three sons.

The President's News Conference

August 15, 1989

The President. Good morning. Let me first have a brief statement, and then be glad to respond to questions. I want to note again the passing of two outstanding public servants: Congressmen Mickey Leland and Larkin Smith. They lost their lives in tragic aircraft accidents. Their passing is mourned by everyone who knew them, and Barbara and I extend our sympathies to their families and friends during this difficult period. Their deaths also reminds us that there are outstanding men and women in public life who are working at every level of government to better the lot of mankind. And these two fine individuals represented a deep caring for the poor, the disadvantaged, the victims of drug abuse and crime, and many other areas of our society that need improving.

In the last 2 days, I've attended meetings to consider our new national strategy to deal with the drug problem, and it's an issue that tears at the heart—feeds the fears of every American. Just yesterday, we learned that more than 75 percent of Americans say they favor tougher drug laws. Teenagers find drugs the biggest problem facing their generation. And it's clear in these surveys and from hundreds of personal stories of tragedy that we hear every day that drug abuse is a national menace, and that the central Government must attack it with every means at its disposal.

Bill Bennett has given me now an outline of our national strategy. It's balanced, decisive, effective, and achievable. And it will target all aspects of the problem. It'll call for commitment and sacrifice and understanding, but it's clear to me that the American people demand no less. And we'll be working on the final points of this strategy over the next few weeks, and I'll present to the American people on September 5th a coordinated counterattack involving all basic antidrug initiatives and agencies. Let me emphasize here that the Federal Government cannot do it alone. Local communities and States and individuals and families must help. And I'm being told in these meetings of the last few days that the American people are ready to take on this fight.

Late August is a traditional vacation period, but we cannot forget the full agenda that faces America at this time: our hostages, the Middle East, Lebanon, drugs, the budget, and so many other matters. In addition, the Congress is considering more than 100 of our nominees for government positions, and we need these people. And I urge the Congress to make this a top priority when they come back. All of these issues will be on my mind as we prepare for the hard work of the fall, and so on this last day before vacation, I'll miss you—[*laughter*]—but let me just see.

Hostages in the Middle East

Q. Mr. President, your spokesman said yesterday that significant progress had been made in pursuing the issue of the hostages. We're told that you've been on the phone to foreign leaders, that there's been a flurry of diplomatic contacts, but can you say today that we're any closer to seeing the hostages released than we were, say, about 3 weeks ago when the Israeli seizure of Sheik Obeid [Moslem cleric and Hezbollah leader] set into motion this chain of developments that seems to have raised expectations or hopes of a breakthrough?

The President. Norm [Norm Sandler, United Press International], I can't say that today, but we're going to keep on trying. But I cannot give you a definitive assessment of that. I just don't know. There are a lot of lines out there, a lot of initiatives have been taken. As I said earlier, the cooperation that we've received—some that we've solicited and some unsolicited—from leaders around the world has just been magnificent. But I can't give you that positive assessment at this point.

Q. Can I follow up on just one path that was pursued on that? In the absence of an exchange of prisoners, have you considered the extradition of Sheik Obeid to this country to face criminal charges?

The President. No, we have no criminal indictment against Sheik Obeid.

Q. Is that any kind of a legal option?

The President. Well, we wouldn't move against somebody without the legal process going forward.

Iran-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, what does it mean when you pointedly remind Iran that good will begets good will? The United States wants the return of the American hostages in Lebanon. If that occurred, what would the United States do in return for Iran?

The President. Too hypothetical to answer, but I would simply repeat that we're looking for signs of change, certainly when it comes to holding of hostages. We all know that we've had some major differences with Iran and the question of state sponsorship of terrorism. That's a given. Now we see a new leader coming in, and we hear different signals coming out of Iran—some in the old mode and then some that offer more hope. And so I will just leave it stand that a clear and good signal would be the release of American hostages, and there are many ways that countries who are estranged can get back together, from diplomatic relations or a wide array of other things. So I just hope that the positive signs prevail there, because there are some, and they are encouraging.

Look, we don't have to be hostile with Iran for the rest of our lives. We've had a good relationship with them in the past. They are of strategic importance. They would be welcome back into the family of law-abiding, non-terrorist-sponsoring nations. But I just would repeat that I'd like to see that kind of change go forward, positive change.

War on Drugs

Q. As you formulate your drug plans, Bill Bennett comes up with his proposals to you, how do you feel about the possibility of penalizing Latin American countries which fails to cooperate with us in stemming the flow of drugs from Latin America?

The President. I wouldn't be opposed to that, provided they were able to cooperate with us. I mean, you take a country like Colombia, and I am convinced that President Barco wants to cooperate. But his country has been ripped asunder by the drug cartels. And you've had supreme court justices slain; you've had people hunted down in Eastern Europe from Colombia and killed.

And so I think there has to be some measuring of intention before you paint with an extraordinarily broad brush and say,"Hey, drugs are coming in from your country, and therefore we're going to cut you off." And so I would hope that we'd have much more enlightened diplomacy or enlightened foreign policy than to isolate every country, even though that country was trying to do something about drugs at the source.

Q. But are there some countries out there which are not cooperating, and which you're actually thinking about penalizing economically?

The President. Well, no proposal has come to me now, but there's been some, as you know, John [John Cochran, NBC News]—there's been a lot of suggestions on Capitol Hill about this. But I feel a certain responsibility to look at the problems that are facing some of these countries with limited armed forces of their own, with very complicated insurgencies in their countries, and to formulate a foreign policy that takes these things into consideration.

Extradition of Sheik Obeid

Q. Mr. President, back to Sheik Obeid for a moment. In light of his reported role in the kidnaping of Colonel Higgins, would it not be the appropriate step for the United States to convene a grand jury and to pursue a possible criminal indictment against him, and then for the administration to go forward with an effort to extradite him to this country?

The President. Well, if the justice system goes forward and there is an indictment against him, I would be remiss if I didn't try to see him brought to trial.

Q. Well, sir, can't you take the lead in that and encourage the Justice Department to proceed——

The President. I put it just exactly the way I want to put it. [*Laughter*]

We've got to get to the back of the room here. Yes?

Hostage Situation in Lebanon

Q. Can you explain why you have not retaliated for the murder of Colonel Higgins?

The President. Retaliated for his murder?

Q. Yes, sir.

The President. If I could find some action—diplomatic, military, private sector, public sector—that I thought would help get the hostages out or guard against future hostage taking, I would take such action. Military action—I'd like to know that what action we took was not going to victimize a lot of innocent people. And I'd like to be sure of all the facts before taking action on the Higgins case. And I wish I could tell you we had all the facts, and we don't.

So when you look at the action that the

United States can take, I don't want to be responsible for the loss of innocent life. I also would have to weigh, if we considered military action, the lives of the Americans that were being asked to carry out that action. So it's just not clear yet. But if I could find a way to take those hostages, get them and bring them out, and that required using the military force of the United States, make no mistake about it: I would do it in an instant.

Yes, right in the back. Do you have a followup?

Q. Yes. May I ask what you're doing to increase the intelligence that would let you do something like that? Have you ordered the CIA to try to get assets in Lebanon?

The President. Well, the problem there is it takes a long time. And I do think that the period that we went through quite a few years ago has resulted in less human intelligence than is necessary to come to grips with something as murky as hostage holding. And so I'd like to do more, and the various agencies know of my interest in this, but I don't want to hold out the wrong kind of hope that you can say let's get more agents, more intelligence of the human source and that that happens overnight. It just doesn't work that way.

Yes? Way in the middle, in the back. Yes, sir?

War on Drugs

Q. Mr. President, you've told us you are going to expand vastly the fight against drugs. Are you willing to raise taxes to pay for that?

The President. We're not going to have to, but we are going to expand Federal expenditures.

Q. A followup on that, Mr. President. If you're not going to raise revenues to fight the drug war, where are you going to get this money? Can you tell us specifically from——

The President. Stay tuned—we will show you in September how we're going to allocate the resources for this.

Q. But as I understand it, this money will have to come from other Federal programs now being funded. Can you tell us specifically where this money will come from?

The President. Not yet. No, I can't tell you yet, because the final decisions haven't been made. But we will have to do some reallocation of resources; there's no question about that.

Situation in Panama

Q. Mr. President, is Panama—going back to Latin America for a minute—on September 1st, there will be an inauguration of the candidate that Noriega supported, effectively institutionalizing what the U.S. considers a stolen election. What is the U.S. going to do now? Are we going to be limited to these kinds of skirmishes that we saw last week, these arrests of one side or the other, or is there something else?

The President. I don't know for sure what we're going to do. Part of our understanding of the OAS agreement was that Noriega would be out. And I'm not holding my breath on his voluntary departure, but—and I have told Mr. Endara, who was duly elected by the people of Panama the other day, that we will continue to support what the people of Panama voted for. But it's still rather murky as to what will happen beyond September 1st. There are some hints that possibly there will be a transfer. Let me just simply say this: I would reiterate that our argument is not with the Panamanian Defense Forces; it is with Mr. Noriega himself. And that if he were to go out, and that you had the will of the people recognized, we would instantly have better relations with Panama. It would be good for our country, and certainly it would improve life for the Panamanians.

Federal Budget

Q. Mr. President, in the past you've said that the budget is very tight; there's not much room at the Federal level for spending. Now you say that resources are going to be reallocated. Doesn't that signal some hard times ahead for the military or the social programs, or both?

The President. Yes. We're in a period of hard times in the sense that we don't have all the money that we would like to spend in several areas. So, it isn't easy. And I am determined, though, to get this Federal budget deficit down, and to live within the Gramm-Rudman targets and to do it without threatening this long expansion by raising taxes on the American people.

Q. You've made no final decision on what programs are going to get the pinch on——

The President. No. The OMB is working on that right now.

War on Drugs

Q. Because the last administration also made the fight against drugs a major priority and yet drug interdiction efforts have not slowed the distribution of crack cocaine, people in the country still think drug abuse is a very major problem. What can you do differently now that you're President than the last administration or even prior administrations to turn this problem around?

The President. Well in the first place, we're formulating a national drug strategy, and though we've approached in previous administrations—we've approached various parts of it—this will be a rather comprehensive national strategy. You point out the bad side of it, and it is horrible—no question.

There is a little bit of good news out there, and that is that the decline—a serious decline in the amount of casual use of cocaine has taken place. This encourages because I think with better emphasis on education, we can do more on the demand side. On the interdiction side, we are going to have some specifics in that that I think will help get to the problem at the source. So, you learn. I salute the interdiction people who have done a good job, but we're just trying to improve on it, make it better.

Q. I know there's talk about using military assistance to provide to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia to help cut down on drug trafficking. Can you tell me if you would consider deploying U.S. troops in these countries to help in that effort?

The President. Well, I have said previously, way back in the campaign, that I would give serious consideration to an invitation from countries to help them. And I'll tell you what I found at this G–7 [economic summit participants] meeting. It was a very interesting—from several of the European leaders, the feeling that maybe we ought to have some kind of international effort to help countries in this regard, going after people where—in a country, at the invitation of a government of a country, people that have been out of the reach of the law enforcement of the country itself, of the Government.

So we have no specifics on that at this point, but generally speaking, we have used military assets, as you know. We've used helicopters, for example, in I believe it was Bolivia and perhaps Peru. And we're interested in all of this. But I don't think you can inflict force on a country, and I wouldn't want to be a part of that at all.

Iran-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, you talked about some conflicting signals coming out of Iran as a result of your diplomatic efforts.

The President. Well, I'm not sure it's a result of it, but there are conflicting signals coming out of Iran.

Q. Perhaps coincident with your——

The President. Okay.

Q. ——diplomatic efforts. I'd like to ask, do you believe that President Rafsanjani is firmly in charge in Iran, and how long are you prepared to give this diplomatic process before trying some other means or effort?

The President. Well, please elaborate. What do you mean "before trying some other means"? I'm not sure——

Q. Well, there are those who believe that there should be stronger military messages sent.

The President. I don't know the answer to your first part of it, and I don't know any expert in this government that does. I had a meeting with various agency experts on Iran, and I think the jury is still out as to what has happened internally there in Iran. I think all our experts feel that there are some hopeful signs, and I would cite some of the comments by Mr. Rafsanjani. And then you've seen some countersigns, one as recently as yesterday, by Mr. Khamenei. And there are others—their Interior Minister, who seems to be very hard over.

So, I think we don't know yet. We don't know how it is sorting out. But again, I would go back to the earlier answer, that that's fine. That can move forward. But if I find some other channel or action that would get our hostages out of there, I wouldn't wait on sorting out the internal affairs of Iran.

Q. If I can follow, though, just how long are you prepared to wait, and would you consider stepping up military pressure in this process? And to what extent do you hold Iran responsible for the safety of these hostages?

The President. Well, again, we're trying to sort out—there certainly—I think that if Iran decided they wanted those hostages to come out of there, there would be a good likelihood that that would happen, perhaps not with certainty, but a good likelihood.

And so, as you know, the position of the United States Government has been that Iran and a couple of other states have been involved in the state sponsorship of terrorism. And so I don't think it's a question of how long, it's a question of not—in my view, it's a question of exploring every avenue to get these people back and recognizing that at some point we have to stand up for our interests, even if it means military. And yet I'm not threatening military action because I've told you some of the constraints on authorizing military action.

Interest Rates

Q. Your Budget Director has said over the weekend that the Fed [Federal Reserve Board] ought to be a little bit less concerned about inflation and more concerned about recession, and perhaps let loose on interest rates. Do you agree with that?

The President. Listen, I don't know of any President, now or in the past, who doesn't favor lower interest rates. That is the American way. [*Laughter*] But you also have to be concerned about inflationary pressures. I thought what Dick Darman said was very balanced and very—I can feel very comfortable with his sallying forth and saying that. And I think I've said essentially the same thing in the past.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Darman also suggested that the Fed might be responsible for any recession down the road if interest rates don't come down. Do you agree with that, sir?

The President. Well, I'd like to go back, because I don't recall that part of it, and take that under advisement and let you know at a later date. [*Laughter*]

Situation in Lebanon

Q. What is the United States doing, if anything, to try and stop the destruction of Beirut that is underway? Is it a fear that if the Syrians succeed in driving the Christians out, that will seriously set back any progress that's been made on settling the West Bank and Gaza problem?

The President. The answer to your last question is yes. And the answer to the first part is: Joining others in calling for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign forces; support for the Arab League mission, which regrettably has hit an impasse right now, but encouraging those three countries involved to reenergize that initiative; joining where we can—I had a long talk with the Secretary-General [Perez de Cuellar] to see what role the United Nations can play, and indeed, I might take the opportunity to thank him for his timely dispatch of his emissary to the Middle East, although that wasn't a mission about Lebanon. It had to do with Colonel Higgins. I was deeply appreciative of his taking that action.

And so, we're in a very complicated situation in the Lebanon where I'm not sure any outside power can do other than exhort people in the country to have this cease-fire and to withdraw foreign forces, and then to take a look at whatever constitutional change is necessary so you have a representation there that all factions in Lebanon can feel comfortable with. And it's a long process and, in the meantime, I am literally heartbroken. I've bored some of you with this, but I've been to the Lebanon when I was in business, and I recall it as the peaceful oasis in a then-troubled Middle East, and I saw Christians living peacefully with the Moslems. And someday again, I'd like to think that the Lebanon can be restored to that——

Q. If I could follow up—there are reports that the United States does not want to pressure Syria to back off because we need their help to get the hostages out.

The President. That's wrong. I've never heard such a report. But if there's such a report you've heard, it is wrong.

General Manuel Noriega of Panama

Q. Mr. President, in an interview last week, I believe with Hearst Newspapers, you seemed to say that you would be willing to kidnap General Noriega to bring him to justice. Is that your policy, and would that be an appropriate thing for the United States Government to do?

The President. We have an indictment out against General Noriega for drug trafficking. I'm told that it's a good indictment, that it's an in-depth indictment. And I'm not saying what I would do or wouldn't do, but there was a case where a man named Jusef, I believe, Yunis, was apprehended and brought to justice. And I have an obligation to try to bring people to justice.

Q. Well, are there any constraints on what means you use, even though there's a legal indictment, or are there limits on what would be appropriate in enforcing such an indictment?

The President. There's always limits. There's always limits in matters of this nature. And the limits, as far as I'm concerned, are the lives, first, of Americans, and clearly innocent life. You've got to consider those things when you go about whatever it is, hostages or trying to bring Mr. Noriega to justice.

War on Drugs

Q. Mr. President, there has been some talk of sending the Green Berets to South America. Do you think——

The President. What was that question?

Q. Sending the Green Berets—there has been some talk of sending Green Berets to South America. Do you think that the DEA is inept to do this job, and why?

The President. To do the job of helping at the source? Well, you'd have to look at it country by country, and then I could tell you a little more about what the problem is. Some of the countries are faced with enormously well-organized and financed insurgencies; some of them are faced with the most highly financed cartels, and so you'd have to look individually. DEA isn't big enough or strong enough to solve the problems in these various South American countries. They can help a lot, and in some areas they have been very, very helpful. But I don't think that the DEA alone can solve the problems of the cartels in Colombia, for example.

Q. Are you considering sending the Green Berets to South America?

The President. No, I'm not considering that.

Q. On the drug plan——

Mr. Fitzwater. Final question.

The President. This is the final question, Marlin says, pre-vacation question.

Q. Secretary Bennett has indicated that part of the drug plan is to hold casual users of drugs accountable. Given that many, many State prisons are overflowing, and indeed, the Federal system has no more room at the present time, what type of accountability are you looking for? Would it be jail time, or something short of that?

The President. Well, it depends what the penalty is for the crime involved. And the tolerance, though, of casual users or the excusing of one echelon of society for using drugs and then going after another is unacceptable in a national strategy. And so, I'd say we'd have to look at the individual case, but I think the day of tolerance for those who break the law in using drugs is over, and should be over. And so we will try to make the punishment fit the crime, if you will.

Thank you all very much. Listen, I hate to go, but I have to do it.

Q. What are you going to do on your vacation?

Felix Bloch Espionage Investigation

Q. What's on the—about Felix Bloch, Mr. President? What about Felix Bloch?

Q. Do you have any political advice for Mario Cuomo?

The President. Let the legal process go on without a lot of hype. That's what I'd suggest—on Felix.

War on Drugs

Q. Are you a little concerned about raising expectations on drugs?

The President. No, I'm not, because I think the time has come to encourage every element of our society—the teacher, the family, the local communities, the States, the Federal Government—to pitch in. So, I am not. I think it is time that we recognize there is a major national problem. There are signs that some things can happen through education, like the decline of the cocaine use. And I think given that ray of hope, we ought to put on a full-court press, not just in the Federal Government but all across society, to try to solve this problem.

Q. But isn't your reputation largely on the line, given the promise you made at the inaugural?

The President. Well, more important than my reputation is that we solve this problem and we make progress against this scourge. So be it, and that's the way it is.

Note: The President's 20th news conference began at 10:49 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President and Press Secretary.

Memorandum on Ethics in Government

August 15, 1989

Memorandum to All Inspectors General of the Departments and Agencies

Subject: Ethics in Government

As a follow up to our meeting in late January, I wanted to reiterate my interest in and commitment to the highest ethical standards in government as well as my reliance on your vigilance to help me honor that commitment.

As you know, since we met, I submitted to the Congress in April legislation that would significantly revise federal ethics law to create a system that is reasonable and fair and yet upholds the highest standards of ethical conduct. I have now signed a message to the Congress transmitting another piece of legislation, one that would ban the receipt of honoraria by Members of Congress.

Even with adoption of these measures, I realize how much our system of ethical standards will still depend on the work of individuals, including particularly the specialists like you who devote their careers to the maintenance of high standards. We make every effort to select individuals of the highest integrity to work at each agency and to train everyone to understand what is required of them to uphold the public's trust. Nevertheless, your careful monitoring of agency activities and your diligence in investigating possible improprieties is essential both in ensuring that employees adhere to scrupulous standards and in ascertaining the facts and seeing that justice is done when employees fall short of proper conduct.

I know I can count on you all, and I thank you.

GEORGE BUSH

Nomination of James R. Locher III To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

August 15, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate James R. Locher III to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict). He would succeed Charles S. Whitehouse.

Since 1978 Mr. Locher has served on the professional staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Prior to this, he served as an operations research analyst in the Naval Forces Division of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation, 1974–1978, and an operations research analyst in the Mobility Forces Division of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation, 1968–1972.

Mr. Locher received a bachelor's degree from the U.S. Military Academy in 1968 and a master's degree from Harvard Business School in 1974. He was born August 21, 1946. Mr. Locher resides in Springfield, VA.

Statement on Signing the Bill Allowing Federal Government Retirees To Work Temporarily on the 1990 Census

August 16, 1989

I am pleased to sign into law today H.R. 1860, a bill that will help assure that we have the best possible people conducting the 1990 census. The bill allows government retirees to work temporarily on the census without having their pension benefits reduced. With this change in the law, the Census Bureau adds two million qualified people to the pool of possible temporary employees for the 1990 census.

These former public servants bring with them a wealth of experience that will make them effective census workers. They will also bring to these jobs a demonstrated commitment to public service, based on their long careers in government. They are people who understand and respect the public trust and will serve us well in helping to carry out this most important undertaking. This law makes sense and is good public policy. It allows us to use the best people we can find to help us with the 1990 census, an activity that is at the heart of our constitutional democracy.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
August 16, 1989.

Note: H.R. 1860, approved August 16, was assigned Public Law No. 101–86.

Memorandum of Disapproval of the Bill Waiving Enrollment Requirements for the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989

August 16, 1989

I am withholding my approval of H.J. Res. 390, which waives the provisions of the United States Code requiring the printing by Congress of H.R. 1278, the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989. H.R. 1278 was presented to me in printed form and I have signed it into law.

Accordingly, H.J. Res. 390 is superfluous. Under these circumstances, it seems best for me to prevent H.J. Res. 390 from becoming a law by withholding my signature from it.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
August 16, 1989.

Remarks at a Campaign Fundraising Luncheon for Ileana Ros-Lehtinen in Miami, Florida

August 16, 1989

Thank you, Ileana, and thank all of you for that warm welcome. What a pleasure it is, an uplifting pleasure, to be with the next U.S. Representative from Florida's 18th District. I'll tell you, I heard my friend Tom talk about a 2-week campaign. I don't believe there is such a thing as a 2-week campaign. But sure enough, that's what we're facing and why I want to thank each and every one of you for making a significant contribution to this campaign.

This is exciting. And it's grassroots, and you can sense a ground swell for our outstanding candidate. And the people of Dade County are going to turn one great Florida State senator into one great United States Congresswoman. I see my friends Bill Grant and Craig James and Mike Bilirakis here today. They need company; they need it bad in the United States House of Representatives. And so, I want to see her as the 11th member of an outstanding Florida delegation.

You know—she pointed it out, Ileana did—this is my first and last stop before going to Maine. And there aren't many things that are important enough to delay a vacation. I think we'd all agree on that. [*Laughter*] But electing Ileana Ros-Lehtinen to Congress is surely one of them. And anyway, it was right on the way—[*laughter*]—as she pointed out. And it is a pleasure—I mean it—it really is a pleasure to be here. And indeed, in a sense, it's, for me, like a—I won't say high school reunion, but like a reunion—seeing so many friends and so many people to whom I'm personally indebted for their political support. And of course, it's a great pleasure to be with our—and I say that for a purpose—our outstanding United States Senator Connie Mack. What a job he is doing for this State and for our country.

And I'm pleased to see my friend the mayor, Mayor Suarez. I'm delighted that Jeanie Austin, who's brought her lessons as Florida's party chairman to the leadership role at the Republican National Committee—I'm pleased that she came down with us. She left some big shoes to fill in this State that's on the move politically. But if anybody can do it, it's Van Poole, who I've known for many, many years. And he's doing a great job as our State chairman. I wish that my national cochairman, Bob Martinez, was here. But I understand he's on a development mission to Israel, and I wish for him a landslide reelection. You think of the redistricting, the importance of that, and it is vital.

I'm going to get in trouble if I single out all my friends at this dais or out in the audience, but I see Jorge Mas here. And all I would say to you, Jorge, is keep up your battle—sometimes lonely, always principled—for bringing truth to Cuba. I support what you are doing in terms of TV Marti, and we are not going to let the people down.

And I'd be remiss if I didn't mention my pal here, Alec Courtelis. I know some of you hate to see the guy—[*laughter*]—because every time you do, you're poorer. But the party or some good cause is richer. But nevertheless, I think I'd be remiss if I didn't say that, in my view at least, Alec was a large part in our being boosted to a 40-State victory last November. And, Alec, thank you; and thank you, Miami, too.

Every time I start this we get in trouble for those we don't have time to single out—like what's-his-name, the old Republican Party chairman of Dade County, Jeb somebody. [*Laughter*] I called him and asked what I could do as President to help out during the final 2 weeks. He said I should fly to Miami at once and babysit his kids until after the election. [*Laughter*]

So this is an important election. The spotlight of the Nation is going to be on Dade County. I think you know that already. You can just feel it. You can sense it coming out of this primary season, as we move now 2 weeks before the general election. In our first 6 months, our administration has set out on a new course, sails filled with the new breeze that I talked about on the day I took office and launched upon the success of a great President whose name graces a Miami avenue not far from here: Ronald Reagan.

We've got plenty of problems around the world, but on the world scene, the United States stands tall and confident. We've recently returned from a successful NATO meeting, where we put on the table an innovative, imaginative program for conventional force reduction, which if we're successful—and we're negotiating it with the Soviet Union—will take a gigantic step to see that the world is going to be more peaceful for these young guys at this table over here. And that's a lot of what being a President is about. We've seen how democracy is surging forward around the world, taking roots in outposts like Poland and Hungary. The excitement I felt when I was in Poland and Hungary—I just wish I could have shared it with everybody in this room.

And at home we've launched a series of bold proposals designed to make great cities like Miami places where every family can prosper: proposals to educate our kids, help clean up our environment—air and water—and in attacking crime and drugs, do nothing less than take back our streets.

If progress is to continue, and if we're to make this vision a reality for Miami and all America, then we need to send principled, tough, experienced legislators, like Ileana, to fight the battle in Washington. And we need, I might say parenthetically—primary season over—we need to send leaders like Miguel De Grande, Representative Lincoln Diaz-Balart, to fight the battle in Tallahassee. Do not forget the local level.

Let me click off a couple of examples as to why Washington is so impressed with Ileana. She's an effective teacher with a longstanding commitment to quality education. She's a smart leader, a veteran leader, with 7 outstanding years as a Florida legislator. We need experienced leaders like Ileana to win the war on crime and drugs, to maintain a strong foreign policy, and to help our children and our elderly fulfill the fullest potential of their lives. Florida's 18th, represented so long by Claude Pepper, is no place for rookies. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen is the only one with the experience to get the job done.

I expect that the number one issue in Miami—the number one issue, indeed, across America—is drugs and the violent crime they spawn. A strong foreign policy, hopes and plans for our children and our elderly—all our dreams and best intentions—will be for naught if we cannot win the war against the thunder in the streets and the evil that men do. The answer calls for common sense. Every criminal in this nation must understand that if they commit a crime they will be caught. And if caught, they will be prosecuted. And if convicted, they will do time. We must enforce those three principles. The comprehensive battle plan that we sent to Congress seeks to rid our streets of the violent criminals with an attack on four points: new laws to punish them, new agents to arrest them, new prosecutors to convict them, and new prisons to hold them.

Now, we've called upon the States for a long time to back us up with matching programs of their own. And here in Florida, Ileana hasn't just been with us; she's been leading the charge. She's led the fight for increased penalties for those caught selling drugs around our schools, passed the Drug-Free Workplace Act, and toughened our bail standards.

The time for talk is over. Five police officers were killed here in Dade County last year—five. And Ileana wants that Federal death penalty for Miami's drug kingpins. She supports my personal pledge that anyone who kills a law enforcement officer should pay the ultimate price.

In the fall, we're going to be unveiling a total—first time—a total national drug strategy, and this law enforcement package is going to be a part of it. But with crucial votes ahead in the Congress, this is the kind of uncompromising, experienced crime fighter that we need in Washington right now.

And I know Marvin Weinstein wants to see her leadership on crime taken to Congress. I understand his daughter, Hillary, is here. Marvin Weinstein was victimized twice—once by the brutal murder of his daughter and once by a criminal justice system that kept his family out of the courtroom, treating the victims of crime as second-class citizens. Ileana—she responded—she responded with the victims bill of rights and the new victims amendment to the Florida Constitution. And today things are different in Dade County. The judge, in a long-delayed murder trial, ruled recently that Ileana's new amendment protected the victim's parents' right to attend. And they said: "We finally got justice. After all these years, we finally know what happened." Ileana, you have made a difference in south Florida, and I think all of us are very grateful to you for that.

She knows that crime is not the only threat to America's society. She also knows the world as it really is when it comes to foreign affairs. With Cuba—Castro's Cuba—90 miles away, she understands the horrors of totalitarianism. And listening to her, she also understands the blessings of freedom.

And on the subject of totalitarianism, let me simply state: I think I know the agony of divided families and the concern that many here today feel about their beloved Cuba. And, yes, someday I'd like to see improved, yes, normalized relations with Cuba. But that cannot be, and it will not be, as long as Castro violates the human rights of his own people; as long as he, almost alone in the entire world now, swims against the tide that is bringing sweeping change and democracy and freedom to closed societies all around the world. As President, I will look for signs that Castro wants to move away from subverting his neighbors, move towards more openness, more freedom for his own people. But until I see demonstrable change, there will be no improvement in relations with Cuba. It simply cannot be.

Speaking of freedom, I want to recognize one special couple here, not just as Ileana's proud parents but as defenders of liberty who struggled against Communist tyranny. I saw them smiling back there when their daughter was speaking—Enrique and Amanda Ros. Why don't—Amanda, you and Enrique stand up now so we can see you. Some of you, not all of you, know the story, so let me repeat it here.

As successful American entrepreneurs, they've proven once again, like so many here today, that if you're willing to work hard America is still the home of freedom and opportunity like nowhere else on Earth. Ileana tells of how, in 1939, her grandfather took a small boat into Havana Harbor to rescue his cousin who was trapped aboard the SS *Saint Louis*, a Jew fleeing the Nazi Holocaust. Ileana's grandfather watched helplessly as the infamous "Voyage of the Damned" was turned away. And that's why her grandfather helped smuggle Jewish refugees out of Cuba when Castro's tyranny crushed freedom on the island, crushed religious freedom—crushed all freedom.

Her experiences give her an increased sensitivity to the problems of all oppressed minorities, wherever they may be. She's a strong supporter of Israel, of free emigration for Soviet Jews, and of the freedom fighters who are battling Communist oppression in this hemisphere and overseas. And that is principle; that is tough leadership. And that is Ileana Ros-Lehtinen.

She cares—you can feel it when you talk to her. Her concern for the helpless explains her focus on the needs of the children and the elderly. As a teacher and a mother—two children ages 2 and 4—she knows the potential in our youth, and she's witnessed the heartbeat [heartbreak] of drugs and missing children and lost opportunities. Ileana's election will help enfranchise two of the most underrepresented groups in Congress: America's teachers and America's working mothers.

And concern for others is why she successfully sought passage of legislation designed to provide a program for intermediate care for the elderly, creating an alternative between total-care nursing homes and living alone without any help. For the people of Florida's 18th, her efforts in Tallahassee complemented Congressman Pepper's leadership in Congress. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen will carry on the legacy of Claude Pepper: standing up for our elderly in Washington.

But standing here in Florida, our space program's home State, and hoping to boost the candidacy of a talented young American woman, we ought to take note of some auspicious signs. After I leave tonight, at just about sunset, a full Moon is going to rise out of the waves to the east and shine over Miami. But it is no ordinary full Moon, because anybody watching tonight will witness the magic of a total lunar eclipse, an event not seen on these shores in nearly 7 years. So, go outside tonight and take your children—your grandchildren, some of you old ones. [*Laughter*] And with any luck and if the weather holds, I'll be up there on the coast of Maine, watching with four Miamians of my own: Colu, George, Noelle, and little Jeb. And as you enjoy the magic of a summer night and as you think about the magic of a lunar eclipse, think also about the magic of America—a land where dreams come true, a land where anything is possible, a country without limits.

Ileana's dream is your dream. It's not a Republican dream or a Dade County dream; it's the American dream. And we've got 2 weeks left, so let's go out there and make that dream come true. Thank you. God bless you. God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 1:09 p.m. in the ballroom at the Omni International Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Florida State Treasurer Tom Gallagher; Congressmen Bill Grant, Craig James, and Michael Bilirakis; Xavier Suarez, mayor of Miami; Gov. Bob Martinez; Jorge Mas Canosa, Chairman of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba; Alec Courtelis, finance chairman of the Republican Party; Jeb Bush, businessman and former State secretary of commerce; Miguel De Grande, attorney and candidate for the State legislature; and State Representative Lincoln Diaz-Balart.

Memorandum on the Leadership of the Combined Federal Campaign

August 15, 1989

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

As I have said on a number of occasions in the past, I see Federal employees as the unsung heroes of America. One of the ways they have shown their heroism over the years is in their generosity to others by their participation in the Combined Federal Campaign. This generosity is exemplified not only by the many thousands of employees who contribute to the campaign but especially by those who show their support by taking leadership roles in the conduct of the campaign each year. That is what I am asking of you, to become part of the tradition of voluntary giving by Federal employees through your leadership of the Combined Federal Campaign.

Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward J. Derwinski has agreed to serve as Chairman of the 1989 Combined Federal Campaign of the National Capital Area. I am asking that you support Secretary Derwinski by personally serving as Chairman of the Campaign in your agency and appointing a top official as your Vice Chairman. Please confirm with Secretary Derwinski your willingness to serve and provide him with the name of your designated Vice Chairman.

As you know, your leadership is key to the Combined Federal Campaign, and your personal interest, visible support, and participation are essential to a successful 1989 Campaign. I know that you will make a special effort to encourage all of your employees, both in the Washington, D.C. area and in all of the Combined Federal Campaigns worldwide, to support the campaign.

GEORGE BUSH

Note: The memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 17.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Proposed Foreign Acquisition of Three Divisions of Fairchild Industries
August 18, 1989

The President has decided against intervening in the proposed acquisition by Matra, S.A., a French firm, of three divisions of Fairchild Industries: Fairchild Communications & Electronics Co., Fairchild Control Systems Co., and Fairchild Space Co. These companies produce hardware and software for aerospace systems and spacecraft.

The President based his decision on the results of the investigation by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS), chaired by Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady. That investigation was undertaken to give the U.S. Department of Commerce time to assess Matra's system for controlling the export of sensitive technologies. In consultation with the Department of Commerce, Matra developed a comprehensive export control management system that was deemed satisfactory. The President decided that these steps provide adequate safeguards to protect sensitive technologies from unauthorized transfer outside the United States.

The Matra-Fairchild investigation was conducted pursuant to section 5021 of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988. That provision, known as the Exon-Florio provision, authorizes the President to investigate and, if necessary, to suspend or prohibit a proposed foreign acquisition of a U.S. business engaged in U.S. interstate commerce. The criteria to suspend or prohibit a transaction are that the President must find:

—credible evidence to believe that the foreign investor might take actions that threaten to impair the national security;

—that existing laws, other than the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the Exon-Florio provision itself, are inadequate and inappropriate to deal with the national security threat.

Statement on the Assassination of Luis Carlos Galan and Colombia-United States Relations
August 19, 1989

At this time of grief for the people of Colombia, suffering from a wave of assassinations of judges, police officials, and most recently Luis Carlos Galan, a leading candidate for the Liberal Party's Presidential nomination, I express my heartfelt sympathy and give you my prayers. I also offer my condolences to the families of the victims of these heinous crimes. We in the United States should not forget that others are paying very high costs for the unchecked rampage of the international criminals trafficking in cocaine and undermining the lives of law-abiding citizens.

Last night President Barco announced a number of actions aimed at narcotics traffickers including the reinstatement of the extradition treaty between the U.S. and Colombia, which had been suspended by the nation's courts. He is using his powers under Colombia's state of siege to do so. I welcome this courageous move by President Barco. The U.S. is ready to coordinate the extradition of these criminals as expeditiously as possible. I have instructed the Departments of State and Justice to begin working on this immediately.

I am considering alternative ways to do more for the Andean countries in connection with the national drug strategy which will be presented in 2 weeks. I am ready to meet with President Barco at the earliest convenient moment to consider a coordinated approach to this problem.

In such difficult times democratic nations faced with common threats to their national security must stand together. Today, we stand together with Colombia. The narco traffickers who again have robbed Colombia of a courageous leader must be defeated. Colombia must know that we stand by its efforts to move aggressively against these criminals who seek to destroy both our societies.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Telephone Conversation With President Virgilio Barco Vargas of Colombia

August 21, 1989

The President this evening called President Barco of Colombia to express his condolences for the loss of Presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galan and so many leaders of Colombia. The President assured President Barco of his strong support and expressed his admiration for the steps he has taken to restore law and order. He reiterated the United States intention to render appropriate assistance as rapidly as possible. President Barco indicated he had read press speculation about the use of U.S. troops in Colombia. He affirmed to the President that U.S. troops would not be necessary. The call took place at 8:06 p.m. e.d.t.

The President's News Conference

August 23, 1989

The President. Nice to see you all. Thank you for coming. First, let me just—we'll get started here. I'm glad our Chief of Staff John Sununu is with me, and Bob Gates, Brent's able right-hand man in the National Security Council. You all know Marlin Fitzwater, our Press Secretary.

For Barbara and me, this has been a delightful vacation, a place that we love very much. And I know that there's a lot of interest in her health. She went down yesterday to have her eyes checked, and you probably saw her playing tennis on the way in. So, she's feeling very well indeed, and the medicine that they've suggested for her should take the pressure off her eyes a little bit. And the doctors tell me that this is expected when you're being treated for Graves disease, but she's doing just fine. And I don't know whether she's winning or losing down there, but nevertheless, we'll find out.

But this has been a total vacation—I am staying in touch with some foreign leaders and, indeed, with current events. And tomorrow I'll host Prime Minister Schlüter of Denmark, an old friend—he and his wife coming by. And I expect we'll be talking on NATO-related matters. And then next week, we'll have Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, his wife, and his family here. And that will be a visit with an old friend, and I expect that we'll be talking on not only NATO matters and matters of trade but on matters of environmental concern as well. So that will probably be the total visits. We may have some of my own Cabinet up here next week to discuss the narcotics program, but that is not finalized at this point. But the Chief of Staff is working on that, and I expect we will have a national drug policy meeting here next week.

All right. I'll be glad to respond to questions.

President's Vacation

Q. Mr. President, you have this wonderful home, a beautiful cigarette boat, and yet the average Mainer makes about $14,000 a year. And I was wondering if you could tell us how you manage to stay in touch with the average man's realities.

The President. Well, I do my very best. I've got a lot of friends from all walks of life. And there is a little tendency in this job to get isolated, but you——

Q. We see you riding the boat every night on TV and playing tennis and having a great time.

The President. But I don't think people feel anything other than that isn't it nice to have a good vacation. And I try to have as much contact as I can.

Q. Do you think the average Mainer can afford to have a vacation like you have, sir?

The President. I don't think so. I'm very privileged and lucky in that regard, but I also don't think the average Mainer begrudges me a vacation of any kind. In fact, the response from the townspeople here has been just the way it's been for the 64 other years I've been here—very good. They're just wonderful.

War on Drugs

Q. Mr. President, we know that you're working on a drug policy, and there's concern among the Maine congressional delegation that this policy is going to center more on urban areas, to the expense of rural areas such as Maine; which is fast becoming a favorite port of entry for drug smugglers. And crack and cocaine is already showing up on our streets here. Can rural areas expect help from you in the fight against drugs?

The President. It is a national strategy, a national policy, and that certainly would include urban and rural America. The most heavily impacted crime areas are the urban areas. Incidentally, this isn't a program just of what Federal money can do. This is a program that is national in scope, and communities and individuals are going to be called upon to do their utmost to help. Most of the solution to the problem lies at local levels, at State levels. Federal Government has, certainly, important responsibilities in interdiction and in other areas, but I will be encouraging all Americans to pitch in in whatever way they possibly can to help in this menace.

Q. Will there be money, sir? Will there be money coming to areas to help us?

The President. Yes, there will be some money, but it's not going to be the question of the Federal Government sending money to every community. That's not the way this problem will be solved, and most Americans understand that.

Q. Mr. Bush, in northern Maine at the Canadian border last year there were 28,000 illegal incursions into the United States. The Border Patrol figures they can account for about a third of them, but the border's basically wide open. Can your drug program address the problem of short—personnel protecting the borders?

The President. It will address that problem to some degree, and there will be a stepped-up increase in funds on the interdiction side.

Chief of Staff Sununu

Q. Mr. President, turning to the Middle East for a moment—and I'm from New Hampshire, so I'm, of course, interested in our former Governor as well. A couple of years ago, he told me that—he cited his prominence as a Lebanese-American as a way of helping to promote peace in the Middle East. Now that he's your Chief of Staff, what role has Governor Sununu played in trying to promote peace or help you carry out your initiatives in the Middle East?

The President. Well, Governor Sununu is, of course, very interested in this question, working closely with the national security people, Defense Department people, our Secretary of State, our State Department people. He sits in on every National Security Council meeting. He is a top adviser on this and a wide array of other subjects.

Now, I feel a certain frustration about the Lebanon because we have not been able to be a catalyst for peace. We have urged a cease-fire; we have urged a withdrawal of all foreign forces; we are available to consult with the individual parties, and they know that. I've been in consultation past periods with the President of France, with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and with others—His Holiness the Pope. And it is a problem that is plaguing the civilized world. But Governor Sununu knows the area well and is respected by the people that are involved in the sense of the Israeli side, the Lebanese side, the Syrians. And so, it's useful to have somebody that is sensitive about that area.

Flag Desecration

Q. Mr. President, I noticed you have the flag flying, and the American flag has been in the news recently. Our two Senators, Mitchell and Cohen, support a statutory approach to protecting treatment of the flag. And you've been backing a constitutional amendment. Could you support a statutory——

The President. Well, I'm advised that the statutory route would not get the job done. But I——

Q. Why?

The President. Well, because I think the recent Supreme Court decision challenged the constitutionality of the law that prohibited desecration of the flag. So, I'm delighted that the Senators are supporting legislation because I think everybody, most Americans, are concerned and would like to see the flag protected—so that's very positive. But my concern is that our attorneys say that the legislation won't do the job.

Maine Mental Health Commissioner

Q. The State Mental Health Commissioner, Susan Parker, has come under serious scrutiny here in Maine for her handling of crises at the Augusta Mental Health Institute, including patient deaths. I'm wondering if you could tell us: What job is she being considered for in the Health and Human Services Department, and why are you considering her?

The President. Well, I'm sorry I can't tell you about that. I just don't know about Miss Parker.

Situation in China

Q. Mr. President, about China——

The President. What part of Maine are you from? Go ahead.

Q. From Kennebunkport, of course. [*Laughter*] Anna Chennault [chairman, National Republican Heritage Group Council] is in China, and she is reported to have taken a message from you to the Chinese leadership. And the Chinese News Agency said that she's told them that if they want to have a military crackdown on their protesters, that's their own affair, or something to this effect. I want to know if you did send a message or anything like that with her, or anything about, for instance—[dissident] Fang Lizhi was also mentioned as being something that she was supposed to carry a message about.

The President. No, there was no such—I hadn't heard that before now, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press], and I did not ask her to convey any message to the Chinese. We have our own diplomatic avenues through which to do that.

Lobster

Q. Mr. President, what do you think a fair price for a pound of lobster is?

The President. I don't know. Can't give it to you.

Auto Emission Standards

Q. Mr. President, the Northeastern States want to adopt an emissions standard for older cars, and they'd like to see that happen federally. Is that something that you would support?

The President. To do what now?

Q. Emissions standard for older cars—the California air emissions standard for automobiles.

The President. Well, I would leave the States to set that, but we have a clean environment program that I think will do a lot to clear the air that comes from auto emissions. And I still feel strongly about the need for alternative fuels as a way of solving this problem.

Governor McKernan of Maine

Q. Jock McKernan stuck with you through thick and thin on the campaign trail. Do you feel a certain obligation to him? Do you feel like——

The President. I feel a certain high regard for Jock McKernan that is undiminished. We've been friends for a long time, and, yes, he did stand with me, and I will work hard not to let the man down, or the State down.

Federal Fiscal Restraint

Q. Mr. President, the Maine State budget has gone up $600 million in the last 3 years, and Mainers are heavily taxed. What kind of support or encouragement can you give them?

The President. Try to keep the Federal budget from going up like that percentagewise, hold the line on Federal spending as much as possible, and that isn't easy. But we are in the longest expansion—almost the longest expansion in the history of this country, and generally speaking, the economy is doing pretty well. And the best thing I can do to help a problem of that nature is to get the Federal fiscal program better under control. And that isn't easy, because every time you turn around, somebody's got some other way to spend the taxpayers' money on some new program. So, the best relief for the States is to have a Federal Government that gets its deficit down, and that's what we're striving mightily to do.

French Role in the Middle East

Q. Mr. President, there is apparently an Air France airliner en route to—being hijacked to Tunis. What can you tell us about that? Do you know if there is a connection with the French military movements in the Mediterranean? And the big question, sir, is: At the very least, haven't the French complicated your life and the hostage situation by sending the carrier group there?

The President. No, they have not. And let me just say, I've just gotten a report, so I don't know the details of the hijacking. We've had a report from our Situation Room on that just a little while ago, so I can't help you with any details. But look, the French have had a longstanding interest in Lebanon. They have tried to be a catalyst for peace in Lebanon. As I indicated earlier, I've talked to President Mitterrand—not in the last few days, but about this question. They have a lot of French citizens in that corner of the world. They made clear that the movement of ships were to protect their citizens. And so, I am not about to criticize the French for what they are doing.

President's Security

Q. You're no doubt aware of the debate in the State, and especially in Augusta, about how to pay for local security costs when you're here——

The President. Yes.

Q. Isn't that something the Federal Government ought to be picking up?

The President. Well, I think there's a move in the Congress to assist in that, and I would like to see the Congress move on that. There's no question that there's a security burden placed on this small community here—and, indeed, some of the surrounding communities—by the presence of the President. And I think the Congress should do that. And I would say that Senator Mitchell has taken the lead on that and I expect there will be congressional action.

Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant

Q. Mr. President, it's been 3½ years since the Seabrook nuclear power plant has been completed. It's still not on-line. The country is searching for an energy policy. How important is it to you that that plant become operational—full power?

The President. I remain a strong supporter of safe nuclear power. And I'm not up to speed in the last few weeks on the Seabrook, but I made very clear that in my view, if the Nuclear Regulatory Commission found that the plant could be operated safely and that there would be the proper evacuation procedures, that it should go forward; and I'm not going to change in that. We have a very able Secretary of Energy, Jim Watkins, who is formulating a national energy plan, and I am confident that a part of that plan will be the safe use of nuclear power. And besides that, for all of you environmentalists out there, it's a good thing also. You're not polluting the air with it.

Polish Political Reforms

Q. Mr. President, on Poland. There's at least some circumstantial evidence that Mr. Gorbachev told the Polish Communist Party to back down and work with Solidarity to form a government. Does it seem to you that the Soviets are playing a helpful role in the current situation in Poland and in the formation of a government there?

The President. Well, certainly, in assessing that, it does. I expressed the U.S. view, I think, quite clearly when I was in Poland. There's a lot of change taking place; the change is dynamic. It will be far-reaching. There will be bumps in the road as these countries move towards more democracy—there's no question about that. But I felt that the statement that I saw attributed to Mr. Gorbachev was very positive in this regard—very.

Situation in Colombia

Q. Back to a question about Colombia. Can you give us an update, please, on the extradition efforts, and could you tell us what you hope these efforts will lead to as far as the long-term impact in Colombia?

The President. In the first place, let me take that question to say that I have great respect for what President Barco is trying to do. And I did have a phone conversation with him from here just the other day. And it is a tough problem that he faces. And I am convinced that he is determined to whip the problem, to beat it, and to free his country from the grip of the drug cartels. And on the extradition, there's a period of time now in which the Supreme Court of Colombia can override him. But I am hopeful that they will see that extradition should go forward. We have a list of people that are key kingpins, you might say, that we'd like to see extradited and brought to justice for their violation of United States law. And I think we're in a position where it's—right now, we just have to wait and see what happens. But I would like to hope that the process will go forward along the lines that President Barco wants to see it go forward.

Q. Any feel, sir, for how much time will pass before the first drug lord might actually be brought to the United States?

The President. No, I don't have any last-minute feel on that.

Administration Accomplishments

Q. Mr. President, reflecting on 8 months in office, what do you feel you are most proud of and what is your greatest disappointment?

The President. Dave [David Hoffman, Washington Post], I think in—I don't know that it's a question of pride in something. I mean, I try not to measure my Presidency by personal pride or in personal wins or personal losses—who's up, who's down, victory or defeat. But I think we have a good team in place, a strong Cabinet. I like the way the government process is working in the executive branch. I certainly have some pride in that—in my Cabinet-mates, as you will. I hope that we are handling the important foreign relationships in a prudent fashion. I've tried to do that in Eastern Europe. I think we're trying to handle a very complicated situation in Asia, the Chinese relationship, in that manner.

And so, I enjoy that part of this job. But it's too early to take pride in accomplishment; I'm really just beginning here. And so I think in disappointments, I would like to have seen quicker action out of Congress on some things, some appointments, for example—of our appointments—good, sound nominees that are being held up. And I would challenge the Senate to move briskly forward on those when they come back. I would like to see quicker action on our overall budget, and I think that we will move fairly fast on that when we get back. I'm delighted that we've gotten the savings and loans bill through, but I'd like to have seen quicker action on that one. But nevertheless, there was some give-and-take and it worked out. So, I guess the jury is still out and I'm—it's still early to answer.

Q. Seventy-five percent of the American public says they love you and they think you're doing a great job. Are those some of the reasons why you think they think you're great?

Mr. Fitzwater. Is this a trick question? [*Laughter*]

Q. You got a larger popularity ratio than Ronald Reagan ever had. Yet you've had critics that have said you haven't acted fast enough on *Valdez* or things like that. Yet the American public says you're the most popular President of all time.

The President. Thank you for asking that question. [*Laughter*] No, but these things do—no, it's interesting and it deserves a serious response. And I—some of it is my wife. Some of it is the fact, I think, people see that we're trying hard. It's fundamental values. Some of it is that I've tried to calm things down and work with Congress.

But these things change. You know, these polls—look, you're looking at a guy who was standing on this lawn about a year ago at this time and—I think it was—some of you—I know this guy was here—and the numbers were quite different and a different setting, a different situation. What goes up can come down, and I'm well aware of that. So I don't make too much of polls. I don't make too much of them.

But I must say that I think there's a good feeling in the country about our institutions now, quite a change from 20 years ago. And you go as President downtown or anyplace else around here or across the country—North Dakota—and I sense it, I feel that. And it's not personal; I think there's a recognition as the people look around the world that we're lucky in this country. We've got problems; we've got enormous difficulties. But they sense the strength of the United States, and they see world events coming our way. And a farmer in Kansas that's hurting or a Maine individual who may be below the average in terms of income may be concerned about that, but senses that freedom and democracy are on the move and that the United States is respected around the world in spite of some difficulties. And so maybe some of that is why things are—make it appear that I'm not doing too badly.

Murder of Colonel William R. Higgins

Q. Mr. President, what about the situation again with Colonel Higgins? Given everything you've said, there is a perception on the part of some of weakness. Directly, will his murderers ever be punished?

The President. If we can find them, yes.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Q. Mr. President, on the question of free trade, you're going to be meeting Prime Minister Mulroney over the weekend. There are some lobstermen concerned that if we set a higher minimum size for lobsters, the Canadians will catch smaller ones and flood our market. Is that something we can do anything about? Is that something you'll be discussing with the Prime Minister?

The President. It could be. Whether it will come up with the Prime Minister, I don't know. But it is something—a matter that our trade people—Commerce and our very able USTR, Carla Hills, have discussed with the Canadians. But I'll have to get thoroughly briefed on that because I'm not sure exactly where that matter stands today.

Abortion

Q. Polls indicate that Maine will remain a prochoice State despite the Webster decision. Since this is one of your home States, how do you feel about that? And will you back any efforts to target Maine to change that?

The President. Well, my position is well-known on the question of—I've just come down after a lot of soul-searching on the side of life. And my position is very clear nationally, and I know that different States have different laws on this, but I am not going to change one single bit. And if that helps convince others around the country that the prolife position is correct, so be it and so much the better as far as I'm concerned. But I certainly don't intend to try to dictate to each State what that State should do in terms of State law.

Situation in Colombia

Q. Mr. President, back on Colombia. In the statement on your telephone conversation with President Barco the other night, you said that appropriate assistance would be rendered as quickly as possible. President Barco said he doesn't need U.S. troops. What kinds of things can the United States do?

The President. Well, we're in discussions with Colombia on that right now, as a matter of fact, today in Washington. And I'll have to wait and see what they feel would be most helpful to them.

But they have enclaves of these narco traffickers. They might need certain technical assistance to go after those people. They can use training for some of their forces—police, for example. Certainly, we want to be in a position to help them in any way we possibly can. But yes, the President did make clear that he was not requesting United States troops.

That whole question of troop speculation, I thought, got out of whack. The Attorney General gave a very sound and very correct answer to the question. But some people interpreted that answer as that we were getting prepared to send troops to Colombia. I know enough about this hemisphere and have had enough experience in dealing with countries in Latin America and South America, Central America—all through the Caribbean—to know the constraints that exist in terms, or should exist in terms of dispatching troops. So, there would not be any unilateral action of this kind.

The question that was asked of Thornburgh was a hypothetical question: If you were requested to send troops, would you do it? And, of course, I'd take that under consideration; but that is not what's being considered at all—the President of Colombia, for example, making it very clear that that would not be something that he is requesting.

Minimum Wage

Q. Given your level of comfort here, why can't you bring yourself to back a $4.55 minimum wage to improve the quality of life for some people——

The President. Because I don't think it improves the quality of life; I think it throws people out of work. And that was debated openly and fully in the United States Congress. And the idea that a $4.55 minimum wage improves things for a lot of people is not an idea that I accept. I think it's wrong. That's why I didn't do it.

Education

Q. Mr. President, you campaigned as the education President. Yet, the National Education Association seems frustrated with your——

The President. They've been frustrated with me forevermore. The NEA——

Q. They say it's a lack of direction with you and Secretary Cavazos. So specifically, sir, what are your plans for education in the United States on the Federal, State, and local levels? And if I could add, will there be money to aid in education, especially for at-risk children?

The President. We sent up a broad, comprehensive Federal program for aiding education, for making it better. It is specific; it does call for funding in certain categories. But the NEA is on a different course; they have been—politically. They've opposed me every time I've ever run for office that I can remember, and so what's new? I mean, they've got their approach to education and I've got mine—and I am right and they are wrong. [*Laughter*] So, tell them to take a careful look at my education proposals that were accepted widely—a lot of criticism from some, but a broad acceptance when we sent them up in terms of helping in quality education, and then recognizing that 7 percent of the funds that go for education properly come from the Federal Government, and 93 from other sources. And please ask the NEA to understand that, because that ratio is not going to change.

Mr. Fitzwater. Final question, please.

President's Security

Q. Knowing that you're always a target for terrorists, do you feel safe strolling about Kennebunkport?

The President. Yes, but I can't stroll quite as freely as I used to before I was in government work. And I don't worry about it. We've got extraordinarily able Secret Service and I just don't—I honestly don't spend one second of the day thinking about that. And that's because I have great confidence in the able men and women that are in the Secret Service. I have confidence in our intelligence, though some areas—I've told our Washington friends here that I wish that it was better. But, no, I'm—it just doesn't bother me. What bothers me a little bit is that you just can't jump in the car over there and drive downtown or something of that nature, but that goes with the territory.

Q. Do you mind bringing the press with you?

The President. Besides that, it's very hard to putt, especially to chip, when you have onlookers standing there. A modest kind of shy guy like me—I like to play golf without a lot of people watching. So once in a while, I'll make a mishap. And once in a while, you take a practice putt and it doesn't go in and then you see it on the television—CNN [Cable News Network], where are you—and then I have to explain it to my grandchildren: "How come you missed it three times?" [*Laughter*] So you have those inhibitions, but not security inhibitions.

Senator Mitchell

Q. How would you assess your relationship with Senator Mitchell?

The President. Very cordial.

Q. Have you played cribbage with him yet?

The President. He bawls me out from time to time and I—but I'd say I'm a kinder and gentler kind of guy. I don't think you can find one criticism, but that may change.

Q. How about cribbage?

The President. Cribbage—I used to play in the service. So, I'll surrender on that one. He's a good leader and he's certainly a good Senator for the State of Maine, and he's a man with whom we have differences. But we have a civilized relationship. He'll come down to the White House and he can say, "Look, I think you're wrong on this." And I'll tell him, "Wait a minute, I think you're wrong on it." And then—the Chief of Staff remembers one very vigorous exchange that we had in the Oval Office just before the Senate got out. But if he walked through the gate down here, I'd say, "Great, I'm seeing a friend." And that's the way politics ought to be, and I'm going to work hard to try to see that it is that way.

President's Security

Q. Do you get any feedback from your neighbors on dealing with security checkpoints, or demonstrators, or about the fireworks?

The President. No, no, not that—there was some in the beginning. I think the lobstermen problem has been resolved. I keep inquiring on that because it is important to me that there be tranquillity in that area. I think it's been resolved. I hope that we haven't inconvenienced the neighbors over here. There was a demonstration a few days ago, and there were a few people that behaved in a very orderly fashion. It was a demonstration on Lebanon, as a matter of fact, and they were assigned a certain demonstration route here and certain numbers that could parade and demonstrate. And my only concern there was the concentration of demonstrators shouting their slogans and exercising their free speech rights—did that inconvenience our neighbors? But I haven't had any real complaints from the neighbors on that. So, it's going pretty well, I think.

Foreign Visitors in Maine

Q. You seem to invite lots of heads of state down here to Kennebunkport. Do you find it easier to work on world issues while you're relaxing here? And where do you solve the issues that you resolve? On your boat, or golfing, or——

The President. Well, we haven't had that many yet. As Vice President, I had the Prime Minister of Portugal here and the Prime Minister of Singapore and one or two others. Of course, the most high-profile visit was the visit of François Mitterrand, and Maine—I think he enjoyed it. And I know Barbara and I enjoyed having them as our guests at this special place.

And so, though there were no major problems resolved, background music was good. And so I would expect that that will be really what the product of the meetings with Mulroney—who's a friend of longstanding, and so is Poul Schlüter [Danish Prime Minister]. So it's more that than it is a specific agenda to work on in this setting.

Q. Would you ever consider inviting Gorbachev here?

The President. Well, he'd be welcome.

Q. Do you think he'd like it?

The President. Who couldn't like it? Yes. Everybody likes it.

A couple of more, then I've got to run.

Public Access to Beaches

Q. Maine's supreme court has ruled that Maine—and Massachusetts is the only other State in this regard—that the public has no rights in the intertidal zone other than fishing, fowling, and navigation, no recreational rights. You're a shorefront property owner, plus your daughter is involved with promoting tourism in Maine, and the tourism industry is very concerned that that may have a chilling effect on tourism in Maine. Do you think that the public has, or should have, recreational rights in the intertidal zone? And if you were citizen Bush rather than President Bush, would you allow us to picnic on your rocks here?

The President. Well, I think there has been an understanding that people have the rights to do that. This is a very recent court case, and I can't judge the case. I don't know what the facts were regarding Moody Beach down there, and so I can't make a broad statement of that nature. We've had people out on these rocks. I don't think they have too good a shot to get out here today, but there have been people that have come out here below the—respecting the rights of ownership here. So generally speaking, as open as possible. But I don't want to try to intervene in some court case that I know nothing about over on Moody Beach—which I enjoyed fishing off of yesterday.

Chief of Staff Sununu

Q. Will you settle a political argument for us in New Hampshire?

The President. I'll try. [*Laughter*]

Q. A couple of months ago, there were some words flying back and forth between Governor Sununu and Congressman Charles Douglas regarding lifestyles and the possibility of Mrs. Sununu running for Congress in the GOP primary. Hugh Gregg [Governor of New Hampshire] says that you mentioned something to Governor Sununu—I don't want to say that you said knock it off—but just somehow to simmer it down. And Lee Atwater [Chairman, Republican National Committee] has told us a slightly different story. Did you talk to Governor Sununu about this debate—or this war of words?

The President. No, no.

Q. Not a word about it?

The President. Well, there may have been a word about it. That was before his kinder and gentler days—[*laughter*]—I don't recall any weighty discussions about it at all.

But look, this Chief of Staff has my full, unequivocal confidence. And I think the whole world knows that, and our Cabinet people know it, and others in the Government know it. And it makes life a lot easier for me and for him as long as it's out there. So, that one I can't help you with, but I will take that and use that question to just simply restate my confidence in him and the job he is doing. And I'll tell you, he's made a lot of friends for our administration on the basis of competence, sheer competence. So, if some flap comes up involving something at home, I can't help you with that one. But I've got to keep looking at the big——

Abortion

Q. On the abortion question, I know you have some meetings coming up, for example, with Cardinal Law from Boston. Are you getting pressure from groups like the Catholic Church to do something—enforce your position on prolife?

The President. No. I visited with—Cardinal Law was my guest at lunch at the White House within the last 2 or 3 weeks, and I don't recall any stepped-up pressure of that nature. I think those who favor the prolife position know my views on it. And I don't think there's been a major swing in the country. I keep reading in papers that public opinion is all changed on this. I haven't sensed that at all. So, we'll wait to see. There will be plenty of election tests that people can make those judgments on.

Aid to the Contras

Q. Can I just ask you—Vice President Dan Quayle this week seemed to indicate a shift in our policy toward the *contras*, saying that we have a moral obligation to continue humanitarian aid if they don't want to go back under whatever the new conditions are to Nicaragua. Is that, in fact, the case—that we should continue humanitarian aid?

The President. As far as I'm concerned, absolutely. I don't see that as a shift of any kind.

Q. After the elections?

The President. I don't want to see the mandatory demobilization of those *contras* before the elections. I've felt and I am absolutely correct that the pressure from the *contras* has been the thing that's led Ortega [President of Nicaragua] to start moving a little bit on free, fair elections. Why should that one country be swimming against the tide of democracy and freedom? And I thought Quayle, the Vice President, ably spelled out our policy, and I thought it was a good speech, and it certainly has the full support of the executive branch of this government.

Two more, and then I am going to go.

Gun Control in Maine

Q. The Portland police chief is trying to toughen up gun ownership regulations within the city, and it's sparked a new round of gun control debate in Maine. Your thoughts?

The President. Let the able police chief there take his case to the people of Portland. And let Maine make its determinations on that. And that's the way these matters should be——

Q. Well, as a Mainer, do you think we should all have the right to carry guns?

The President. The Constitution gives you certain rights in that regard. So, what I want to do is get strong support for our anticrime package—stronger, predictable sentencing, tougher terms, more judges, more people to make those pay who are breaking the law. And that's the answer on the crime side, it seems to me.

Last one.

Canada-U.S. Border Incidents

Q. Mr. President, the Canadian patrol boats have been firing across the bow of American and Maine fishermen who either wander, mistakenly or purposely, into Canadian waters. I understand there have been some incidents the other way, too. There was a chase—Canadians chased American ships. Some of that problem has to do with the way we manage the resources. Can you tell me what, as President, you might suggest when you talk with the Prime Minister of Canada about reducing the tension and the potential for violence up there?

The President. Well, I would be happy to discuss that with him. Look, we have peaceful borders with Canada. You look around the world and we ought to be counting our blessings for our peaceful borders we have with Canada and the peaceful borders we have with Mexico. And anything that he or I could do to increase that tranquillity, the better; but I have no specific plan on it. But we must recognize that Canada is a great friend to the United States, and the United States is a great friend to Canada, and the peoples are friends. So, if there are these little incidents, let's try to get to the core of what causes them and get them solved and get them out of the way, because they are not going to and must not disrupt the relationship overall that exists—and they won't, believe me.

Q. ——the Coast Guard firing across the bow of a Canadian fishing ship if——

The President. I will leave the rules of engagement to the Coast Guard, and they have well-defined rules as to what they can do and what they should do. And so, I am not going to go in with you into some situation that's so hypothetical that I couldn't begin to answer it. That's one way you get in trouble. And I want to avoid trouble, and now I've got to leave.

Note: The President's 21st news conference began at 9:56 a.m. at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, ME.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Poul Schlüter of Denmark in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 24, 1989

The President. Well, Barbara and I just want to welcome Prime Minister Poul Schlüter and Mrs. Schlüter to Kennebunkport on what is a private visit. But this visit will give us an opportunity to discuss a lot of issues. I think the Prime Minister would agree with me that there are fascinating changes taking place in Europe, changes that he might not have even predicted when he became Prime Minister, and certainly changes so fast that I couldn't have predicted them just 7 months ago, when I became President of the United States.

But this visit is a private visit. I hope it's one of many opportunities to see my old, close friend again while I'm President. And I just want to say that the relationship between Denmark and the United States is first-class, strong in every way. This Prime Minister has our great respect and admiration. And welcome to Maine, sir! And it's so great to see you again and such a pleasure to meet Mrs. Schlüter.

The Prime Minister. Thank you very much.

The President. You get equal time.

The Prime Minister. Thank you. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, my wife and I are delighted and honored to be with you today. We think it is fantastic that you undertake to find time to be our hosts at this beautiful spot in the United States. I take it as a token of good relations between the President and myself, and certainly also as a very nice gesture to my country, Denmark. We have good relations. I understand we shall have a nice time here today, but we shall also find time to discuss politics; we can't avoid that.

The President. No.

The Prime Minister. And as you so rightfully said, Mr. President, we are seeing right now very positive and exciting international development, and we must stay close together with the purpose—to even better it in the time ahead of us. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Will you discuss the problem of drugs, Mr. President?

The President. Can we get a picture here? We'll discuss anything he wants to, and certainly that's one we will discuss—antinarcotics effort.

Q. Mr. President, with the Government in Poland, Mr. President, is it time yet to consider additional aid to Poland? With this fast change you're talking about, do you intend to accelerate plans to——

The President. We'll be talking about all these issues here today. Thank you.

Now, welcome. Come everybody.

The Prime Minister. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:34 a.m. at Walker's Point.

Statement on Elections in Poland
August 24, 1989

I want to congratulate Mr. Mazowiecki on his election as Prime Minister of Poland and assure him of our strong support as he seeks to lead his country toward economic recovery and democratic change. I also salute President Jaruzelski, for his political wisdom in endorsing a government reflecting the genuine will of the Polish people, and Solidarity, under the leadership of Lech Walesa, for its constructive role in helping bring about a new beginning in Poland.

Since the roundtable agreement of last April, Poland has pursued a path of democratic change. The elections in June, the convening of Poland's new Parliament and its election of General Jaruzelski as President, and now the election of Mr. Mazowiecki as Prime Minister, are further dramatic signs of this historic process. These developments hold promise not only for a peaceful democratic transition in Poland but also for a broader process of European reconciliation, toward a Europe whole and free.

At Hamtramck, Michigan, just after the signing of the roundtable agreement between the Polish Government and Solidarity, I pledged U.S. support for Poland's economic and political reforms. We reiterated that support during visits to Warsaw and Gdansk last month and announced measures we are taking to assist. I want the Polish people and their new government to know that they will have our continued support as they meet the serious economic and political challenges before them.

Nomination of Christopher Jehn To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

August 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Christopher Jehn to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management and Personnel). He would succeed Grant S. Green, Jr.

Since 1972 Mr. Jehn has served in various capacities for the Center for Naval Analysis in Alexandria, VA. He currently serves as vice president of the Navy-Marine Corps planning and manpower division, and served as director of resource analysis.

Mr. Jehn graduated from Beloit College (B.A., 1965) and the University of Chicago (M.A., 1970). He was born March 12, 1943, in Chicago, IL. He is married, has one daughter, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of Ronald E. Ray To Be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs

August 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ronald E. Ray to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Human Resources and Administration). This is a new position.

Since 1980 Mr. Ray has been president of Ronald E. Ray, Inc., an investment company located in Winter Haven, FL. Prior to this, he was a White House fellow at the Department of Commerce, 1974–1975. From 1959 to 1980, he served in the U.S. Army as a battalion commander at Fort Bragg, NC; as an operations and training officer at the John F. Kennedy Center for Military Assistance; and as a platoon leader in Vietnam. He was awarded the Medal of Honor, the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, the Army Commendation Medal, and a Purple Heart.

Mr. Ray graduated from the University of Tampa (B.A., 1972) and the University of Oklahoma (M.A., 1974). He was born December 8, 1941, in Cordele, GA, and currently resides in Winter Haven, FL.

Nomination of Kenneth L. Brown To Be United States Ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire

August 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kenneth L. Brown, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire. He would succeed Dennis Kux.

Mr. Brown has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, 1987 to present. Prior to this, he was consul general in Johannesburg, South Africa, 1984–1987. He was appointed U.S. Ambassador to the Congo in 1981 and has served in several capacities at the Department of State: Director of the Office of Central African Affairs, 1980–1981; Deputy Director of United Nations Political Affairs, 1979–1980; and Deputy Director of the Press Office and Associate Spokesman, 1977–1979. He was an information officer, 1975–1977, and a political officer, 1972–1975, in Brussels, Belgium. He was a desk officer for Zambia and Malawi at the Department of State, 1970–1972; and a program officer for the Department of State Reception Center in New York, 1969–1970. Mr. Brown entered the Foreign Service in 1961 and has also served as a political officer in Algiers and Kinshasa, Zaire.

Mr. Brown graduated from Pomona College (B.A., 1959), Yale University (M.A., 1960), and New York University (M.A., 1975). He was born December 6, 1936, in Seminole, OK. He served in the U.S. Army Reserve, 1960–1961. He is married and has three children.

Nomination of Craig S. King To Be General Counsel of the Navy

August 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Craig S. King to be General Counsel of the Department of the Navy. He would succeed Lawrence L. Lamade.

Since 1985 Mr. King has been an associate with the law firm of Sidley & Austin in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he practiced law with the firm of Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood in Washington, DC, 1980–1985.

Mr. King graduated from Brigham Young University (B.A., 1977) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1980). He was born February 4, 1953, in American Fork, UT. He is married, has three children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Nomination of Melva G. Wray To Be Director of the Office of Minority Economic Impact at the Department of Energy

August 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Melva G. Wray to be Director of the Office of Minority Economic Impact at the Department of Energy. She would succeed Raymond G. Massie.

Since 1981 Ms. Wray has served in various capacities with the IBM Corp., north-central marketing division in Boston, MA, area advisory marketing support representative, 1988 to present; and area industry software marketing representative, 1987–1988. Prior to this, she was a manager, office systems, real estate and construction division, White Plains, NY, 1985–1987; marketing representative, product center, White Plains, NY, 1983–1985; and a systems engineer, national Federal marketing, in Washington, DC, 1981–1983.

Ms. Wray graduated from Spelman College (B.A., 1980). She was born in Washington, DC, and resides in Westport, CT.

Nomination of Tony Armendariz To Be a Member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority

August 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Tony Armendariz to be a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for the remainder of the term expiring July 29, 1992. He would succeed Jerry Lee Calhoun.

Since 1978 Mr. Armendariz has served as general counsel for the University System of South Texas in Kingsville, TX. Prior to this, he was assistant attorney general for the State of Texas in Austin, TX, 1977–1978; District Counsel for the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1975–1976; and assistant attorney general for the State of Texas, 1973–1975. He served as executive vice president for Homecare de Venezuela, S.A., in Caracas, Venezuela, 1972–1973, and was involved in marketing and distributor training for Homecare de Mexico, S.A., a privately owned cosmetics business in Mexico City, 1969–1972. He was president for Venezuelan operations of the Tupperware division of Rexall Venezuela, S.A., in Caracas, Venezuela, 1965–1969; and an associate attorney in the law office of Jesse Guy Benson, 1960–1965.

Mr. Armendariz graduated from Trinity University (B.S., 1952), St. Mary's University School of Law (J.D., 1956), and Southern Methodist University School of Law (M.C.L., 1960). He is married, has three children, and currently resides in Corpus Christi, TX.

Statement on United States Emergency Antidrug Assistance for Colombia

August 25, 1989

At the request of President Barco and in order to support the Government of Colombia in its battle against narcotics traffickers, I have today decided to authorize a $65 million emergency antidrug support package for the Colombian police and military. The package will include equipment for police and military personnel, with initial shipments to arrive as early as next week. In addition, it will include aircraft and helicopters to improve the mobility of Colombian forces engaged in the antidrug effort. The package was developed over the last few days, during which there was close consultation between President Barco and myself and among our key advisers.

No United States troops have been requested by the Colombian Government. We will provide only materiel support and training. The United States has complete confidence in the capability of the Colombian police and military to deal with this situation. The support package will be made available under the provisions of the 1986 Foreign Assistance Act, which enables the President to direct the Department of Defense to provide military equipment and services to a foreign country in the event of an emergency.

In addition to this emergency assistance and the funds being provided under the Justice Department's judicial protection program, I will authorize an expanded police and military assistance program for FY '90 which will provide an increased level of support for the Colombian Government's ongoing antidrug efforts.

The recent wave of assassinations and threats by the drug cartel against all Colombians who cooperate in President Barco's antidrug crackdown makes it clear that it is time for the United States and other countries of the world to stand with President Barco during his courageous challenge to these insidious forces that threaten the very fabric of Colombian society.

We intend to work closely with the Colombian Government to bring to justice those responsible for the scourge of drug trafficking and will continue in our efforts to assist the Colombian effort to provide protection for judges and other Colombian officials who are on the front line of the war against drugs. The Departments of State and Justice are working closely with their Colombian counterparts on extradition matters.

Initial Order for Emergency Deficit Control Measures for Fiscal Year 1990

August 25, 1989

By the authority vested in me as President by the statutes of the United States of America, including section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Public Law No. 99–177), as amended by the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (Public Law No. 100–119) (hereafter referred to as "the Act"), and in accordance with the report of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget issued August 25, 1989, pursuant to section 251(a)(2) of the Act, I hereby order, pursuant to section 252(a), that the following actions be taken effective October 1, 1989, to implement the sequestrations and reductions determined by the Director in that report:

(1) Each automatic spending increase that would, but for the provisions of the Act, take effect during fiscal year 1990 is suspended as provided in section 252. The programs with such automatic spending increases subject to reduction in this manner, specified by account title, are National Wool Act; Special milk program; and Vocational rehabilitation.

(2) The following are sequestered as provided in section 252: new budget authority; unobligated balances; new loan guarantee commitments or limitations; new direct loan obligations, commitments, or limitations; spending authority as defined in section 401(c)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended; and obligation limitations.

(3) For accounts making payments otherwise required by substantive law, the head of each Department or agency is directed to modify the calculation of each such payment to the extent necessary to reduce the estimate of total required payments for the fiscal year by the amount specified in the Director's report.

(4) For accounts making commitments for guaranteed loans and obligations for direct loans as authorized by substantive law, the head of each Department or agency is directed to reduce the level of such commitments or obligations to the extent necessary to conform to the limitations established by the Act and specified in the Director's determination of August 25, 1989.

(5) Each Department or agency head may, to the extent otherwise not prohibited by law, use existing authority to deobligate balances of budgetary resources as necessary to apply the required reduction or sequestration in as uniform a manner as possible for any person or other recipient entitled to payments under any formula-driven calculations specified in the substantive law. Deobligations may include budgetary obligations for which checks have not been issued or funds not otherwise disbursed (funds obligated but unexpended).

In accordance with section 252(a)(4)(A), amounts suspended or sequestered under this Order shall be withheld from obligation or expenditure pending the issuance of a final order under section 252(b).

If Congress acts to reduce the deficit projected in this report by $6.2 billion prior to the snapshot date for the Final Report of the Director, then a final order will be issued cancelling the sequester. If the deficit is reduced by a lesser amount, the final order will direct that funds be sequestered in accordance with section 252 of the Act.

This Order shall be reported to Congress and shall be published in the *Federal Register.*

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
August 25, 1989.

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:29 a.m., August 25, 1989*]

Note: The order was printed in the "Federal Register" of August 28.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting an Alternate Federal Civilian Pay Plan

August 28, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Under the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970, the President is required to make a decision each year on what, if any, pay adjustment should be provided for Federal employees under the General Schedule and the related statutory pay systems.

My pay advisors have reported to me that an increase in pay rates averaging 28.62 percent, to be effective in October 1989, would be required under existing procedures to raise Federal pay rates to comparability with private sector pay rates for the same levels of work. However, the law also empowers me to prepare and transmit to the Congress an alternative plan for the pay adjustment if I consider such an alternative plan appropriate because of "national emergency or economic conditions affecting the general welfare."

The adverse budgetary and economic effects of a 28.62 percent pay raise clearly do not permit an increase of that magnitude. On the other hand, the Federal Government's continued ability to attract and retain qualified employees requires that the pay raise be greater than the 2 percent planning assumption in the Administration's FY 1990 budget request.

As a result of budget deliberations over the past few months, a general consensus has been reached, both within the Congress and between the Congress and the Administration, that the appropriate pay raise for Federal civilians in FY 1990 is 3.6 percent. The FY 1990 Bipartisan Budget Agreement of April 14, 1989, between the Administration and the leadership of the Congress assumed a Federal civilian employee pay raise of 3.6 percent, effective with the first full pay period in January 1990.

Further, the Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1990 (H.R. 2989) that has passed both Houses of the Congress and is now awaiting conference action contains a 3.6 percent pay raise. H.R. 2989 would freeze pay for the highest levels of the Executive Schedule, covering the Government's most senior appointees, as well as for equivalent levels in the legislative and judicial branches. I have urged the Congress, in my proposed "Senior Executive Salary Act of 1989" and "Judicial Salary Act of 1989," to take the decisive action that is needed to resolve the Government's critical problem of pay at the senior levels.

Accordingly, upon consideration of the reports of my Pay Agent and the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay, and in recognition of the Bipartisan Budget Agreement and completed congressional action, I have determined that the FY 1990 Federal civilian pay raise will be made in accordance with the following alternative plan:

> In accordance with section 5305(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code, the pay rates of the General Schedule and the related statutory pay schedules shall be increased by an overall percentage of 3.6 percent for each schedule, with such increase to become effective on the first day of the first applicable pay period beginning on or after January 1, 1990.

Accompanying this report and made a part hereof are the pay schedules that will result from this alternative plan, including, as required by section 5382(c) of title 5, United States Code, the rates of basic pay for the Senior Executive Service.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Appointment of Mary V. Bicouvaris as a Member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars

August 28, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Mary V. Bicouvaris to be a member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars during her tenure as National Teacher of the Year. She would succeed Terry Weeks.

Mrs. Bicouvaris, the Virginia Teacher of the Year, teaches government and international relations to 11th and 12th graders at Bethel High School in Hampton, VA.

Mrs. Bicouvaris received a bachelor of arts degree from Ohio State University and a master of arts degree from the College of William and Mary. She was born June 4, 1939, in Tripolis, Greece. She is married, has two children, and resides in Newport News, VA.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Reporting on Korean and Taiwanese Driftnet Fishing

August 28, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Pursuant to the provisions of subsection (b) of the Pelly Amendment to the Fishermen's Protective Act of 1967, as amended (22 U.S.C. 1978(b)), I am reporting to you following certification by the Secretary of Commerce that the Republic of Korea and Taiwan failed to enter into cooperative scientific monitoring and enforcement agreements called for by the Driftnet Impact Monitoring, Assessment and Control Act of 1987. The Secretary's letter to me is deemed to be a certification for the purposes of section 8(a) of the Fishermen's Protective Act of 1967. These Acts authorize me to order the prohibition of imports into the United States of fish products from Korea and Taiwan.

The United States has concluded a monitoring and enforcement agreement with Taiwan that meets the requirements of the Driftnet Act. An agreement has not been concluded with Korea.

It is extremely important to the international community that Korea agrees to meet the standards of customary international law to cooperate with other nations and to take necessary measures to conserve high seas resources affected by driftnets. Accordingly, I am deferring action under the Pelly Amendment for a period of 30 days and am instructing the Secretary of State, in cooperation with the Secretary of Commerce, to continue intensive bilateral negotiations with Korea. They should also use this period to continue efforts to engage the international community in urging the adoption of cooperative measures on driftnet fishing.

At the end of this new 30-day period, I expect to receive any additional recommendations as may be warranted. If significant movement has not been made toward reaching and implementing a monitoring and enforcement agreement with the United States, I will be prepared to exercise my substantial authorities under the Pelly Amendment to the Fishermen's Protective Act. I will send to the Congress a supplemental report at that time.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Appointment of Craig I. Fields as a Member of the National Commission on Superconductivity

August 28, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Craig I. Fields to be a member of the National Commission on Superconductivity. This is a new position.

Dr. Fields is currently Director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) in Arlington, VA. Prior to this, he was Deputy Director of Research for DARPA.

Dr. Fields received a bachelor of science degree from Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a Ph.D. from Rockefeller University. He was born July 21, 1946, in Mount Vernon, NY. He is married, has three children, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Irene B. Brooks as an Alternate Federal Member of the Delaware River Basin Commission

August 28, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Irene B. Brooks to be an alternate Federal member of the Delaware River Basin Commission. She would succeed George Joseph Kanuck.

Since 1986 Ms. Brooks has been Chester County commissioner, and chairman, 1987 to present. Prior to this, she worked for the prothonotary of Chester County, 1984–1986. She has also served as a member of the Greater Philadelphia Economic Development Coalition, 1987 to present, and the Pennsylvania State Association of County Commissioners, 1987 to present.

Ms. Brooks was born in Philadelphia, PA, and resides in Chester County, PA.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 28, 1989

The President. Well, let me just say that we've had a very interesting debrief from Secretary Dole and Senator Dole and Congressman McEwen on a fascinating trip that they have just completed, taking them to Morocco and then into Armenia and then into Poland, ending up in the Netherlands. And they filled me in on the changes that are taking place up to date, right to the minute—changes taking place in Poland, and also the update on the human tragedy that faced that part of the corner of the Soviet Union, and also brought back greetings from King Hassan, the King of Morocco. So, it was a very interesting debrief. And I know you might have some questions for them, and they have agreed to answer any that's on your mind.

But maybe, Senator, you'd like to start off, or Secretary, just to comment on what we were talking about.

Secretary Dole. Well, it was incredible, and it was really awesome to be there at this particular time in the history of Poland. In fact, we attended the Solidarity caucus in the very room where you made your speech to the Parliament, I believe, Mr. President. And that was just a few hours after the new Prime Minister [Tadeusz Mazowiecki] had—the ratification had occurred by the legislature of his nomination. And the spirit of democracy in that caucus was really almost palpable. It was really quite an experience. They were having a debate about various economic plans and moving forward with great excitement.

And we had the opportunity to meet with the new Prime Minister. We talked with him about a number of matters. We met, of course, with [Solidarity leader] Mr. Walesa in Gdansk just the day before yesterday, and with many of the leaders of Solidarity in the Parliament. And they appreciate very much what the President, the administration, has done for Poland. And they indicated, Mr. Walesa indicated, that they're seeking more foreign investment. And they hope that our banks will establish branches in Poland, that there will be more foreign investment. They're very much interested in privatization of assets, and they're concerned about food. And they feel that some change there within the short term is important because the shelves are empty and they need more food.

So we had an opportunity to learn a great deal, and it was a very meaningful, very emotional, very inspiring experience.

Senator Dole. We've set out in a letter some of our observations—a letter to the President. We've also delivered a letter from Lech Walesa to the President, and those contents, of course, the President will examine. But it was a very meaningful trip. As you know, the King in Morocco has been helpful—trying to be helpful in Lebanon, and he had a lot of information on that. I think he's going to be contacting you, Mr. President.

In Armenia, it's still heartrending and almost makes you cry to visit some of the cities and some of the sites. We stopped at a site of a school where 400 children died within seconds—the day of the earthquake. And there's still much to be done in Armenia. I think people tend to forget that it's only been last December that tragic earthquake took 35,000 to 50,000 lives—hundreds of thousands injured. In that small country of 3.3 million people, there are 700,000 homeless. So, there's much to be done in Armenia.

Poland, as Elizabeth said, is really—you just feel it. You sort of think of what it might have been like when the Founding Fathers—and we sat there in the caucus, and only three of the Solidarity members have had any previous legislative experience. So, it's really—it's fascinating. But they've got some tough choices ahead, and they're very appreciative of the President's efforts in Hamtramck and in his visit to Poland. They know of the strong support they have from this administration and the President personally and the Congress. So, we felt it important to come back and give the President our views as early as possible, and we're very pleased that he was able to do that today.

Polish Economic Reforms

Q. Senator, did you come away with the feeling that more needs to be done sooner?

Senator Dole. Not necessarily that—I think we came away with the feeling that maybe the time is not great. Maybe it's 60 days, maybe it's 3 months. Walesa said yesterday—6 months to a year—that people need to see a change. And, of course, the Poles recognize that it's their primary responsibility, that not every other country, including ours, will be able to do enough. And they don't want to be a welfare client; they want investments, they want banks, they want opportunities. And it's going to take a while to change that system after 45 years from the economy they have now to a market economy.

But I think it's fair to say—they told us, they told the media there that they would hope there might be something we could do in the very near future.

Q. Well, did you tell the President that?

Senator Dole. Yes.

Q. And do you have anything to add?

The President. No, I have nothing to add, but he certainly did. And both the Secretary and Senator filled me in on the right-up-to-the-minute concerns of the new Polish Government officials. They also met with [President] General Jaruzelski, had a fascinating conversation, just as I did, upon several occasions, and this is helpful to us.

I've already—prior to the Doles' visit—been on the phone to [French] President Mitterrand, and this was one of the subjects we talked about—what more can be done, how better to coordinate what is being done. And so, it's an extremely timely visit.

U.S. Assistance for Poland

Q. Do you think it will take more than $119 million?

The President. Well, I think to satisfy all the requirements of Poland, it could take a lot more money than that. But it's also got to take political reform, it's got to take economic reform, so that when they talk about investment and privatization something really happens. And once those reforms are in place and on forward, then you will find that their multilateral financial institutions will be in a much better place to help.

One other thing I hope will come out of all of this is more support in the Congress for these multilateral institutions, upon whom emerging countries like Poland depend so much.

Senator Dole. I think one of the Polish leaders indicated this—you don't measure by dollars, by money. They want support for their reforms. They're hoping that when they initiate reforms, the Congress, the President, will be able to support what they're doing. And I think there is a misconception that everything is measured in dollars. Certainly they need help, but they need a lot of support. And they recognize they have the responsibility first.

Lech Walesa's Visit to the United States

Q. Mr. President, we understand Lech Walesa will be visiting the United States later this year. Have you had any communication with him on that, and will you be meeting him when he comes?

The President. Well, I talked to him about it when I was in Poland.

Q. Will you meet with him during his visit to the United States?

The President. If he comes to the United States, I certainly will.

Poland's New Government

Q. Senator, how much pull do you think the new Prime Minister actually is going to have over the Government? The Communists, of course, are going to retain control over the army and the internal security apparatus. Do they actually seem to have the authority they're going to need to make these reforms, or are they sort of being set up?

Senator Dole. Well, he has a day-to-day responsibility for the functioning of the Government. I mean, he's going to have a great responsibility. And I think it's fair to say that both he and the President, Jaruzelski, recognize they need each other. They're going to cooperate. And I was impressed with Jaruzelski's comments. I think he wants to dedicate the rest of his life to the Polish people and the betterment of Poland. So my view is that they have a good Prime Minister and they've got some outstanding leaders in the Parliament, and they'll be able to govern.

U.S. Assistance for Poland

Q. Secretary Dole, did they convey to you that they wanted you to bring home a message to send more U.S. aid?

Secretary Dole. Well, we talked generally about what their needs are, and I think we've already expressed exactly what they said. Walesa basically was talking about investment, how important this is—banks, branches of banks located in Poland, and privatization, and more foreign investment. We talked about the food situation.

I think they're very grateful for what is already being done. And there's a commitment—you mentioned $119 million, but there's also a commitment for $50 million in food this next fiscal year. We are also going to be working with them on the labor issues, to provide a safety net for workers because, obviously, there's going to be some pain before the benefits come as you move from a central state-controlled economy to a market economy. And we had discussions with a number of leaders about providing a safety net—talked about unemployment insurance, and job training and retraining, and reform of their labor code, collective bargaining—issues of that sort. And we're going to be sending a team to Poland to get that underway as soon as the labor ministry is settled in terms of who will be the minister of labor. So, there are a number of things that are underway simultaneously.

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. Mr. President, are you concerned that the Central Committee warning to the Baltic States could be a prelude to a crackdown?

The President. That the what?

Q. Baltic States—the warning to the Baltic States. Could that be a prelude to some crackdown there?

The President. Well, I hope not. I hope not. I think that Mr. Gorbachev's reaction to the changes in Poland were extraordinarily understanding and certainly not militant in any way. And I hope that would be the tone as the rapid change that's taking place in Eastern Europe goes forward—not just in Poland, but in other countries as well. And I must say that the way that Mr. Gorbachev has handled this and reacted to it has been very positive. I don't know how the Poles——

Senator Dole. The same thing. No doubt about it. No doubt about it.

The President. So let's hope that it continues—the change continues to take place peacefully—and not only outside the Soviet Union, but in it. And we respect the kind of change that's taken place there. Said it over and over again—we want to see *perestroika* succeed.

Polish Reforms

Q. I understand you don't want to put a distinct timetable on, but how much of a sense of urgency do you have? How long do you think the new leaders have in Poland before it's some kind of a crisis?

Senator Dole. Well, I think it's fair to say we've conveyed to the President what we heard from the leaders, and in each case, they indicated some urgency, even used the word "emergency" at one time. But again, we've given the President a report, which he'd like to analyze, and also the letter from Lech Walesa. And I know that there are a number of things already happening in the administration. There are all kinds of studies and surveys and consultations taking place in different departments. So I think we're making some progress.

Mr. Popadiuk. One last question, please.

Q. Mr. President, would you advise—what would you advise the Justice Minister of Colombia if she does decide to seek asylum here? What would your advice be?

The President. I'm not going to get into that, it's too hypothetical.

Q. Too hypothetical, or has she offered her resignation——

The President. Too hypothetical for me to answer that question—too hypothetical.

Q. So she has not offered her resignation?

The President. Can't help you on it. Can't help you.

Q. Any fishing tips for the President, Senator?

Q. Did he invite you out fishing?

Q. Any fishing tips for the President?

Senator Dole. What is it—11 p.m. at night our time? We're ready to——[*laughter*]

Q. He needs help.

The President. Thank you all very much.

Secretary Dole. Bye.

Note: The President spoke at 4 p.m. at Walker's Point following a meeting with Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth H. Dole, and Representative Bob McEwen of Ohio. Roman Popadiuk was Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary for Foreign Affairs. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Nomination of Barbara Spyridon Pope To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy

August 29, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Barbara Spyridon Pope to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Manpower and Reserve Affairs). She would succeed Kenneth P. Bergquist.

Ms. Pope is currently the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Family Support, Education, and Safety) at the Department of Defense. She has served in this capacity since 1986. Prior to this, Ms. Pope held several positions with the Small Business Administration: Special Assistant to the Administrator, 1982–1986; employee development specialist in the Office of Personnel, 1980–1982; and administrative assistant in the Office of General Counsel, 1979–1980.

Ms. Pope graduated from Vanderbilt University (B.A., 1973) and attended George Washington University, 1978–1980. She was born November 10, 1951, in Pittsburgh, PA. Ms. Pope is married, has one child, and currently resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Dennis B. Underwood To Be Commissioner of Reclamation at the Department of the Interior

August 29, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Dennis B. Underwood to be Commissioner of Reclamation at the Department of the Interior. He would succeed C. Dale Duvall.

Currently Mr. Underwood serves as executive director and executive secretary of the Colorado River Board of California, 1978 to present. Prior to this, he served as a consultant to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Rome, Italy, 1975, and water resources engineer at the California Department of Water Resources Management Unit for the Southern District, 1969–1978.

Mr. Underwood graduated from Norwich University (B.S., 1966). He served in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1966–1969. Mr. Underwood was born December 14, 1944, in Greenville, MA. He is married and resides in Santa Monica, CA.

Appointment of Jack O. Guy as a Member of the American Battle Monuments Commission

August 29, 1989

The President today announced his decision to appoint Jack O. Guy to be a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission. He would succeed Rexford C. Early.

Currently Mr. Guy serves as chairman and chief executive officer of F and G Institutional Trading, Inc. in Atlanta, GA. In addition, he served as president of Institutional Clearing Services and concurrently as senior vice president of Johnson, Lane, Space, Smith and Co., Inc., 1978 to present; and vice president of Johnson, Lane, Space, Smith and Co., Inc., 1974–1978.

Mr. Guy was a graduate of the Chrysler School of Business Management and the Sales Analysis Institute, and the American College of Life Underwriters. He was born September 28, 1922, in Claxton, GA. He served in the U.S. Navy as a naval aviator, 1942–1945. Mr. Guy is married, has two children, and resides in Atlanta, GA.

Nomination of Jacqueline L. Phillips To Be Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission
August 29, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jacqueline L. Phillips to be Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission. She would succeed Winifred Ann Pizzano.

Since 1982 Ms. Phillips has served as the Alternate Federal Chairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission. Prior to this, she served as deputy director of the Maryland Reagan/Bush campaign, 1980, and consultant to Congresswoman Helen Bentley, Maryland Bush for President campaign chairman, 1988.

Ms. Phillips attended Madison College for Women, the University of Maryland, and Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government. She was born October 6, 1935, in Washington, DC. Ms. Phillips has four children and resides in Silver Spring, MD.

Nomination of Carroll A. Campbell, Jr., To Be a Member of the Board of Trustees of the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation
August 29, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Carroll A. Campbell, Jr., to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation for a term of 4 years. This is a new position.

Governor Campbell is currently the Governor of South Carolina. Prior to this, Governor Campbell served as a United States Congressman for South Carolina in the 4th Congressional District, 1978–1986. Governor Campbell was elected to the South Carolina Senate in 1976, and from 1975 to 1976 he served as executive assistant to Gov. James B. Edwards.

Governor Campbell attended the University of South Carolina and graduated from the American University with a master of arts degree. He was born July 24, 1940, in Greenville, SC. Governor Campbell is married, has two children, and resides in Greenville, SC.

Exchange With Reporters Following a National Drug Control Strategy Meeting in Kennebunkport, Maine
August 29, 1989

The President. Well, we had a—this is nothing other than your basic photo-op. But we did have a very good discussion on the antinarcotics program. I'll have more to say on that next week. But I want to thank you guys for coming. Appreciate it.

Q. Mr. President, the Colombian Foreign Minister today asked for another $19 million in emergency military aid to help fight the drug war down there, and says she's discussed it with U.S. officials. Do you have any response to that?

The President. No, but it's being worked out now—the details. But we will cooperate with Colombia to the best of our ability. We support what the President of that country is trying to do. And every one of our Cabinet officers here—all of us agree that this is an important step.

Q. Did you see President Barco's appeal to the users to stop their use?

The President. I fully agree with that, too, and so does our drug czar Bill Bennett [Director of National Drug Control Policy]. We were talking about that at lunch—with great respect for what he had to say, as a matter of fact.

Q. Have you decided to increase the foreign aid package in your drug strategy plan to help combat this drug war now going on in Colombia?

The President. We'll have more to say on that at the appropriate time, which will be fairly soon. We're just not ready to comment on that.

Q. Have you figured out yet how you're going to pay for this?

The President. I'm not going to comment on that either.

Q. Mr. President, have the events in Colombia in the past week forced you to raise the military side of this?

The President. No.

Note: The exchange began at 1:13 p.m. at Walker's Point.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting a Report on the Denial of Federal Benefits for Certain Drug Offenders

August 30, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

The attached report sets forth a plan for the immediate implementation of section 5301 of P.L. 100–690, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, pertaining to denial of Federal benefits for certain drug offenders. This report is submitted pursuant to the requirements of section 5301(g) of P.L. 100–690.

Effective for convictions occurring after September 1, 1989, section 5301 provides that an individual convicted of a State or Federal drug trafficking or possession offense may be denied Federal benefits for certain statutorily specified periods of time. Except for those individuals convicted of a third drug trafficking offense (in which case the exclusion from receipt of Federal benefits is both permanent and statutorily prescribed), the decision to deny any, some, or all of an individual's benefits in these instances rests solely with the sentencing judge. Certain benefits, such as welfare or disability payments, are statutorily exempted from coverage under this provision. In addition, benefits for government witnesses are exempted from suspension or denial, and benefits may not be denied an individual convicted of a drug possession offense who has been determined to be a drug addict and who has agreed to undergo long-term treatment or who may otherwise have been rehabilitated. In the case of an individual convicted of a drug trafficking offense, the range of benefits to be denied may not include those benefits related to long-term treatment. Section 5301 also requires that benefit eligibility be restored if an individual fulfills certain conditions relating to drug treatment and rehabilitation.

To implement section 5301, I am asking the United States Sentencing Commission to assist in the initial dissemination of information to the Federal courts, and the Department of Justice to assume the role of "information clearinghouse" for the Federal courts. Principal responsibility will rest with the Sentencing Commission to disseminate all necessary information concerning section 5301 to Article III Judges and other appropriate Federal personnel. An appropriate component in the Department of Justice will collect all incoming information generated by the courts regarding those individuals to whom benefits are to be denied, and will forward such information to the General Services Administration (GSA) for inclusion on that agency's publication of "Parties Excluded from Federal Procurement or Nonprocurement Programs"—

more commonly known as the "Debarment List."

I am directing the Department of Justice (DOJ) to coordinate the participation of the State courts in this program. The DOJ will request the assistance of the chief judicial officer of each State in directing that State's courts to collect and transmit to DOJ the necessary data on State court denials. The DOJ will also serve as the repository or "clearinghouse" of information for State courts and will forward such data to GSA for inclusion on the Debarment List.

Appropriate and uniform documents designed to serve as judicial notices of denial or suspension of benefits shall be developed. Information collected on these forms will be sent on a regular basis by the DOJ "clearinghouse" to GSA and will be incorporated by GSA into the Debarment List. At present, the Debarment List contains approximately 6,500 entries, consisting of those parties excluded throughout the United States Government from receiving Federal contracts or federally approved subcontracts and from certain Federal benefits or other assistance. It is printed and distributed monthly to approximately 17,400 users, both in the Government as well as in the private sector. Under this proposal, the burden will rest with each agency to consult the Debarment List to ensure compliance with the provisions of the statute.

I understand that the statute permits a judge the discretion to deny *all* Federal benefits for a specified period of time (with the exclusion of those benefits exempted by statute from coverage under this provision). Utilizing the GSA Debarment List is the most efficient mechanism to implement such blanket suspensions, due to the thousands of different benefits—including grants, guaranteed loans, contracts, and professional and commercial licenses—that could be denied pursuant to section 5301. Additionally, an applicant for Federal benefits is required to certify that he/she is not subject to a judicial order that would bar their participation in Federal benefits.

The attached proposal is designed to be implemented September 1, 1989, or as soon thereafter as appropriate informational materials are distributed to the Federal and State judiciary and suitable denial forms developed. In order to avoid any potential problems under the *Ex Post Facto* Clause of the Constitution, the statute shall be applied to convictions occurring after September 1, 1989, that arise from offenses occurring on or after November 18, 1988. November 18, 1988, is the date of enactment of P.L. 100–690. Finally, I am directing the Office of National Drug Control Policy to monitor implementation of this proposal, and to determine if additional changes or modifications are required after 6 months to carry out the legislative intent effectively.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Nomination of Bill R. Phillips To Be Deputy Director of the Office of Personnel Management

August 30, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Bill R. Phillips to be Deputy Director of the Office of Personnel Management. He would succeed Hugh Hewitt.

Since 1988 Mr. Phillips has served as Chief of Staff and Counselor to the Secretary at the Department of Education in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as chief executive officer for the Republican National Convention, 1987–1988; vice president of Russo, Watts and Rollins, 1986–

1987; and executive director of the Fund for America's Future, 1985–1986. In addition, he served as the chief of staff at the Republican National Committee, 1983–1985; executive assistant to Gov. Robert List of Nevada, 1978–1983; deputy campaign manager for Robert List for Governor, 1977–1978; and as a political reporter and columnist for Reno Newspapers, Inc., 1975–1977.

Mr. Phillips graduated from the University of Nebraska (B.A., 1969). He was born June 8, 1944, in Whitesboro, TX. Mr. Phillips served in the U.S. Air Force, 1965–1970. He is married, has three children, and resides in Springfield, VA.

Nomination of Frank B. Sollars To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank

August 30, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank B. Sollars to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank for a term of 3 years. This is a reappointment.

Since 1939 Mr. Sollars has been a self-employed farmer. In addition, he has served as director of the National Cooperative Bank in Washington, DC, since 1980, and chairman of the board for the National Cooperative Bank, 1980–1988; director of Nationwide Mutual Casualty Insurance Co. of Columbus, OH, since 1968, and as chairman of the board for the same company since 1972. Mr. Sollars has served as the director of the National Cooperative Business Association since 1975, and was chairman of the board for the same organization, 1985–1987.

Mr. Sollars was born June 29, 1921, in Fayette County, OH. He is married, has five children, and currently resides in Washington Court House, OH.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Chamber of Commerce in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 30, 1989

Well, what a magnificent picture! I'm looking around at this crowd, and I see a few faces old enough to remember that boardwalk that went along—[*laughter*]—all the way along Ocean Avenue there. And this is a very special occasion for Barbara and me, and we're delighted to be here. And I'm very pleased to be honored by the chamber.

I was afraid you might be feeling I had dishonored the community with some of the excesses that have taken place out here, but I want the record to show that when the bottom fell off of the starboard engine on our boat the other day—[*laughter*]—it was not an encounter with a lobster trap. [*Laughter*]

The Coast Guard guy went out and took a look at the reef off the point there and started to tell me that he thought maybe, accidentally, I had hit a rock. And I told him, "Look, rocks do not grow in these waters. I've been here for 65 years running around in a boat—find some other answer. Even if there is metal on the rock out there, I did not hit that rock." [*Laughter*] And as Commander in Chief of the Coast Guard, he changed his mind as I was talking to him, and—[*laughter*]—we now think it was a submerged board. [*Laughter*]

Barbara—this Barbara—thank you very much, Barbara Aiello, for this honor and for welcoming us to the community that we do love so much. I'm delighted to be back at the Shawmut, where many of our press are staying and other friends that are traveling with us, and this hospitality—a few of them greeting us over here—the people working at the Shawmut. But it's a wonderfully warm feeling that we get from all of you, our neighbors in Kennebunkport and Kennebunk Beach and, of course, Kennebunk.

And it's a special time for me being here. We are doing some work, but I have confessed at the very outset that this is a pure, total vacation. And I'm not going to look busy in order to convince people in America that it's something other than a vacation. [*Laughter*] I mean, it's the way it is, and there are some hazards out there. Some of you have been on the golf course when I play, and that's—[*laughter*]—and other challenges.

One of them now is, we have a fleet of plastic toys that Barbara bought at some—I hope it was at a sale. There are many cars and little scooters and all out there, and it's a hazard to get out the front door, get into the car or into the boat, just to escape all these kids' playthings. But one of the great joys for us has been having our grandchildren here, and I expect that those in Kennebunkport will recognize a familiar scene as we prepare this year's Christmas card.

I'm not going to comment on the fishing—a vicious assault on my—[*laughter*]—vicious assault on my ability. I'm going to call the editor of the Portland paper, however, and present this to him: How would he call it? This morning, we got up and, through what was a rather heavy fog, went down to Whistler off Cape Porpoise and then down off of Woods Island. And here's my position: I was driving the boat, placing the boat so that Sandy Boardman, who was with me, could catch a bluefish—and she did. And I think they should knock off that advertisement on the front of the Portland paper that shows a bluefish with a big *X* through it—[*laughter*]—telling me that, yet a 13th day, I haven't caught one. I'm going to appeal to them on that one.

It's been a joy to be here. Barbara put it pretty well: that this is a place where we really enjoy ourselves—but more than that, kind of refurbish our souls and get our batteries all charged up and enjoy life really to the fullest. It's a point of view. You can feel it in the land and in the water here. And I know that people that are members of this chamber and other visitors that we have here with us understand exactly what I'm talking about. Barbara has told you that I've been coming here every summer since 19—well, I was born in '24. And the only one I missed was the summer of 1944 when, like many of you, I was in the service. That's the only time that we missed being here. And there is a certain magic about the place.

Our kids live in five different States—one in Cape Elizabeth and the others, four different States—and for them, this is an anchor to windward because not far from where this picture was painted my mother was born in a house still standing right there—not too far from St. Ann's Church.

So, enough of the reminiscence, but it means renewal to us, a moment to reflect. And as Barbara said, some of my colleagues in the Government have had an opportunity to come here for substantive meetings. Today I can't wait to show off this heaven to the Prime Minister of Canada, his wife, and his four kids, who will be visiting us around the corner. And the other day it was the Prime Minister of Denmark and his charming wife. And as some of you all remember—in May, I believe it was—we had the President of the French Republic here.

And it is more than just inviting them to a lovely place, because I've found, as I will with Mulroney, that with both the Danish Prime Minister, Mr. Schlüter, and Mr. Mitterrand, you could converse and you could relax and you could really get to know each other in a wonderful setting. And though I don't believe foreign policy is determined on whether a foreign leader likes you or not, I do think it makes a difference if you can develop a good personal relationship. And you, our neighbors, have helped us in that regard, as we've had some distinguished foreign visitors here.

I appreciate the Outstanding Citizen Award. I don't know what the vote was on this one—[*laughter*]—but I want to tell you a true story. This came as a little bit of—well, it was good for my ego, that tends to mount when you get into this job from time to time. But they decided to name a public school after me. I think it was a junior high school, or maybe an elementary school, in Midland, Texas, where we lived for 12 years. And this is God's honest truth: The vote was either 4–3 or 3–2 in favor of naming the school for me. [*Laughter*] So, Barbara, I hope it was a little more one-sided than that in this—giving me this significant honor. But I really am pleased to accept it.

I know that the chamber of the Kennebunks is made up of a lot of entrepreneurs, and I would be remiss at a meeting like this if I didn't ask you to give me strong support as I go back to Washington to fight for a capital gains tax differential. I believe that small business—providing jobs to those who don't have jobs—small business entrepreneurs really are the backbone of this country in many ways.

And I am absolutely convinced that John Kennedy was right years ago—25 years ago or more—when he talked about the need to have a differential in the capital gains and, indeed, to call for a reduction in the capital gains tax because it stimulates the economy. It encourages risktaking; it rewards those who go out and employ others and start new businesses. And I am just convinced that it is good; I am convinced that it will help with our deficit, not inhibit the efforts I am making to get this budget deficit down in accord with the Gramm-Rudman targets. And so, I would ask your strong support to your very able congressional delegation as we now go back to battle for what I think is a good incentive for business people, men and women, small business entrepreneurs—those who have the courage to go off on their own and start new businesses wherever they may be. And I ask for your help.

Incidentally, I do believe we're going to get a good agreement on the budget deficit reduction package. I think it will be accomplished without raising the taxes on the American working man in this country. The problem still is this: It isn't that the working man is paying too little in taxes; it is that the Government continues to, for a lot of reasons, to spend too much. And I am going to continue to try to hold the line on taxes. And, again, I need your support there.

Right here in Kennebunk you've had some—Kennebunkport—you've had some examples of people that have been successful. The owner at the White Barn Inn may be with us today. Is Laurie here? Laurie Bongiorno—over here—quoting him, perhaps to his embarrassment, but he said: "We have an opportunity to create value in our businesses by taking a longer view. This would be easier without the burdensome weight of the capital gains tax." And I think he's absolutely right.

George Bergeron—he runs a landscaping operation with a very unusual name. It is called George's Bush and Tree Service. [*Laughter*] I loved it when I saw that. [*Laughter*] But let me tell you about this guy. I don't know whether he's here or not, but—back here? Fantastic! Planning for his retirement, he says, "I left my work to go into business for myself. I took the risks and went the American way for the sake of my retirement. Wouldn't it be ironic," he continues, "if just as I was ready to cash in, the Government took such a big piece of the profit from me?" He's absolutely right. The backbone of our recovery—in October it'll be the longest in the history of the United States—comes from the small business man or woman, who then makes it work and goes out and gives jobs to other people. The best answer to poverty in this country is a job, and I want to keep this economic expansion going.

I was told to say just a few words, but let me end with just a little reference to the times we're living in, regarding our foreign policy and the challenges we face as a country. And you see the kids here, and it reminds me that just before I went on a fascinating trip to Eastern Europe, including Hungary and Poland, and then to Paris, the Polish journalists came into that beautiful, majestic Oval Office, and they asked me: "What would you tell a young kid in Poland today?" And I had in my mind as he asked me the question the numbers of people in Chicago and in Detroit, and indeed some in Maine, who have come to this country from Poland—the arms of the Statue of Liberty outstretched, then in the past as it is, thank God, still today.

And I thought about it, and then I thought about the change, the political change that's taking place in Eastern Europe—change far more dramatic than I could have conceived when I was in the Congress, say, 20 years ago. And I said, "If I were a kid in Poland, I'd always want to see the United States"—I'm thinking on this—"to see the United States as a beacon." But I told him: "If I were a kid in Poland, I'd want to stay there. I'd want to participate in the change because we are living in a fascinating time." And you look at what's happening in the Soviet Union, the changes of *perestroika*—reform, *glasnost*—openness. It's dramatic. It's new. The aspirations for freedom are there. And you see the changes again in Poland, where you have a Communist government change through free elections to a government that contains people mainly out of the *Solidarność* movement, the labor union movement.

So, the point I want to make to you is: We're living in exciting times. And I can say with confidence to these kids: If we do our job right, if we handle the relationship with the Soviet Union properly, and if we then are smart enough and intelligent enough to delicately have the role of the United States be one of helpfulness in Eastern Europe, I think we can see a world where the peace is much more enhanced, or the threat of war—nuclear war, conventional war—greatly reduced. And it is an exciting time to be growing up in the United States, and it certainly is an exciting time to be the President of the United States of America. I like my job. I'm going to work hard for you. And thank you very, very much for this honor. Thank you so much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:24 p.m. at the Shawmut Inn. In his opening remarks, he referred to Barbara Aiello, president of the Kennebunk-Kennebunkport Chamber of Commerce.

News Conference of the President and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 31, 1989

The President. Well, why don't we get started on this scrum, as we call it. In the first place, Barbara and I have just been delighted to have the Prime Minister and Mrs. Mulroney here. And we had a chance this morning—it started out as just a chat, and ended up spending close to 4 hours talking about issues affecting not only U.S.-Canada but a wide array of issues affecting the whole world, as a matter of fact. As usual, I've learned a lot from the Prime Minister, and we've really had a substantive discussion. John Sununu and Brent Scowcroft dropped in for some of the discussion. And I can say this—and I'll let the Prime Minister have equal time—that the relationship between the United States and Canada, a most significant and important relationship, is in good shape.

I have found, just in the short time that I've been in this job, and with respect to the—certainly the Prime Minister with much more experience in leading a country than I—but I have found that I can either pick up the phone and talk to him with a frankness that is very important, or in a visit of this nature, which we deliberately billed as a private visit, talk to him with no holds barred. We agree on almost all the major issues. And where Canada and the U.S. may have bumps in the road, we can talk very frankly. He is always very frank with me, expressing the Canadian point of view so strongly, and gives me a chance to understand that position. And of course, I feel no inhibitions in telling him where the United States is coming from.

And though we have a few more hours of this most pleasant visit—from my standpoint at least and, thus, from the standpoint of the United States, it's been an unusually productive visit. And I'm just again, Brian, so pleased, sir, that you are here.

The Prime Minister. Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you, George.

Well, I really am here to give you the

impartial international assessment of the fact that there are no fish out there. [*Laughter*] I can certify to that. It's not the President's fault there are none—at least not for awhile, at least not for awhile. [*Laughter*]

Well, we've had a very pleasant and productive visit. Mila and I and the children have enjoyed the hospitality, and we of course enjoy the Bushes and their family a great deal. And so, we had a good opportunity, beginning at breakfast this morning, to really—the President and I—to review important bilateral relations between Canada and the United States from the environment to trade. And then, in the course of kind of an unscheduled next couple of hours, to get more and more into international issues, some of which flow from the Paris summit, others which the President has initiated or seeks to initiate.

And Canada views this relationship as a very special one. We have the largest trading relationship in the world between our two countries; and we have currents of history and bonds of friendship that are, I suspect, unrivaled anywhere. And so, this is an indication of the value of the friendship; this is an occasion for us, as well, to seek to improve it.

We have challenges and tensions from time to time. And the best way to deal with them is in a straightforward way, and that's exactly what we've done. And I thank the President for his hospitality, which we've greatly enjoyed.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

The President. Merci [Thank you].

Now, any questions? And why don't we do like we did before, if it's agreeable, sir—just alternate.

Situation in Panama and Colombia

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us why you sent the State Department to make a case against Noriega at the OAS? Given the OAS's history of inaction, is that wasting our time, sir?

The President. No. Working to be sure that all the countries in the OAS understand why we feel as we do about Noriega is very important. And I am not going to give up on multilateral diplomacy. I am going to continue to work with the leaders in this hemisphere, most of whom feel as I do about Noriega, to see if we can't help the Panamanian people get what they deserve; and that is a democratic society that stems from free, fair elections. And so, we are going to continue to press the case in OAS and every other way.

Q. But they didn't come through for you before.

The President. Keep working on it; keep working the problem.

Q. Did the President discuss the President's new drug strategy, and did he specifically ask Canada to perhaps help in terms of furnishing more money and law enforcement officers to attack the drug cartel operators in Colombia?

The Prime Minister. Well, first, I should say that I share the President's view about General Noriega, and the Government of Canada has conveyed that view directly to the General in recent days. And Secretary of State Joe Clark has issued a strong statement about our view of Panama. We're very supportive of what not only President Bush but all freedom-loving people seek in respect of Panama. And the fact that it hasn't happened yet doesn't mean we shouldn't stop.

With regard to the problem in Colombia, Canada views the statements of the President as the statements of a very courageous—very courageous man—deserving of support not only by the United States but by all industrialized countries, and particularly all nations in this hemisphere. And we have communicated ourselves, of course, with the Government of Colombia; we expect that we will be hearing from them shortly.

The President and I discussed a number of initiatives this morning that we'll be discussing with friends and allies to try and have a more definite impact. The United States will, I suppose, respond on a bilateral basis; and so will Canada. But where there is complete agreement between the President and myself is the need to support a very courageous leader in Colombia and the need to stomp out, by every reasonable means, the terror of drugs which is devastating society in the United States and having a very serious impact as well on Canadians and people around the world.

Q. ——a multilateral force to be used to help stamp out those drug traffickers in Colombia?

The President. The main thing is to cooperate with President Barco in the ways that he feels are most effective. That's the best thing. There is no point on Canada or the United States or the Group of Seven [economic summit participants] or any individual country or group of countries imposing its will on a country that is now trying very, very hard to rid itself of this menace. And so, I know that I—the Prime Minister and I have discussed this—we would be guided by requests from President Barco in Colombia.

[*The next question was asked and answered in French, and no translation was provided.*]

Canada-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, what areas would you say the bilateral relations have been unusually productive in these talks? And also, in what areas do you think there still remains some bumps in the road, as you referred to earlier?

The President. Well, look, on the whole area of trade, because the Prime Minister stood firm in a tough political context for a free trade agreement, dramatic progress has been made. There are still bumps in the road. There are going to still be areas that he and I need to discuss and that our trade representatives need to discuss, to iron these bumps out. And so, the broad area of agreement is relating to the free trade agreement itself, and then where we have disagreements there's going to be a case-by-case looking at problems.

We talked, for example, about a specific: There's been a fishing problem between Canada and the United States regarding lobsters. It's a matter of some concern to me. Well, we decided, look, let's talk about it frankly, refer it to our experts, and then get on with solving it. So, he has been in the forefront of change for environmental protection. And we've come forward now in the United States, trying to have a package that I would encourage our Congress to pass that would do something about acid rain, for example. But again, problems still remain until we put into effect our legislation and then move forward even further with Canada.

So, where we have broad agreements, trade agreement, there are bound to be matters as we go down the road that are going to need to be ironed out. In terms of the Group of Seven, in terms of the East-West relations, in terms of how we look at matters south of the United States border—and I'm talking about Panama, for example—I find that the Prime Minister and I, and Canada and the United States, are very, very much in accord. And there are other issues where we may have differences, but in these broad ones, there's agreement, and the problems come on some of the specifics. But amongst friends we can hammer out those difficulties.

Colombia

Q. You talked about support for President Barco, but are there specifics in a Canadian program that would in any way be coordinated with the U.S., or is there a separate Canadian program?

The Prime Minister. Canada's already assisting Colombia in a substantial way, in terms of the administration of the—or improving the system of justice internally within Colombia. Our security forces have been providing assistance and technology, as well. The President and I explored other possibilities where, either individually or collectively, we could be of greater assistance in responding to what is clearly a very courageous and brave voice coming from Colombia asking for understanding and support. But as the President pointed out, it is important that the definition of that agenda come from Colombia and not from us. It is up to the President to indicate to the United States, to Canada, and to friendly neighbors around the world, how we best might be of help.

Q. Mr. President, you can make suggestions to President Barco. After all, this is an American crisis, too. Can't you make suggestions, and would that include some sort of multilateral force, possibly not military, possibly some sort of—I don't know—you talked about the Group of Seven—Interpol, or something like that? And also, have you considered the possibility of some sort of South American summit which would include the Peruvian and Bolivian leaders?

The President. There has been discussion of an antinarcotic summit. Indeed, I talked to President Barco about that the other day. I feel totally free to make suggestions to him. But all I'm saying is that we must be sensitive, as this man goes to work and has rolled up his sleeves and is putting a lot at risk, that we not be counterproductive in our efforts to help him. But I feel free in talking to him to discuss any subject.

And I've made clear to him, John [John Cochran, NBC News], in my last conversation with him, that, please, let us know what in addition that we might do to help. But I think you have to be sensitive in understanding of the history in this hemisphere, and you cannot try to impose a solution on a country that is struggling very hard on their own—with international help—to solve this problem.

Q. Given their longstanding antipathy to American military intervention, would it be more acceptable to act in a multilateral way—with the Group of Seven, for example?

The President. Well, there's no question that multilateralism makes great sense in trying to help. But if the question implies intervention of a multilateral force, there again, if requested——

Q. I'm not asking that. At the invitation——

The President. Oh, no question, no question that that would be better. And from our standpoint, it would be better, as it affects the neighbors of Colombia. But again, I don't want to—just through even responding to your question—to appear to be pushing a solution on a man who has dug in there, whose ministers are coordinating their efforts now, and to do something or say something that would be counterproductive and turn public opinion that's now mobilized in Colombia against President Barco's efforts. But, yes—I'm sorry I missed the question—but, yes, I think an international effort on whatever line it is—aid, help of any kind—would be useful.

Canada-U.S. Trade

Q. Prime Minister, could you elaborate from your point of view on the lobster issue what Canada might do? And secondly, how you would characterize what bumps in the road you see there are in the bilateral relationship—trade, environment, whatever?

The Prime Minister. Well, the President was big on lobsters today. I was big on pork because we feel that the Americans have just imposed an unfair tariff on pork. And we discussed the manner in which this will be resolved through the mechanisms provided for the free trade agreement. But we went through a number of issues like that.

But I also point out the President's recent actions, for example, with regard to steel imports into the United States as they affect Canada, which indicates the strong commitment toward liberalized trade, towards removing inhibitions, and towards the belief that freer trade means greater economic growth for both sides.

And so, I think that the forces of free trade here and around the world, Canada and the United States, is, as Mrs. Thatcher once said, the greatest model for anybody wanting to examine the benefits of the flow from free trade. Between our two countries—we do the largest trade in history between two countries, and at the end of the year it's roughly in balance, as opposed to huge imbalances that surge in America's trade relations with other partners.

So, we covered the entire—well, I shouldn't say the entire spectrum, but we covered a good bit of it. And as I say, the President was strong on lobsters and not so good on pork—[*laughter*]—but we'll change that.

Q. Mr. President, on your upcoming drug plan, can you——

Acid Rain

Q. Mr. Mulroney, on acid rain——

The Prime Minister. I'm sorry, may I just—acid rain—very much so. We covered it, and we're getting to a solution because of the President's initiatives, for which we're very grateful. But we want a bilateral clean air accord between Canada and the United States. And the President and I discussed that as well. And that will move ahead concurrent with the action in this regard in the American Congress. I won't be satisfied that the issue is resolved until President Bush and I sit down and sign that accord. And then that will be an important day.

Q. Do you think you're any closer to an accord now?

The Prime Minister. Yes.

War on Drugs

Q. On your present drug plan, can you afford to take the emphasis off of interdiction and turn instead toward the suppliers and the users of drugs?

The President. I don't know where this is coming from, what our emphasis is going to be. I would simply suggest that people wait until I announce this national drug strategy. In fact, before I came over here, I said: "What is this story that there's a whole new emphasis being placed on how we fight drugs? It's going to have to be done on every front."

And there's been a lot of concentration, with some success, on interdiction. But the job isn't finished, and certainly we are not going to move away from attempting to interdict. So, I don't know where the speculation is coming from as to what emphasis we're going to place because when I come out with this program I'm going to urge that the emphasis be placed on all points.

Q. The drug czar [William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy] has suggested that there will be a greater emphasis on getting after the drug user and educating and on treatment.

The President. There's going to be a new—he is correct on that. There is going to be a greater emphasis on that. But I wouldn't say that it's going to be a greater emphasis at the expense of cooperating with Mr. Barco or cooperating with rehab or cooperating with law enforcement or going after the criminal elements more. So, we'll see. I didn't exactly see his comments, but it shouldn't be interpreted that we're going to move out of the drug interdiction field. We cannot do that.

Visit of Prime Minister Mulroney

Q. Prime Minister, can you describe what you've done in terms of recreational activities? Did the President challenge you to a game of tennis?

The Prime Minister. To his great regret. [*Laughter*]

The President. Now, wait just a minute for clarification. [*Laughter*]

The Prime Minister. The wind, however, intervened, preventing me from inflicting great damage on his reputation. [*Laughter*] So, we haven't gotten around to that. But we've been swimming—we've been out in the boat——

The President. Horseshoes this afternoon.

The Prime Minister. ——a little fishing—by me, unsuccessfully. [*Laughter*] So, we've had a good time, full time.

Drug Flow Across the Canadian Border

Q. What about the flow of drugs across the U.S.-Canadian border? How serious a problem is that?

The President. Is this for the Prime Minister or for me?

Q. Yes, for the Prime Minister and for you, Mr. President. The flow of drugs across the U.S.-Canadian border—how serious a problem do you regard that as being? And are you prepared to ask for American aid in bolstering your forces along that border? And, Mr. Bush, are you prepared to supply that aid? Was that discussed?

The Prime Minister. Well, there are lots of problems, and I suppose that's one of them, but it's not really a major, major one when you rank it alongside the others. The fact of the matter is that we have a growing problem of our own in Canada, which is one of abuse of this substance, the same way as the United States has. Canada is becoming a progressively important dropping-off area of drugs destined for the United States. And we have been working very actively to interdict those drugs destined not only for Canadians but for transshipment into the United States, and with some considerable success.

There's a great deal of cooperation, a very intimate degree of association and cooperation, between all agencies in the United States and in Canada. And the interdiction is very, very successful at the Canadian-American borders. And would the same situation prevail elsewhere, we'd be in better shape.

But as the President pointed out, if you have a country the size of ours or a smaller one, as long as you have access by ports, by air to that, you can transship drugs directed for the United States. And it's our obligation to be as severe and as rigorous as we can in interdicting shipments destined for the United States as—with the same enthusiasm or the same vigor as we apply to trying to stop shipments to our own people.

Colombia

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, would you consider an aid package to Colombia if it was requested similar to what the United States is contemplating, to what President Bush is planning?

The Prime Minister. The drug problem in Canada takes its origin in producing nations. And the producer who is in the process of destroying the young Canadian is exactly the same who's destroying the young American—exactly. He is the same venal, corrupt individual who seeks to profit by destroying young people in all our societies. And so, Canada will—Canada already is being helpful to Colombia. But if the President of Colombia were to ask us for further assistance, either as members of the G–7 or simply in a bilateral relationship, we would respond. And we would respond with enthusiasm because we don't see this as an American problem or a Colombian problem; this is a problem of any decent human being who wants to keep this cancer out of his or her society.

Food Assistance for Poland

Q. Mr. President, Senator Dole said this morning the administration is considering an emergency allotment of food assistance to Poland. Can you explain what's in the works on that front? Is this something that's apart from the discussions now underway under the auspices of the European Commission?

The President. Well, one of the things that we did at the G–7 meeting in Paris was to set up a coordinating committee. And one of the things that will be activated in regards to this food request is that committee. Mr. Delors [European Communities Commission President] is heading it. Bob Dole came back here with Secretary Dole, stopped in here, and made clear to me that, in their opinion, there was a need for immediate support in the food area.

And that is one where we ought to be able to do more. We've done a lot. But we will be working that problem this coming week and trying to comply with the wishes of the various leaders in Poland. So, I think we can do more there. But again, we have—as you know, when we treat with food aid—we have budgetary problems just like other countries do. But when it comes to food, why, I think the world should have the quickest possible response.

Q. Can you give us an indication of how much, how quickly?

The President. No, we haven't got the numbers on it yet, Norm [Norman Sandler, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, do you want to try it in French? The highlights of this——

The President. Mais non. J'ai—I learned my lesson in Ottawa—not to try. [*Laughter*]

Visit of Prime Minister Mulroney

Q. What is the highlight of the visit for you?

The President. The highlight? Well, I don't know that I can single one thing out, but if it does nothing else, it symbolizes the friendly relationship that we have with Canada. And I am determined that as long as I am President, I will never take for granted friends. It is very important, from what I need to learn to do my job better, to stay in touch with Prime Minister Mulroney. And this visit has been as good, if not better, than the other such visits we've had, even when I was Vice President. We had a relationship where we could talk very, very frankly. We could get out our disagreements, as well as the things we agreed on—no acrimony. And he's had a lot of experience in these G–7 meetings and in other international meetings; and I find it extraordinarily helpful to me to just bounce ideas off him—and maybe vice versa—when it comes to East-West relations; when it comes to the changes in Eastern Europe; when it comes to what's happening in Central America, or indeed, in Asia.

And so, the highlight is not only the personal chemistry that I think is good but the fact that we can talk as neighbors in a very unfettered way about a wide array of problems without fearing that we're going to have some misunderstanding or some leak, or something that's going to embarrass either one of us. And that is important. That is a very important point.

Canadian Lobster Exports

Q. Mr. Mulroney, what do you say to the American lobstermen who say you're killing their prices by having your people catch these puny lobsters and then export them here before they're able to grow big enough to reproduce? What do you say to us?

The Prime Minister. Well, the President made a very strong case in respect to that this morning, and he advanced some persuasive arguments that I have instructed my officials to begin examining. And this matter, which is very important to the United States, will be resolved in much the same manner as we seek to resolve others: in a friendly, constructive spirit. We didn't resolve it today, but the President certainly made a very, as I say, persuasive case, as I hope I did in other areas.

Panamanian Elections

Q. Mr. President, back on Noriega?

The President. This is the last question, the one that always gets you in trouble. Yes, come on, Michael [Michael Gelb, Reuters]. [*Laughter*]

Q. Do you plan any further sanctions, or do you plan to recognize Mr. Endara as President?

The President. Well, we were, curiously, discussing that just today. Clearly, we're not going to recognize Mr. Noriega. We've got sanctions in place that will continue. We are considering what additionally might be done. And I've never seen a coming together in world opinion as there is on this one amongst the major nations: that Noriega ought to get out. And I was very pleased with the Canadian initiative, on its own, making clear to Noriega that he's subverting the democratic way. And other leaders have done this.

We had [Danish] Prime Minister Schlüter up here the other day, as you know. And he felt, rather than make a joint European demarche, that it's better for countries individually to go forward, as Denmark has planned to do. Mrs. Thatcher has taken a strong position. I think we just got a letter from her today on this.

And so, there's a lot going on in terms of making clear to Noriega that he is just not only aborting the will of the people, but he is frustrating sound, normal relations with a lot of countries. So, let's hope that reason will prevail. But we're going to keep going forward, and we will consider what additionally we might do. There's a high frustration level. I'm ready to concede that, but we are not going to give up on this. We are not going to permit the will of the people of Panama to be thwarted by this dictator, especially at a time when the whole hemisphere is moving down democracy's path.

Thank you all very, very much.

Q. Do you think Noriega is providing a safe haven for the drug barons?

The President. I don't know.

Q. Mr. President, there are rumors that there's another coup attempt being planned in the military right now in Panama. Any comment on that?

The President. No comment on that.

President's Vacation

Q. No more fishing?

The President. Oh, yes. Would you like a fishing assessment? Would you really like to know——

Q. Yes. [*Laughter*]

The President. I told you what I thought yesterday, and this is getting out of hand. And so, between now and when I leave on Monday, I guarantee you—I positively guarantee you that this jinx will be broken. I've seen a lot of good .350 hitters bat about .178 for a while. Then they come out of the slump and move forward. My record fishing in these waters is well-known. It's a superb record, a record of bountiful catches. And somehow, something's gone wrong for the last 13 days—[*laughter*]—something's happened. But I promise you—I promise you that—in fact, we're thinking of having a poll to take a media person with us when Barbara and I go out to thwart these evil rumors that I don't know what I'm doing fishing. It's gotten out of hand. When I see it on national television, I know we've got to put an end to this monkey business. So, we will prevail. And besides that, everyone knows fishing is a team sport. [*Laughter*]

The Prime Minister. I just want to issue a formal denial here. It is not the case that there are out in the bay Canadian frogmen with Nova Scotia salmon ready to put on anybody's line. [*Laughter*]

The President. I hope they will be.

Note: The President's 22d news conference began at 2:06 p.m. at Walker's Point.

Statement on Panama-United States Relations
September 1, 1989

On May 7, the people of Panama, by an overwhelming margin of votes, braved repression, intimidation, and fraud to choose democracy over dictatorship. They sent a clear and unmistakable message. They wanted an end to dictatorship and restoration of elected democratic government. But this act of self-determination was brutally repressed before the eyes of the entire world. Noriega answered the cry of his people with beatings and killings. The candidates chosen by the Panamanian people will not be allowed to take office today, as required by the Panamanian Constitution. Panama is therefore, as of this date, without any legitimate government.

Accordingly, the United States will not recognize any government installed by General Noriega. Our Ambassador will not return, and we will not have any diplomatic contact with the Noriega regime. The United States will continue to take other steps, including the tightening of measures to deprive the illegal regime of funds that belong to the Panamanian people, in support of self-determination and democracy, and to counter the threat posed by General Noriega's support for drug trafficking and other forms of subversion. I am confident that other governments which support human rights, democracy, and self-determination and which oppose drug trafficking will take similar measures.

This should have been a proud day for Panamanians and for all who believe in self-determination and democracy. Instead, it is a sad day—a sad day for Panama and for the democratic nations of this hemisphere. The peoples of Panama and the United States have enjoyed a close and mutually beneficial relationship since Panama's founding in 1903. Our people-to-people bonds have become even closer since the conclusion of the canal treaties of 1977, which the United States will continue to uphold. We will not forget this bond, or the sacrifices Panamanians have already made to rid themselves of the outlaw Noriega regime. We will continue to stand by the people of Panama until their fight for self-determination is respected and democratic government is restored.

Message on the Observance of Labor Day
September 1, 1989

Today, we pause as a Nation to salute America's working men and women. From Honolulu to Harrodsburg, from Spokane to Colebrook, millions of us are observing a uniquely American holiday by taking a well-earned respite from our daily labors.

We rest on Labor Day in order to reflect upon all our Nation owes to its workers, the "doers of deeds," whose noble dreams and diligent efforts have shaped our homes, towns, and schools—indeed, our way of life. As a Nation, we trace our roots to the brave and hardy individuals who cleared the timber, sowed the fields, and laid the foundations of great cities—people for whom freedom meant nothing less than the opportunity to build a better world. Labor Day is a time to recall that heritage of accomplishment, as well as the deeper meaning and dignity that work holds for each of us.

Today, we also give thanks—not only for the American worker but also for the strength of our Nation's economy. A job is more than a source of income; it is a source of pride and a source of self-respect. In just seven years, the engines of economic growth have created more than 20 million new jobs, and today more Americans are at work—both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the population—than ever before in our recorded economic history.

We rejoice in this record economic expansion, but we can and should do more to sustain it. We must safeguard the gains made by working families and improve worker training and education so that all Americans might share fully in our nation's prosperity.

We give thanks today, too, for the rights and freedoms our system of government ensures: freedom from discrimination in employment because of race, sex, religion, national origin or disability; freedom from health and safety hazards in the workplace; and the right to join a labor union and to engage in collective bargaining.

Looking ahead, we foresee a very competitive global economy and a landscape transformed by technology. Nevertheless, we can depend on America's working men and women to meet such challenges. Like generations of hardworking Americans before them, they will have the tools that freedom makes available: respect for individual initiative, incentives for private enterprise, a spirit of cooperation, and the confidence that says "It *can* be done."

On this 95th Labor Day, we Americans are both grateful to and proud of our Nation's workers.

GEORGE BUSH

Designation of Shellyn Gae McCaffrey as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation

September 1, 1989

The President today announced his decision to designate Shellyn Gae McCaffrey as a member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. She would succeed Eugene K. Lawson.

Ms. McCaffrey is currently the Deputy Under Secretary of Labor (International Affairs) at the Department of Labor. Prior to this, she served as Associate Deputy Secretary at the United States Department of Commerce, 1988–1989; Deputy Executive Secretary for the Economic Policy Council at the White House, 1985–1988; senior staff member in the Office of Policy Development at the White House, 1981–1985; and press aide and fundraiser for the Reagan-Bush campaign, 1979–1980.

Ms. McCaffrey graduated from the Pennsylvania State University (B.S., 1979) and American University (J.D., 1988). She was born December 22, 1957, in Pittsburgh, PA. She currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan

September 1, 1989

The President. Mr. Prime Minister, and ladies and gentlemen, an old proverb says, "The foundation for a better tomorrow must be laid today." Mr. Prime Minister, you and I are here today to shape tomorrow. And on America's behalf, let me welcome you to this country.

When I was in Japan earlier this year, I observed how ties, national and personal, bind our two people. Your visit reaffirms those ties and underscores this commitment by you and your government to the continued health of our historic friendship. That friendship lives and grows, as today's meeting evidenced. But while we met as new friends, our talks were conducted like old friends. And they were characterized by cordiality, a positive atmosphere and understanding, and by broad agreement on the major items of our bilateral and international agenda. For that, Mr. Prime Minister, I credit the good will and perspective that you brought to these discussions and the enduring partnership between our two governments.

That partnership is based on shared interests and mutual respect, and rests on our belief that together we can be a global force for peace and prosperity. This global partnership works in several ways. First, as in past meetings between our nations' leaders, the Prime Minister and I affirmed that the treaty of cooperation and mutual security is vital not only to our joint security but to the stability of the entire Asia-Pacific area. And in that context, we agreed that this alliance will continue to be crucial to the region's future. And we vowed to continue to consult closely on all aspects and arrangements of our security partnership and shared responsibility for peace and stability.

And second, the Prime Minister and I discussed how we can promote peace and prosperity through greater freedom—economic and political—around the world. Already, we've joined to support the multilateral assistance initiative for the Philippines launched in Tokyo in July. And today we restated our intent to encourage still more open economic and political systems and, specifically, to support recent political and economic reform in Eastern Europe, notably in Poland and Hungary. And we also discussed the situation in China for, as I've said before, we seek to preserve our relations there while endorsing the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people for political expression.

And then, a third area of agreement concerns how diplomacy can help resolve regional conflicts. America and Japan, with others, will continue to urge a comprehensive settlement that gives the people of Cambodia both security and the ability to choose their own government. We agreed, too, to accelerate our efforts to protect our citizens against international terrorism.

And in particular, we repeated the mutual commitment to aviation security that we made at the summit in Paris, and pledged to pool our technical and economic resources to combat all forces of terrorism that affect civil aviation.

And finally, the Prime Minister and I discussed our economic relationship at great length. And we are mindful that our economies are the world's largest. And we know that the health of our relationship partly depends on bringing our economic relationship into better balance. The Prime Minister confirmed the agreement I reached with his predecessors at the Paris summit to launch talks on structural impediments, and these discussions will begin in a few days. And I stressed to him the importance that we attach to the success of those talks and to the trade committee talks which will also occur next week.

And I share the Prime Minister's belief that, while Japan is noted as an exporting superpower, the time has also come for Japan to be an import superpower. Each of us desires that these discussions produce results which further strengthen our economic relationship and open the world trading system. To advance that goal, we restated our commitment to the success of the Uruguay rounds, and we also vowed to continue our frequent consultations at all levels on other international economic and trade issues.

In sum, Mr. Prime Minister, ours has been a highly productive meeting—one which will enhance the broad U.S.-Japanese agenda. A writer once observed: "Friendship is a sheltering tree." Because of ties which prosper and a partnership which endures, both the United States and Japan have been, I believe, and will remain, better for its shade.

Mr. Prime Minister, we have a mature, effective working partnership. And with you at the helm, I know the partnership between Japan and the United States will produce positive results. I look forward to seeing you again. And thank you very, very much for honoring the United States by this very, very early visit in your Prime Ministership.

Thank you, and good luck, sir.

The Prime Minister. Mr. President, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude for your heartwarming hospitality and kind words. This is my first visit as Prime Minister, and I have just completed my first meeting with the President.

Nevertheless, I was able to conduct talks with the President as if I were meeting an old friend, which I believe is because the Japan-U.S. relationship rests on a solid foundation laid down by the strenuous endeavors of both Japanese and American peoples over these many years. I conveyed to the President my conviction that the Japan-U.S. relationship is the cornerstone of Japan's diplomacy and that it shall continue to be so.

The President and I confirmed that we shall firmly maintain the Japan-U.S. security arrangements which are the basis of our bilateral relations. The President and I shared a view that cooperative Japan-U.S. relations based on the Japan-U.S. security ties are indispensable for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region, including Japan.

At the same time, the solution of various economic problems that arise between our two countries because of our close ties requires effort on the part of both Japan and the U.S., and it is important to continue efforts and joint collaboration toward their resolution.

I conveyed to the President my thinking that Japan will continue to promote appropriate macroeconomic policies as well as structural reform, and make efforts for expanding imports. I expressed my appreciation to the President for his continuing efforts to reduce the budget deficit, improve the savings rate, and strengthen competitiveness. In this connection, I expect the Structural Impediments Initiative between Japan and the U.S., which will start shortly, to bear significant outcome.

Japan and the U.S. share such fundamental values as freedom and democracy, and are partners sharing major responsibilities in global tasks. Japan and the U.S. must join forces in dealing with many broad issues related to world peace and prosperity, such as management of world economy, problems of debts in the developing countries, relief for starvation, efforts for strengthening the free trade system such as the Uruguay round, resolution of regional conflicts, protection of human rights, international cooperation for the prevention of terrorism, and the eradication of drugs.

The President and I expressed our common determination to actively shoulder responsibilities in a manner commensurate with our respective abilities under such global partnership. In this connection, the President and I shared the view that further importance must be placed on international cooperation for the preservation of the global environment. My present visit will take me to Mexico and Canada, where I intend to discuss the global environmental problems with their leaders. And as a program symbolizing Japan-U.S. cooperation in development issues such as combating poverty in the world and relieving hunger, I proposed to the President the establishment of a Leland Memorial Program for International Development in commemoration of the ideals and achievement of the late Congressman Leland, and obtained his support.

I stated to the President that my ideal in politics is the realization of a more equitable and humane society and that, to this end, I believe it crucial to advance political reform and to promote reforms for improving the Japanese peoples' quality of life with an emphasis on the views of consumers. I strongly emphasized with the President, who is not relaxing with the success of the United States, but is implementing realistic policies aimed at realizing the gentler and kinder society, Japan and the U.S. are facing common challenges to realize their aspired societies.

For example, the role of education, which brings up the generation which will shoulder tomorrow's responsibilities, is very important for both Japan and the U.S. I stated to the President that deepening discussion on those tasks, including the problem of education, is useful for Japan and the U.S. and that such discussions will also lead to enhancing genuine mutual understanding between the two countries.

I believe the President strongly supports my views. I am convinced that the expansion of such an in-depth dialog is precisely what is needed to add another important dimension to our bilateral relationship. I believe the last decade of the 20th century, which is called the century of war and revolution, should be devoted to laying the groundwork for a 21st century filled with peace and prosperity for all. To this end, I am determined to fulfill the role that Japan should play in the world on the basis of close and cooperative Japan-U.S. relations.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:43 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. Prime Minister Kaifu spoke in Japanese, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Statement on the Death of Baseball Commissioner A. Bartlett Giamatti

September 1, 1989

I am shocked and deeply saddened by the tragic death of Bart Giamatti. He had an abiding love of baseball and an enduring zest for life.

Author, teacher, college president, commissioner—Bart Giamatti was a man of many talents and a man who lived by the highest standards of excellence and ethics. He was my friend of longstanding. I will miss him very much. He was a strong, gentle, and generous man; and his loss is the Nation's.

Barbara joins me in mourning the death of this remarkable human being.

Remarks to Reporters on the National Drug Control Strategy

September 5, 1989

Let me just say in the presence of the press here today that tonight my speech will be the basis of a heart-to-heart talk with the American people. There's no question but that drugs are the quicksand of our entire society. They're suffocating individuals and their families, and institutions as well, and all Americans must pull together to solve this problem.

And we have a national strategy, and I commend Bill Bennett [Director of National Drug Control Policy], who has coordinated this strategy, fathered a lot of it himself. And the entire Cabinet—thank you for your cooperation. We must be in the forefront in helping solve this problem.

So, tonight I challenge the country and unveil this new national strategy—the first time we really have had such a strategy. And I just wanted to thank everybody here who has been helping, working with Bill, in coming up with this strategy. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:17 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House prior to a Cabinet meeting.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting the National Drug Control Strategy Report

September 5, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Consistent with section 1005 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 (21 U.S.C. 1504), I am today pleased to transmit my Administration's 1989 National Drug Control Strategy for congressional consideration and action.

This report is the product of an unprecedented national effort over many months. America's fight against epidemic illegal drug use cannot be won on any single front alone; it must be waged *everywhere*—at every level of Federal, State, and local government and by every citizen in every community across the country. Accordingly, we have conducted a thorough, intensive, and unflinching review of Federal anti-drug efforts to date. And we have solicited advice and recommendations from hundreds of interested and involved anti-drug leaders outside the Federal Government. The result is a comprehensive blueprint for new direction and effort—and for success in the near- and long-term future.

I am especially grateful for the valuable contributions made during this process by Members of the Congress, with whom we consulted broadly as our strategy was being conceived and formulated these past 6 months. I ask that this spirit of bipartisan cooperation now be extended to the difficult but necessary work that lies ahead: full swift funding and implementation of the many proposals and initiatives contained in this report. On behalf of those Americans most directly suffering from the scourge of drugs—and all the many more who must be further protected from it—I ask for your help and support.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Address to the Nation on the National Drug Control Strategy

September 5, 1989

Good evening. This is the first time since taking the oath of office that I felt an issue was so important, so threatening, that it warranted talking directly with you, the American people. All of us agree that the gravest domestic threat facing our nation today is drugs. Drugs have strained our faith in our system of justice. Our courts, our prisons, our legal system, are stretched to the breaking point. The social costs of drugs are mounting. In short, drugs are sapping our strength as a nation. Turn on the evening news or pick up the morning paper and you'll see what some Americans know just by stepping out their front door: Our most serious problem today is cocaine, and in particular, crack.

Who's responsible? Let me tell you straight out—everyone who uses drugs, everyone who sells drugs, and everyone who looks the other way.

Tonight, I'll tell you how many Americans are using illegal drugs. I will present to you our national strategy to deal with every aspect of this threat. And I will ask you to get involved in what promises to be a very difficult fight.

This is crack cocaine seized a few days ago by Drug Enforcement agents in a park just across the street from the White House. It could easily have been heroin or PCP. It's as innocent-looking as candy, but it's turning our cities into battle zones, and it's murdering our children. Let there be no mistake: This stuff is poison. Some used to call drugs harmless recreation; they're not. Drugs are a real and terribly dangerous threat to our neighborhoods, our friends, and our families.

No one among us is out of harm's way. When 4-year-olds play in playgrounds strewn with discarded hypodermic needles and crack vials, it breaks my heart. When cocaine, one of the most deadly and addictive illegal drugs, is available to school kids—school kids—it's an outrage. And when hundreds of thousands of babies are born each year to mothers who use drugs—premature babies born desperately sick—then even the most defenseless among us are at risk.

These are the tragedies behind the statistics, but the numbers also have quite a story to tell. Let me share with you the results of the recently completed household survey of the National Institute on Drug Abuse. It compares recent drug use to 3 years ago. It tells us some good news and some very bad news. First, the good. As you can see in the chart, in 1985 the Government estimated that 23 million Americans were using drugs on a "current" basis; that is, at least once in the preceding month. Last year that number fell by more than a third. That means almost 9 million fewer Americans are casual drug users. Good news.

Because we changed our national attitude toward drugs, casual drug use has declined. We have many to thank: our brave law enforcement officers, religious leaders, teachers, community activists, and leaders of business and labor. We should also thank the media for their exhaustive news and editorial coverage and for their air time and space for antidrug messages. And finally, I want to thank President and Mrs. Reagan for their leadership. All of these good people told the truth: that drug use is wrong and dangerous.

But as much comfort as we can draw from these dramatic reductions, there is also bad news, very bad news. Roughly 8 million people have used cocaine in the past year. Almost 1 million of them used it frequently—once a week or more. What this means is that, in spite of the fact that overall cocaine use is down, frequent use has almost doubled in the last few years. And that's why habitual cocaine users, especially crack users, are the most pressing, immediate drug problem.

What, then, is our plan? To begin with, I trust the lesson of experience: No single policy will cut it, no matter how glamorous or magical it may sound. To win the war against addictive drugs like crack will take more than just a Federal strategy: It will take a national strategy, one that reaches into every school, every workplace, involving every family.

Earlier today, I sent this document, our first such national strategy, to the Congress. It was developed with the hard work of our nation's first Drug Policy Director, Bill Bennett. In preparing this plan, we talked with State, local, and community leaders, law enforcement officials, and experts in education, drug prevention, and rehabilitation. We talked with parents and kids. We took a long, hard look at all that the Federal Government has done about drugs in the past—what's worked and, let's be honest, what hasn't. Too often, people in government acted as if their part of the problem—whether fighting drug production or drug smuggling or drug demand—was the only problem. But turf battles won't win this war; teamwork will.

Tonight, I'm announcing a strategy that reflects the coordinated, cooperative commitment of all our Federal agencies. In short, this plan is as comprehensive as the problem. With this strategy, we now finally have a plan that coordinates our resources, our programs, and the people who run them. Our weapons in this strategy are the law and criminal justice system, our foreign policy, our treatment systems, and our schools and drug prevention programs. So, the basic weapons we need are the ones we already have. What's been lacking is a strategy to effectively use them.

Let me address four of the major elements of our strategy. First, we are determined to enforce the law, to make our streets and neighborhoods safe. So, to start, I'm proposing that we more than double Federal assistance to State and local law enforcement. Americans have a right to safety in and around their homes. And we won't have safe neighborhoods unless we're tough on drug criminals—much tougher than we are now. Sometimes that means tougher penalties, but more often it just means punishment that is swift and certain. We've all heard stories about drug dealers who are caught and arrested again and again but never punished. Well, here the rules have changed: If you sell drugs, you will be caught. And when you're caught, you will be prosecuted. And once you're convicted, you will do time. Caught—prosecuted—punished.

I'm also proposing that we enlarge our criminal justice system across the board—at the local, State, and Federal levels alike. We need more prisons, more jails, more courts, more prosecutors. So, tonight I'm requesting—all together—an almost $1.5 billion increase in drug-related Federal spending on law enforcement.

And while illegal drug use is found in every community, nowhere is it worse than in our public housing projects. You know, the poor have never had it easy in this world. But in the past, they weren't mugged on the way home from work by crack gangs. And their children didn't have to dodge bullets on the way to school. And that's why I'm targeting $50 million to fight crime in public housing projects—to help restore order and to kick out the dealers for good.

The second element of our strategy looks beyond our borders, where the cocaine and crack bought on America's streets is grown and processed. In Colombia alone, cocaine killers have gunned down a leading statesman, murdered almost 200 judges and 7 members of their supreme court. The besieged governments of the drug-producing countries are fighting back, fighting to break the international drug rings. But you and I agree with the courageous President of Colombia, Virgilio Barco, who said that if Americans use cocaine, then Americans are paying for murder. American cocaine users need to understand that our nation has zero tolerance for casual drug use. We have a responsibility not to leave our brave friends in Colombia to fight alone.

The $65 million emergency assistance announced 2 weeks ago was just our first step in assisting the Andean nations in their fight against the cocaine cartels. Colombia has already arrested suppliers, seized tons of cocaine, and confiscated palatial homes of drug lords. But Colombia faces a long, uphill battle, so we must be ready to do more. Our strategy allocates more than a quarter of a billion dollars for next year in military and law enforcement assistance for the three Andean nations of Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru. This will be the first part of a 5-year, $2 billion program to counter the producers, the traffickers, and the smugglers.

I spoke with President Barco just last week, and we hope to meet with the leaders of affected countries in an unprecedented drug summit, all to coordinate an inter-American strategy against the cartels. We will work with our allies and friends, especially our economic summit partners, to do more in the fight against drugs. I'm also asking the Senate to ratify the United Nations antidrug convention concluded last December.

To stop those drugs on the way to America, I propose that we spend more than a billion and a half dollars on interdiction. Greater interagency cooperation, combined with sophisticated intelligence-gathering and Defense Department technology, can help stop drugs at our borders.

And our message to the drug cartels is this: The rules have changed. We will help any government that wants our help. When requested, we will for the first time make available the appropriate resources of America's Armed Forces. We will intensify our efforts against drug smugglers on the high seas, in international airspace, and at our borders. We will stop the flow of chemicals from the United States used to process drugs. We will pursue and enforce international agreements to track drug money to the front men and financiers. And then we will handcuff these money launderers and jail them, just like any street dealer. And for the drug kingpins: the death penalty.

The third part of our strategy concerns drug treatment. Experts believe that there are 2 million American drug users who may be able to get off drugs with proper treatment, but right now only 40 percent of them are actually getting help. This is simply not good enough. Many people who need treatment won't seek it on their own, and some who do seek it are put on a waiting list. Most programs were set up to deal with heroin addicts, but today the major problem is cocaine users. It's time we expand our treatment systems and do a better job of providing services to those who need them.

And so, tonight I'm proposing an increase of $321 million in Federal spending on drug treatment. With this strategy, we will do more. We will work with the States. We will encourage employers to establish employee assistance programs to cope with drug use; and because addiction is such a cruel inheritance, we will intensify our search for ways to help expectant mothers who use drugs.

Fourth, we must stop illegal drug use before it starts. Unfortunately, it begins early—for many kids, before their teens. But it doesn't start the way you might think, from a dealer or an addict hanging around a school playground. More often, our kids first get their drugs free, from friends or even from older brothers or sisters. Peer pressure spreads drug use; peer pressure can help stop it. I am proposing a quarter-of-a-billion-dollar increase in Federal funds for school and community prevention programs that help young people and adults reject enticements to try drugs. And I'm proposing something else. Every school, college, and university, and every workplace must adopt tough but fair policies about drug use by students and employees. And those that will not adopt such policies will not get Federal funds—period!

The private sector also has an important role to play. I spoke with a businessman named Jim Burke who said he was haunted by the thought—a nightmare, really—that somewhere in America, at any given moment, there is a teenage girl who should be in school instead of giving birth to a child addicted to cocaine. So, Jim did something. He led an antidrug partnership, financed by private funds, to work with advertisers and media firms. Their partnership is now determined to work with our strategy by generating educational messages worth a million dollars a day every day for the next 3 years—a billion dollars worth of advertising, all to promote the antidrug message.

As President, one of my first missions is to keep the national focus on our offensive against drugs. And so, next week I will take the antidrug message to the classrooms of America in a special television address, one that I hope will reach every school, every young American. But drug education doesn't begin in class or on TV. It must begin at home and in the neighborhood. Parents and families must set the first example of a drug-free life. And when families are broken, caring friends and neighbors must step in.

These are the most important elements in our strategy to fight drugs. They are all designed to reinforce one another, to mesh into a powerful whole, to mount an aggressive attack on the problem from every angle. This is the first time in the history of our country that we truly have a comprehensive strategy. As you can tell, such an approach will not come cheaply. Last February I asked for a $700 million increase in the drug budget for the coming year.

And now, over the past 6 months of careful study, we have found an immediate need for another billion and a half dollars. With this added $2.2 billion, our 1990 drug budget totals almost $8 billion, the largest increase in history. We need this program fully implemented—right away. The next fiscal year begins just 26 days from now. So, tonight I'm asking the Congress, which has helped us formulate this strategy, to help us move it forward immediately. We can pay for this fight against drugs without raising taxes or adding to the budget deficit. We have submitted our plan to Congress that shows just how to fund it within the limits of our bipartisan budget agreement.

Now, I know some will still say that we're not spending enough money, but those who judge our strategy only by its pricetag simply don't understand the problem. Let's face it, we've all seen in the past that money alone won't solve our toughest problems. To be strong and efficient, our strategy needs these funds. But there is no match for a united America, a determined America, an angry America. Our outrage against drugs unites us, brings us together behind this one plan of action—an assault on every front.

This is the toughest domestic challenge we've faced in decades. And it's a challenge we must face not as Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives, but as Americans. The key is a coordinated, united effort. We've responded faithfully to the request of the Congress to produce our nation's first national drug strategy. I'll be looking to the Democratic majority and our Republicans in Congress for leadership and bipartisan support. And our citizens deserve cooperation, not competition; a national effort, not a partisan bidding war. To start, Congress needs not only to act on this national drug strategy but also to act on our crime package announced last May, a package to toughen sentences, beef up law enforcement, and build new prison space for 24,000 inmates.

You and I both know the Federal Government can't do it alone. The States need to match tougher Federal laws with tougher laws of their own: stiffer bail, probation, parole, and sentencing. And we need your help. If people you know are users, help them—help them get off drugs. If you're a parent, talk to your kids about drugs—tonight. Call your local drug prevention program; be a Big Brother or Sister to a child in need; pitch in with your local Neighborhood Watch program. Whether you give your time or talent, everyone counts: every employer who bans drugs from the workplace; every school that's tough on drug use; every neighborhood in which drugs are not welcome; and most important, every one of you who refuses to look the other way. Every one of you counts. Of course, victory will take hard work and time, but together we will win. Too many young lives are at stake.

Not long ago, I read a newspaper story about a little boy named Dooney who, until recently, lived in a crack house in a suburb of Washington, DC. In Dooney's neighborhood, children don't flinch at the sound of gunfire. And when they play, they pretend to sell to each other small white rocks that they call crack. Life at home was so cruel that Dooney begged his teachers to let him sleep on the floor at school. And when asked about his future, 6-year-old Dooney answers, "I don't want to sell drugs, but I'll probably have to."

Well, Dooney does not have to sell drugs. No child in America should have to live like this. Together as a people we can save these kids. We've already transformed a national attitude of tolerance into one of condemnation. But the war on drugs will be hard-won, neighborhood by neighborhood, block by block, child by child.

If we fight this war as a divided nation, then the war is lost. But if we face this evil as a nation united, this will be nothing but a handful of useless chemicals. Victory—victory over drugs—is our cause, a just cause. And with your help, we are going to win.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

White House Fact Sheet on the National Drug Control Strategy
September 5, 1989

The National Drug Control Strategy describes a coordinated and comprehensive plan of attack involving all basic antidrug initiatives and agencies. The strategy recommends the largest dollar increase in the history of the drug war: nearly $2.2 billion, 39 percent above the fiscal 1989 level. Throughout, the strategy emphasizes the principle of user accountability—in law enforcement efforts focused on individual users; in decisions regarding sentencing and parole; in school, college, and university policies regarding the use of drugs by students and employees; in the workplace; and in treatment.

The strategy also calls for increased efforts in cocaine source countries and a more active international campaign by the United States to engage other nations in the fight against drugs. Interdiction efforts will be better targeted on key individuals in the drug organizations and on high-value shipments.

Another major priority is increasing the capacity of the drug treatment system and making it more accountable for results. Significant emphasis is also given to providing increased support for prevention and education efforts aimed at helping young people and others resist and reject drugs.

The strategy embodies the following elements:

Expand the criminal justice system

- provide funds for larger police forces and increased numbers of jails, prosecutors, and courts;
- develop alternatives for incarceration, such as boot camps to free up jail and prison space;
- require drug testing of prisoners, parolees, and arrestees.

Hold users, whether casual or heavy users, accountable for their actions

Undertake a vigorous program to eradicate domestically grown marijuana

Mobilize communities in the war on drugs

- emphasize community-level prevention of drug use before it starts;
- require schools and colleges to implement firm drug-free policies in order to receive Federal funds;
- clean up and secure public housing.

Expand drug-free workplace policies

- promote drug-free workplace policies in the private sector;
- recommend testing for job applicants and employers in safety and sensitive positions;
- aggressively implement Executive Order 12564 to assure drug-free workplace plans and policies within the Federal government.

Expand treatment and target services to improve the number of individuals served and the effectiveness of treatment

- hold federally funded treatment programs accountable for their effectiveness by establishing performance criteria;
- require drug testing in treatment programs receiving Federal funds;
- explore expanded use of "civil commitment" whereby addicts are sent by the courts to residential treatment facilities;
- improve drug treatment services for pregnant women.

Place heavier emphasis on targeted international efforts closer to production and trafficking sources

- elevate the drug issue as a foreign policy priority;
- dismantle drug trafficking organizations;
- reduce trafficking profits by focusing increased efforts on money laundering.

Take a fresh approach to interdiction

- create interagency and interdisciplinary teams to analyze and target smuggling modes, methods, and routes;
- target key individuals and high-value shipments;
- enhance border interdiction systems, operations, and activities.

Improve the quality of research, information, and technological capabilities available for drug control efforts

- establish a Federal Drug Control Research and Development Committee;
- develop a more current and flexible information base.

Improve coordination of Federal antidrug policy and intelligence support

- establish interagency working groups chaired by the Office of National Drug Control Policy to coordinate supply and demand reduction efforts;
- establish an interagency working group chaired by the Office of National Drug Control Policy to develop plans for an intelligence center to unite U.S. drug-related analytical capabilities, and to improve intelligence capabilities.

Recommend a $2.2 billion increase in drug funding to $7.9 billion in 1990. The major changes over 1989 are shown on the following chart:

DRUG RESOURCES, FISCAL YEAR 1990

[Budget authority (dollars in millions)]

	FY1989 Enacted	Feb 9 Budget FY1990 [1]	Feb 9 Budget Plus Drug Portion of Crime Bill [2]	Drug Strategy September FY1990 [2]	FY89–FY90 Percent Increase	FY89–FY90 $ Increase
Corrections	734	894	1,601	1,601	118	867
International	250	306	306	449	80	199
State and Local Grants	150	150	156	350	133	200
Judiciary	209	242	250	250	20	41
Other Law Enforcement	2,779	3,018	3,058	3,113	12	334
Prevention/ Education	943	1,041	1,041	1,176	25	233
Treatment	604	735	735	925	53	321
Total	5,669	6,386	7,147	7,864	39	2,195

[1] These columns include resources for the U.S. Court and make other minor adjustments to the figures presented in the "Building a Better America" document issued in February 1989.

[2] These columns include the "drug portion" ($0.8 billion) of the President's $1.2 billion crime initiative announced in May 1989. The administration supports enactment of the crime initiative (The Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1989) in its entirety.

The drug portion of prison construction is based on the projected share of drug offenders in Federal prison at the time the construction is completed. This new methodology reflects more accurately the likely impact of drug offenses. For consistency with prior years, the historical prison construction numbers have been adjusted to reflect this new methodology.

Exchange With Reporters on the National Drug Control Strategy

September 6, 1989

Q. Mr. President, your critics say your plan isn't big enough, bold enough; that it is a bit timid. What's your response?

The President. My response is that they're wrong. It's a good plan. And if people would stop this criticizing for partisan reasons and get behind the program, and then if there's something additional we can be doing, let's do it. But this isn't any time for partisanship. We've got a good program. It's fine to amend it—fine. But I'm not here in a partisan mode to respond, but they're wrong. We've got a good, comprehensive program, and we're trying. And we've got lots to learn—all of us. But let's try this and then build on it.

You hear these men and women that are giving their lives to helping these kids. It's very inspirational. And if there's things that these doctors have suggested that we can do in addition to what I've proposed, we'll try very hard to accommodate them.

Q. Mr. President, do you think the American public is going to hold you responsible for solving the drug problem?

The President. It doesn't matter. I'll take all the responsibility in the world. You see these kids, and you want to try harder.

Note: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. while visiting infants born addicted to cocaine at D.C. General Hospital.

The President's News Conference on the National Drug Control Strategy

September 6, 1989

The President. Hello, everybody. Please sit. Well, I'm delighted that Dr. Sullivan and Bill Bennett are with me—brought the first team in to respond to questions, too.

I'm pleased with our announcement on drugs. As I've listened carefully, there has been little, if any, substantive criticism about this national strategy. And listen to the critics, if you will, but recognize that you don't hear much substance. What you're hearing the debate about is how one pays for it or whether it needs to be more in one category or another. I say that because I think that is a tribute to the work of Bill Bennett and the others who helped formulate this first-in-a-lifetime national strategy.

Now, you're familiar with the strategy, but let me just touch a couple of points and then respond to your questions. It's a fully integrated approach. We address all the elements necessary to an effective strategy: school and drug prevention programs, treatment, laws and criminal justice system, and foreign policy.

On the laws and criminal justice system, we sent a package up to the Congress several months ago on anticrime, including prisons and matters of that nature. And some of our critics fail to understand that that is already up there as a very separate program, but one that ties in, as I tried to point out last night, to our national strategy.

I'm determined that there will be no turf problems. I think, as I look back over my shoulder—and I had some role in the interdiction as head of a task force—we had some turf problems. I think with Bill Bennett's leadership, and he and I working shoulder to shoulder, that we can eliminate any of those that might still be lingering. But we've got to work together, and it's not just Federal; it's got to be State and local as well.

There's a bipartisan consensus in this country. I don't think there's any disagreement about the gravity of the threat. And that's important if you want to get something done. I'm challenging the Congress to give us bipartisan support in the implementation of this strategy. And I'm looking to the grassroots support of America's communities in the fight against drugs.

The evidence—I tried to point it out last night, so I won't repeat it—the good news being the decline in casual drug use. And that's a significant point. If we can continue that trend, it will make a big impact on the drug market and on the lives of individuals. The bad news, of course, being the persistence of cocaine, the hard users and, of course, the insidious effects of crack.

The criminal justice system—we're increasing Federal funding to States and localities for street-level law enforcement. We're providing Federal funding to States for planning, developing, and implementing alternative sentencing programs for nonviolent drug offenders, including house arrests and this boot camp concept. Boot camp concept—I don't know, Bill, whether you discussed that here this morning or not.

We're tightening bail and probation, parole and sentencing—again, I touched on that last night—requiring drug testing of prisoners. It's interesting how the country has changed its view on testing, and I think there's far more support now for drug testing than existed before. We're encouraging the States to vigorously prosecute misdemeanor drug offenses. We've got to go after users. This idea of turning the other way on that one is over as far as I'm concerned and as far as Bill Bennett and the others are concerned.

We're expanding programs to eradicate the domestic marijuana crops. Some of your areas are somehow affected by that. We're providing funding, as I mentioned last night, I believe, to HUD to help kick the drug dealers out of the public housing programs. And Jack Kemp was at the speech last night, and he feels that this is adequate funding to make a real impact in the public housing programs. We encourage States to adopt policies that revoke the driver's licenses of those convicted of a drug offense. That isn't mandated; we're not requiring that or tying it in, but we are encouraging the States to do it. Some, I think, have already taken action in that regard.

Treatment—we're increasing the Federal spending by some 53 percent to $321 million. We're expanding the availability of drug treatment by increasing treatment capacity and the range of treatment methods that are available. Outreach and treatment efforts for pregnant women and newborn babies—we're going to be more help there. I've just come from D.C. General. And you want to really have a broken heart and feel something in your heart, go and see these little kids, some of whom are abandoned, many of whom are given birth to by mothers who are addicted to cocaine. And we've got to help in that area, and I believe we can do a job there.

Education and prevention—I won't dwell on that one, but it is vitally important, especially when you see the problem of teenage pregnancy and then the abandonment of these kids. So, I mentioned last night, we're going to try to get into the classrooms next week on a specially televised national hookup to the schools.

On the budget recommendations, I know some in Congress are calling for a tax increase. I'd like to identify myself with what Secretary Bennett said this morning: I don't believe we have a drug problem because we aren't paying enough in taxes—and that's where some of this logic leads you to. We have sent specific suggestions as to how to pay for this program to the Hill, and it does not require additional taxes. And I've been in this town long enough to know that there are always going to be people out there who are saying, "More taxes." If it's not for this subject, it will be for something else. And that isn't necessary to fully fund the national strategy that we came up with, that I unveiled last night.

So, with those comments, I'm wanting to get on to the questioning. I'd be glad—oh, I didn't touch on the international aspects, but you're familiar with our commitment to interdiction; you're familiar with our Andean strategy. I hope the country is familiar with my respect for what the Colombians are trying to do.

Why don't we start right here.

South Florida

Q. Mr. President, no area suffers more from drugs than south Florida. Are you convinced that the people who live in these crack-infested neighborhoods will very soon be able to walk out of their homes again and feel safe?

The President. If we get the proper support for this program, they'll have a much better chance to do that. And I can't suggest to you that fully funding this program exactly the way we've suggested it is going to bring instant solution to that problem. It should bring instant relief.

And I know how heavily impacted south Florida is, particularly, but I would not—recognizing the fact that we have a regional press corps here—suggest that you could convince the people from Chicago or New York or some rural communities that they are less impacted. So, it is a national problem; but, yes, I hope that this will be of some relief to an overburdened south Florida.

Gun Control

Q. One of the reasons that we're so concerned about drugs here in the District of Columbia is that there have been more than 300 murders this year. While most of them involve drugs, a higher proportion of them are with handguns.

The President. Yes.

Q. Besides the ban on importing some types of automatic weapons, which we heard about earlier this year, does your plan address—or what can we do about the tremendous problem of keeping handguns out of drug dealers' hands, off the street?

The President. We do support local law enforcement, and as you're familiar with, there are very strong laws in the books on registrations, domestically—I mean in DC itself—not nationally, DC. And part of our backing up law enforcement is so that they can enforce local laws, and this is one. And there are plenty of laws and, regrettably, these criminals seem to have a way to acquire weapons even though the law in the District, for example, is very strong against it.

Taxes

Q. Mr. President, would you reconsider approaching the tax structure, if, by chance, within 2 or 3 years you see no relief with this problem through your drug strategy? Would you consider raising taxes at that point?

The President. If I thought the only way to get money to solve the drug problem was through increasing taxes, I would do that. But that is not the only way to get money for solving the drug program. And we have made proposals that are well up into the billions that don't require socking it to the taxpayer anymore. But if somebody could convince me that all the Federal programs that are in existence are perfect and need not be eliminated, or that there's no way to move funds from one account to another in 3 years, and the country was still suffering from this malaise, this sickness of drugs, I certainly would be openminded. But that isn't the case, and it won't be the case in 3 years.

Every time you make a proposal you have somebody jump up and say: Raise taxes! So, I am not in a mode to raise taxes. I am in a mode to move this national strategy forward and pay for it in the way we have suggested.

Q. I have a followup, sir. Do you have a backup strategy for this strategy in case——

The President. No, I think this one's going to succeed. We're selling this one—we don't need backup. It's a good strategy, and we want it to work.

Q. Mr. President, the Democrats nevertheless have made it quite clear that they don't think your plan is strong enough across the board—not in terms of money but in terms of all the moves that you're proposing—and they pledge now to strengthen it. The question is: Will you resist their efforts, and is there any flexibility on your part to strengthen what you've already given?

The President. It's $2 billion higher than the House level—that they're talking about in the House. They're carping—those partisan comments. Now, if somebody has a real, sincere belief that you need more in treatment and less in something, of course, the process will work this out. But this is $2 billion more than the House level. And for a man to come to a meeting—one of the Congressmen yesterday—and he couldn't wait to get out on the lawn of the White House and say: Raise taxes! I'm not going to do that. We don't have to do it.

And this gentleman asked a very good question. But nobody is going to convince me that the people are paying too little in taxes. And it came up in the campaign; we just have differences with some of our political opponents. So, what I'm going to try to do is say: Look, let's work together on this strategy. Give it a try like this; see if it won't make an impact. There is some encouraging news. What's happening south of our border is encouraging.

Funding of Antidrug Programs

Q. Mr. President, yesterday your czar and Dar briefed us.

The President. What is my Dar? Deputy——

Q. Darman.

The President. Oh, Darman. Excuse me. [*Laughter*]

Q. According to your czar. They—in briefing us—they gave us the list of a number of items that they, and we believe you, are recommending might be taken off of other appropriations.

The President. Good.

Q. What are your thoughts on other

things that are a little weak in appropriations, that could be taken off to replace these funds?

The President. Well, I think they gave you a list probably of eight categories or something of that nature, and that takes care of it.

Q. Just wondered what your thoughts are.

The President. My thoughts are that this makes good sense and let's try it.

Q. Mr. President, how will it be decided which States receive *x* amounts of Federal money?

The President. Bill, can you help me on that? I don't know the answer to that question. Which States get what for certain of these programs?

Director Bennett. Most of it is by formula. You've got block grants. You've got grants that go out by formula with some amount of discretionary funds. It's the general programmatic rules and regulations. Dr. Sullivan can explain the detail to you—how the money goes out through HHS, and [Attorney General] Dick Thornburgh can explain how it works in Justice. There are not going to be radical changes in that—a few changes——

U.S. Military Assistance

Q. In talking about south of the border, Mr. President, yesterday as you were speaking there were new bombings in Medellin. You've been offering the use of our military in Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, and yet those countries have not been asking for it.

The President. Oh, no, I beg your pardon.

Q. What discussions have you held with the Presidents, and how desirable is it to involve our military there?

The President. Well, we are involving military assets. As you know, there were some $67 million worth of assets already there or in the delivery process. Maybe you're talking about troops. President Barco, a courageous man, has made clear to me that they don't want American troops. And what I do not want to do, and what I will not do as President, is to take public opinion in a country that is now supporting their President—in Colombia—and turn it around by raising the old time-worn specter of American military intervention in Colombia.

As I said last night, if requested, we'd take a very different look at this. But they're making a move. They're doing what's right; they are taking courageous steps. These cartel cowards are fighting back by killing the wives of police officers and taking just brutal steps of that nature—but President Barco is staying firm.

So, the United States cannot and should not impose a military armed solution into some sovereign country. And so, that's the way I view this. There is a lot of interest in our G–7 [economic summit] partners on an international force. And that's a new concept. It's a concept I addressed myself to, I believe, in the campaign. But I don't think you want to risk turning around public opinion in a country that's struggling to do something now by the unilateral intervention of U.S. force into the area.

Andean Drug Summit

Q. To follow up, sir: What about bringing this subject in the drug summit that you are proposing, and how far away are we from a drug summit?

The President. I'm not sure. We haven't set a date on the drug summit. I think it makes good sense. I did talk to President Barco about that. He is certainly enthusiastic about it. And I think in a summit of that nature there should be an open agenda, all ideas on the table, an open discussion of questions of this nature.

Penalties for Drug Use

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Bennett has written that the choice to do drugs is one of a national crisis in character. I want to ask you two things: Why do you think people do drugs? And also, with some of the penalties you're proposing—denial of housing loans and college loans and so forth—won't you just be eliminating two programs that might convince someone to avoid a life of drugs?

The President. No, I think by the time you get up into college loans you ought to know better than to use drugs. We've had a tolerant attitude in the past; we've condoned those things we should have condemned in the past. And now, if indeed we're going to fight this war on all fronts, to use a cliche, this makes eminently good sense. I don't think it's fair to go after the street hood and let the casual university, hip user think that he's doing no damage to society. And so, I strongly support this part of the proposal.

Was there another part of it I didn't——

Reasons for Drug Use

Q. Why do you think people do drugs?

The President. Why do I think they do? Some of it's addictive; some of it is that the whole national attitude hasn't changed properly yet. We're seeing it change now in casual use. We have a much bigger assignment now in education in the neighborhoods and in the communities that are adversely impacted by poverty and ignorance. And so, there's a wide array of reasons that people use drugs. Some do it because their peers do it, some do it because they're told it will make them feel good or that they can make money in it. And there's a wide variety of reasons why people use drugs.

But we should never again as a nation look the other way. We should not have entertainment media that makes fun and laughter out of something that is this serious. So, I have great confidence in the American people in turning something around—an ethic—turning it around, making it more sensible and up to date.

Black Community's Response

Q. Mr. President, much of the black community has been skeptical of the other wars that were waged on drugs. Is there something that you can say to them specifically that might ease that skepticism?

The President. Well, I think there is skepticism. And I would simply say to them, this is the first coordinated national strategy, the first time we've approached this problem on all fronts in a coordinated way. So, give us your cooperation. Your own communities are being wiped out by this—adversely impacted, heavily impacted adversely, more of the pain being right there. And so, give this a try. Work with us on prevention and on education and on treatment, and help us in terms of law enforcement. And be involved, and don't look away. And so, I hope we can help the skeptic by making clear that we do care about those areas that are most heavily impacted by narcotics.

Colombia

Q. Mr. President, in the past Colombia was not able to stand firm against the cartel for very long. If the Colombian Government's current effort falters, what is your plan?

The President. My plan is to work with them to see that they don't falter, and to give them the support they need and the support they have requested, and encourage our allies to do that. And that's why I was on the telephone yesterday with [British Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher and [West German Chancellor] Helmut Kohl, and that's why I'm encouraged when the G–7 meeting in Paris says they are going to help these countries.

Many countries have felt up till now, well, this is someone else's problem—a lot of countries in Europe now being impacted much more heavily than they were, say, 5 or 10 years ago. So, I am not buying into the hypothetical question that what President Barco is going to do should fail. We want him to succeed, and we'll work to help him succeed.

National Guard

Q. There have been some suggestions in Detroit that National Guard troops be brought in to control areas. Would part of your program foresee using National Guard troops or federalized troops in designated areas to combat rampant drug sales and——

The President. Well, I haven't discussed that with Bill, and I'd like to defer it to him. I don't know whether that's envisioned here or not.

Mr. Bennett. Well, that, obviously, in most situations, would be left up to Governors. We've seen some action in this regard in Oregon. Some of the National Guard troops are backing up the police, doing office and clerical work. But we'd like to consider the use of the National Guard in some other areas, such as the marijuana eradication.

Q. Would you like to see—or would you support National Guard people on the street in a direct line rather than in a staff support situation?

Mr. Bennett. No, generally not. And what we've found in most cities, such as Detroit, is that in most cases the police are adequate to the job. The problem is after the police make the arrest the system doesn't have enough resources to support the arrests through prosecution, conviction, and imprisonment.

International Task Force

Q. Sir, what exactly did you ask or talk to Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Kohl about? And how close are you to a G–7 task force? Is that still something that's close to reality?

The President. Well, discussed with her a follow-on to what we discussed in Paris, and that was G–7 united support for Colombia. And she is enthusiastic about this, and Chancellor Kohl was enthusiastic about this. The ball—in a sense, really, the leadership of the G–7—is still in the French court, President Mitterrand. Chancellor Kohl is visiting with him this week. And so, I'm hopeful and very much encouraged by this united response.

Financial Priorities

Q. Mr. President, our Lieutenant Governor in New York, where I'm from, says that the increases you've given toward treatment and law enforcement—and, in fact, the whole budget—don't add up to the cost of one B–2 bomber. And people back home want to know, even though your commitment toward drug fighting is strong, why your financial priorities aren't more targeted toward the drug fight instead of toward military.

The President. This is Lieutenant Governor who?

Q. Stan Lundine, the State of——

The President. Oh, Lundine. Well, it's not surprising that some think the only way to solve the problem is by greater taxes. I don't know how Mr. Lundine is proposing the Federal Government pay for the program, but we've made suggestions here that I fully support. But you know, yes, the B–2 bomber is expensive, and, yes, it is important to the national security of this country. And, yes, it's easy for a Lieutenant Governor to make an analogy of that nature. But a President has a responsibility for both the national strategy on fighting drugs and the national security of the United States that hopefully will encourage the Soviet Union to move forward productively towards even more arms control.

And so, I can understand that—that's a good free one out there, a big target. But I don't know whether this Lieutenant Governor is proposing the elimination of the Stealth technology bomber or not. I don't know where he's coming from, but I think he was using it as a dramatic example. And I am saying to him: We have stepped up by $2 billion over the House level the resources for the fight against drugs. And so, you see, let me go back to the basic point, and then I notice Marlin's restlessness here. The basic point is this: Nobody is criticizing the strategy. No one is coming at us and saying you've left this out or left that out. And I'm very encouraged by that. I think that means that if we do our job properly in selling we can get support from Democrats as well as Republicans. We've got to do it. The country is fed up. They don't want it to be a Republican answer or a Democratic answer or a liberal or a conservative answer.

So, maybe he is attacking the strategy, and if so, I'd have to take it back—but I haven't heard any real substantive attack on the strategy itself. So, then you come to the question of whether it's enough or how are you going to pay for it? And there's a wide array of reflexive people up there who say "more taxes" for anything, and I don't think that's what the American people want. I have a funny feeling that something about the last election was: Are we being taxed too little? And nobody jumped up and said, "Hey, please tax me more." And I think we can do this significant increase without raising taxes. And I'm certainly going to do it without diminishing the fundamental national security requirements of the United States. And that's my responsibility, and I'm proud to shoulder it. And I think we've come up with a very good answer. And so, please—it's not your obligation, but we will try hard to convince your able Lieutenant Governor that the program we have makes good sense.

Health Education

Q. Mr. President, regarding the outreach issue in education, what role will community-based organizations and national organizations that already are involved in related programs such as AIDS education, drug and tobacco education, play in your program?

The President. Well, last night I tried to make clear that they play a significant role. We have funds in there to support certain kinds of educational programs, but as you know, 7 percent of the total funds for education come from the Federal Government. Ninety-three percent—I've got the Secretary—oops, he's gone. Good, I won't be corrected—[*laughter*]—93 percent come from State and local.

So, these entities have an inordinately important responsibility in the whole education process. And nothing in a Federal strategy on drugs—a national strategy—should diminish the responsibility, if you will, of the local and State educational entities. We'll try to give them the financial support we can in the program here, in treatment and things of this nature, but in terms of the overall education, it has got to be done through State and local as well as Federal support. But, remember, the totals put the responsibility on State and local to even do a better job in terms of education.

I was just out—again, I don't want to burden you with the emotion of my visit to D.C. General Hospital, but I was deeply touched by seeing these abandoned babies. They're called boarder babies in this particular hospital—and the mother comes in, has the baby, and takes off. And there has got to be an educational role here. There's got to be a better chance for kids through education of parents, whether it's about pregnancy itself or whether it's on the need for a little kid to have love—or whatever it is. And so, education is going to be a key here, and the local and State role will not be diminished. I hope it will be supplemented a little bit—but will not certainly be diminished—by a Federal education program.

And I don't get teased as much as I used to about my concept of a Thousand Points of Light, but it's a valid concept. When I talked about what Jim Burke [president, Media Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America] was doing last night, encouraging his associates to come up with a million dollars a day in education money that will be on public television—I mean, on regular network television, that's a contribution to education. And there are other 999 Points of Light out there, in teachers and in parents and in others who are involving themselves in the lives of other people.

And so, to really solve this problem we owe the American people a national strategy, and we've come up with it. And I want to work my hardest to see that it is implemented, but it cannot usurp the function of these Thousand Points of Light. It's there. It's at the level of love, the level of local education, parental concern, neighbor involving with neighbor, one's involving himself or herself in the life of another, that this problem is going to be solved. And I'm absolutely convinced of it, and I'm more convinced of it than ever after holding in my arms one of those abandoned babies. You guys are reporters, but go out there and try it on for size. And you'll understand why I feel as strongly as I do about the involvement of people.

And I might say to those in the DC area: The commitment of these nurses and these doctors to these kids that are born without hope is so encouraging. The only love they may ever get in their lives is when they are a month old, and we've got to change that. We've got to change it through education. The ethic has got to change—too late now to condone those things we should have been condemning, and casual drug use is one of them.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President's 23d news conference began at 11:37 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Louis W. Sullivan, and William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President and Press Secretary.

Nomination of Jennifer Joy Wilson To Be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce

September 6, 1989

The President announced his intention to nominate Jennifer Joy Wilson to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere. She would succeed B. Kent Burton.

Mrs. Wilson served as Assistant Administrator for External Affairs at the Environmental Protection Agency, 1985–1988. Prior to this, she served as legislative director and executive assistant for United States Senator John Warner, 1982–1985, and staff policy liaison and senior executive assistant for Virginia Gov. John N. Dalton, 1978–1982. In addition, she has served in the White House Office of Communications, 1976–1977, and she has worked in research and convention activities at the national campaign headquarters for President Ford, 1975–1976.

Mrs. Wilson graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (B.A., 1974). She was born January 10, 1953, in Naples, Italy. She is married, has one child, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Continuation of T S Ary as Director of the Bureau of Mines

September 6, 1989

The President today announced that T S Ary will continue to serve as Director of the Bureau of Mines at the Department of the Interior.

Since 1988 Mr. Ary has served as Director of the Bureau of Mines. Prior to this, he was the president of the Kerr-McGee minerals exploration division, 1980–1988, and manager of development; and vice president, Utah exploration, for Utah International, Inc., 1975–1979.

Mr. Ary graduated from Stanford University (B.S., 1951). He served in the U.S. Navy as a carrier pilot, 1943–1947, and in the Active Reserve until 1959. Mr. Ary was born March 30, 1925, in Saline County, IL. He is married, has one child, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Designation of Evan J. Kemp, Jr., as Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

September 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to designate Evan J. Kemp, Jr., to be Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, upon the confirmation of Clarence Thomas as United States Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Since 1987 Mr. Kemp has served as Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as executive director of the Disability Rights Center, 1980–1987. Since 1982 Mr. Kemp has taught a course at Catholic University Law School in Washington, DC.

Mr. Kemp graduated from Washington and Lee University (B.A., 1959) and the University of Virginia (J.D., 1964). He was born May 5, 1937, in New York, NY. He is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Mark O. Hatfield as a Member of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution

September 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Mark O. Hatfield, United States Senator from Oregon, to be a member of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. He would succeed Theodore Fulton Stevens.

Currently, Mr. Hatfield serves as a Senator from the State of Oregon, 1967 to present. Prior to this, he served as the Governor of Oregon, 1959–1967; secretary of state for Oregon, 1957–1959; and in the Oregon Senate, 1955–1957.

Senator Hatfield graduated from Willamette University (B.A., 1943) and Stanford University (M.A., 1948). He was born July 12, 1922, in Dallas, OR. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1943–1946. He is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Remarks at a Meeting With Foreign Ambassadors and State and Local Leaders on the National Drug Control Strategy

September 6, 1989

Well, first, let me pay special thanks to the Ambassadors from countries that are here, and if it's not an imposition, I'd like to at least have a chance to say hello to each of you when this is finished.

This is a mixed bag, and I say that respectfully to those of you who are not Ambassadors from other countries. But it is a rare and a fine opportunity for me to sum up what Judge Walton and Bob Gates have told you about our national drug strategy. It's an important program. It's the first time that the United States has had a national coordinated strategy. And I was privileged last night to use the Oval Office to address the Nation. It was the first such address for me, but I can think of no subject that it was more fitting to talk to.

The strategy came after a lot of consultation not just with Members of the United States Congress but with many of you in this room, various leaders in various fields. And government officials were consulted, community leaders, educational leaders, business leaders, labor leaders; and then, indeed, we did consult with leaders from around the world.

Judge Walton has spent the past several months touring the country; and he's met with people in the States, in the cities and towns, who have endured the drug problem firsthand. And from his own experience on the bench, he understands this problem very well.

Brent Scowcroft, who most of the Ambassadors here know—know on a personal basis—has been coordinating the supply reduction efforts with members of the administration, working closely with Jim Baker and others and with our allies abroad. And indeed, for those representatives of the so-called G–7 countries [economic summit participants], this matter, as you know, was discussed at the Paris summit, and there was a strong consensus that we wanted to do as much as we possibly can to help those countries that are embattled by the cocaine cartels.

So, I hope that what you've heard today gives you some sense of how comprehensive our national strategy really is. I couldn't help but note that the minute I finished speaking there was the predictable response by some that we hadn't done enough. And that—I try to be very tolerant and kind and gentle here—[*laughter*]—but nobody expected that the Members of the United States Congress, particularly from the other party, would stamp this enthusiastically. But I point out that I didn't hear one single substantive comment about the strategy itself that was critical. And so, what I'm saying is, maybe I'm just hearing what I want to hear, but I think there was a broad support for the coordinated strategy. And some are going to say you ought to put more emphasis on treatment or you ought to put more emphasis on education or you ought to put more emphasis on law enforcement, but the substance of the strategy has received very broad support.

With these Ambassadors here, I don't want to get down into the trenches of domestic politics. But I couldn't help but notice that after one briefing of Democrat and Republican leaders, a great friend of mine and leaders of the opposition party went out and immediately started talking about having to have a tax increase. I thought Bill Bennett put it pretty well this morning on one of the shows when he said: "It seems hard for me to believe that we have a drug problem because people aren't paying enough taxes." [*Laughter*] And we took our case to the people on the question of taxes. We have stepped up the spending on the drug program by $2 billion over the level that the House itself has set. And so, this is a significant increase. And I am prepared to defend it and to advocate it, and it can be done through the way we proposed—reallocation of resources—without saying to the working men and women in this country, "You've got to pay more taxes."

And so, it's a big program; it's a strong program. And I have expected to hear some differences of opinion in terms of taxes, but it's too urgent to let it bog down on the question of whether it should be added to a tremendous budget already in existence or whether we should do it the way we say—find the money, which we have done and which we have outlined for the Congress, from existing programs. Congress needs to know how important this program is domestically and internationally. And I know that so many here in this particular audience have a very special interest in the international implications of this strategy. The strategy makes clear, as I said last night, to work with the European Community, certainly with Latin America, and then, of course, with the Asian and Caribbean nations, to disrupt and dismantle the drug trafficking organizations.

Only through a broad, cooperative, international effort can we reduce the foreign drug supply to our nation and to countries around the globe. And so, this really is a war that the United States cannot fight alone. We need to enlist the resources of other nations in this battle. And let's face it: Some nations are way out in front of us in their refusal to tolerate drug usage in their countries. We're not the only country to discover what drugs can do to our people. And I want to thank the Ambassadors from the countries represented here today for the cooperation we have received—and also to encourage as much cooperation in the future as possible.

The cornerstone of our international drug policy is to provide assistance to cocaine source countries. I singled out three last night, and let me say here again—the respect I have for President Barco and what he is trying to do in Colombia—it isn't easy. And I tried to dramatize that somewhat last night by pointing out the numbers of Colombians serving their government as judges or whatever that have lost their lives. And when these cowardly cocaine cartel people get to killing the wives of police officers, as happened recently, it tells you about the venal kinds of people that we're dealing with here, or that the Colombians are dealing with there. And so, we will support President Barco.

One of the things that keeps coming up in the U.S. media—and I'm sure all the Ambassadors here saw it—use of troops, use of troops. That isn't the question. The question is: What kind of support does the President of Colombia need? In the case of Colombia, what kind of support does he need to get the job done? And I will not and should not unilaterally impose United States troops into another sovereign country. And I don't care what the emotion; I do not want to inadvertently turn around public opinion in Colombia that is strongly supporting this courageous President there.

And so, we will do what we're asked to do, if I find it prudent as President. We will give the kinds of support to the Colombian military that you've seen begin, and I believe that is the way we should effectively treat our military assets. And it's not going to be a unilateral imposition of United States force just when you have people strongly supporting a President in what he's trying to do—Colombian kids laying their lives on the line to restore order to their community. So, I want to help, and I again take this forum here to pay my respects to what President Barco is doing, to offer the people of Colombia whatever support we possibly can give them in the way they want it—to have them continue doing this courageous job they're doing.

Our administration is committed to making drugs bilateral and multilateral foreign policy issues. We're going to be talking to all countries in a cooperative manner about what we can do, and encouraging some to join us in certain initiatives that will help countries that are embattled. That means working, obviously, with other nations to fight this drug production, and to break up the money-laundering activities that keep the international traffickers afloat.

I feel very, very strongly about the enforcement side. And a person who knowingly launders drug money is just as guilty as the kingpin or somebody pushing the crack into the school kids of our country. And I think for too long we may have had, inadvertently, less energy going into the money-laundering end. And at our G–7 meeting, as some of the Ambassadors here know very well, there was strong support for maximum cooperation, intelligence-sharing, whatever, to get at these insidious money-launderers. So, I say again today: We enlist the support of all, and we will give our support to all in trying to track down these people.

Drugs are, of course, our most important domestic priority. And I'm pleased to see here in this room the very people that we'll be depending on in the weeks and the months ahead. In this room are law enforcement officials, drug treatment professionals, teachers, community and business leaders, and some State and city elected officials. This is not going to be won by the Federal Government—this battle. The Federal Government has a key role to play, and I am trying to see that we play it by putting forward and then implementing a national drug strategy. But please understand I have not changed my conviction that the answer will lie at the local and the State level as we go forward with our national strategy.

And I used to get kidded, I think it was friendly teasing—about the Thousand Points of Light—but for the cynics, I wish you could have been with me today at D.C. General Hospital and gone to the ward where there were maybe six or eight what they call boarder babies—babies that had been deserted. And they were being deserted by their mothers—80 percent of them, I'm told—their cocaine-addicted mothers. Trying to do something about that, but those babies were being kept alive and given a chance for a life with love in it by a handful of black women in the District of Columbia who just got together as one of the Thousand Points of Light. So, it is more than a slogan, and this problem will be solved as soon as each of us decides to involve himself or herself in the life of another person. And it's not going to be solved until all of us adopt that ethic as we approach this important problem.

So, thank you all very much. I want you to know we will continue to play our part in carrying out the proposals of the strategy. I'd be remiss, seeing this much horsepower here, if I didn't ask you for your support. We want to work with the various categories and others—categories that I mentioned here in these remarks—so that real progress in the war can begin immediately.

I pointed out last night there is some good news, and I mentioned specifically the decline in casual cocaine use. And I mentioned specifically the courageous stand being taken by one of our friends south of our border and others as well down there. So, it isn't a message of despair. What I'd rather phrase it is a message of hope, and I need your help to get the job done.

So, thank you all very much for coming. I'm confident that we will have the support of the American people on this issue. Your presence here assures me that I can count on you. But I'm grateful—with Judge Walton sitting here, I want to say how grateful I am to Bill Bennett and to him for formulating for the first time a national strategy that offers hope to those little kids we saw today. Thank you very, very much.

If I would say to those non-Ambassadors in the room—and please do not assume that this is a discriminatory policy, but I am one who is very much indebted for the cooperation we're getting from abroad—if I could ask the Ambassadors from other nations just to come and maybe have a handshake here. I would then at least have the feeling that I have made you feel the special warmth that I feel toward you for coming and to your countries for being interested in cooperating on this strategy.

Note: The President spoke at 1:27 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Reggie B. Walton, Associate Director of National Drug Control Policy for State and Local Affairs; Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy.

Remarks at the American Legion Annual Convention in Baltimore, Maryland

September 7, 1989

Justice Gierke—Sparky to me—as a fellow Legionnaire, let me first salute the first Vietnam veteran to be selected national commander. And all of you who represent our nation's largest and fastest growing veterans organization, more than 3 million members strong—thank you for that warm welcome.

I am proud to have been accompanied here by a great friend of the veterans, Congressman Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi—[*applause*]—I see we have a few Mississippians back there—and, of course, to have been greeted by Maryland's outstanding Congresswoman, my great friend, Helen Bentley, a great friend of the veteran; and am pleased, because I hadn't been told they were going to be here, to see our outstanding Commandant of the Coast Guard, Admiral Yost, who's doing a superb job, and General Rowny, a old friend of mine, a great leader, great friend of the veterans, and a great leader in the whole field of arms control and a strong defense. So, I feel among friends. And as always, it's a great privilege to join you and a deep personal pleasure for me to renew old ties, greet new friends.

Today, surprisingly, is September 7th—[*laughter*]—and I—[*applause*]—can you believe it? And I'm determined not to repeat the mistake I made exactly 1 year ago when I referred to this as Pearl Harbor Day. [*Laughter*] I can still remember the gasp—it was on this side of the room. I don't know whether the seating has changed, but as long as I live, I'll remember the gasps from the audience. [*Laughter*]

Not surprisingly, anniversaries were on my mind then as I traveled here from Washington. Events like this 71st national convention of the American Legion or the 200th birthday of the Coast Guard or the very first anniversary of the Veterans Affairs Department, led by its able Secretary and our good friend, Ed Derwinski—a department intent on serving you as you have served your country. Well, as you can imagine, these birthdays in turn got me thinking about another anniversary, the 175th this year of "The Star-Spangled Banner," and how your convention lies so near its famous birthplace. Tuesday you did something that would have pleased Francis Scott Key and for which I thank you. For by supporting a constitutional amendment making it illegal to desecrate the American flag, you joined the crusade to protect that unique symbol of America's honor. Our flag is too sacred to be abused.

The flag, like our great country, America, represents many things. It represents self-expression and opportunity, democracy for all. Like America, too, Old Glory reflects the values, moral and intellectual, economic and military, that have made and keep us strong. And like America, the flag symbolizes the gallantry of veterans who love their country, giving themselves, often their lives, to its protection—storming the beaches of Okinawa or scaling the cliffs of Normandy, taking shell-torn hills named "Hamburger" and "Arrowhead."

Fellow veterans, for seven decades the American Legion, its men and women, have helped write the story of America and the story of our flag. And today in peacetime, as in wartime, you write their story still. For the flag, like America, is more than sentiment. It lives on the rugged island called Iwo Jima. It lifts the tiny hand of a little girl that I saw on a street corner in Gdansk, Poland, waving the Stars and Stripes. For both encapsulate freedom—the freedom to vote as we want, to pray when and where we choose, the freedom to go about our daily lives without tyranny or fear.

Fifty years ago this month, our allies went to war to protect this freedom. For as panzer tanks crossed the Polish frontier and bombers savaged Warsaw, liberty confronted the evil of fascism—which even now defines hell on Earth. And in the end, that conflict took more than 50 million lives and underscored, as few things have, man's inhumanity to man. Our challenge today is to prove man's humanity to man by preserving liberty without war and thus secure what Franklin Roosevelt called the four freedoms: freedom of speech, of religion, freedom from want and fear.

Today I want to focus on one of these freedoms: freedom from fear—the fear of war abroad, the fear of drugs and crime at home. To win that freedom, to build a better and safer life, will require the bravery and sacrifice that Americans have shown before and must again. Already, we've done much, and now we must do more and achieve real peace, both domestic and foreign—the kind of peace which lasts. First, our mission at home: to free our country from the fear of drugs and crime. When we ask what kind of society the American people deserve, our answer is and must be a nation in which law-abiding citizens are safe and feel safe. And that is why, 2 nights ago, I announced America's first comprehensive national strategy to win the war on drugs and crime which plague the United States.

First, our plan seeks to rid America of violent criminals with an attack on four fronts: new laws to punish them, new agents to arrest them, new prosecutors to convict them, and new prisons to hold them. Our crime proposals are based on these principles: Criminals in this nation must understand that if they commit a crime, they will be caught; and if caught, they will be prosecuted; and if convicted, they will do time. But, you see, by taking the hoods off the streets, we can and we will take back the streets. You know, in short, we propose to change the rules of the game dramatically: mandatory time for firearms offenses; no deals when criminals use a gun; and for the most heinous crimes—you remember my promise—for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer, no legal penalty is too tough. We want Congress to enact the steps needed to implement the death penalty for those who kill our law enforcement officers.

Now, over the last few days, there's been a lot of talk about our strategy. Some, incredibly, say, well, it's not enough. This from the very people who oppose the death penalty. It's that kind of thinking that's lost too many battles already. So, let's not let these critics lose the war. I ask you to support our crime plan and also the other parts of our national strategy. This strategy aims to stop drug use before it starts, through education and prevention, from grade school to graduate school. And third, through treatment, to help addicts who want to get clean, with special emphasis on expectant mothers.

And finally, we're going to work with other governments to help crack the international drug rings. Yesterday's extradition of a major drug dealer sends a strong signal of the courage and determination of President Barco and the Colombian Government to deal with the scourge which drugs are inflicting on all of us. And as veterans, you know how battles are often fought—house by house, block by block. Well, we'll win this battle the same way, but we're going to win it kid by kid, neighborhood by neighborhood.

For years now, drugs have written a sad chapter in the American story. And this morning I ask you to help write an ending all of us can be proud of. These cops out here on the street—they can't do it alone. The teachers, God bless our teachers, those teachers in our schools—they can't do it alone. The addict really trying to get clean can't do it alone—weary of abuse, can't do it alone. They all need your help. And I know they'll get it, just as you've helped handicapped kids, donated blood, helped always that National League of Families, and spurred good government through programs like Boys State and Girls State. Today, for instance, Post 65 in Rosemont, Minnesota, runs the program "Drug Talk." And in Russellville, Arkansas, I especially like Post number 20's giveaway of thousands of rulers, and their message says it all: "You really measure up when you say no to drugs."

You know as I do that we are in this together. So, let us fight on any front and every front—supply and demand, education and rehabilitation, interdiction and enforcement, in the cities and the towns. Walter Lippmann once wrote of a "nation at the mercy of violence." America must never surrender to the violence of drugs and crime. The future of our children depends on it.

This morning, I've talked about our mission to secure freedom from fear at home, but now let me shift. We also have another mission, a global mission: to free America from the fear of war. Wouldn't it be wonderful if our kids or grandkids could grow up in a world where they never had to give one single thought to the horror of a nuclear war?

Half a century ago, Ike and Nimitz and Jimmy Doolittle and millions of unsung heroes—many sitting right here today—fought to end a war. You fought at Guadalcanal and Monte Cassino, at Bastogne and Bataan. You fought to rid the world of totalitarianism and tyranny. Our challenge may be less dramatic, but just as vital: to secure freedom in a world at peace. Today ours remains a global stage, and America remains its leading player. And we must use our strength to maintain peace and freedom. For this we do know from World War II: The best way to protect that freedom and ensure real peace is for America to be militarily strong. Thankfully, today America is strong.

And our strength has helped democracy's tide run in, even as tyranny's tide runs out. The new breeze of freedom, which I've spoken of before, is blowing in Poland, in Hungary, in countries east and west. And yet with even hopeful changes comes uncertainty, and with uncertainty comes the need for vigilance. This is no time to declare freedom's victory before the fact. And that is why we need a national defense that ensures a strong and secure America, and why I'm pleased that the Senate largely agrees.

This week our defense authorization bill moves to House-Senate conference committee. And there's just one problem: The House version is totally unacceptable to the Commander in Chief of the United States Armed Forces. It is unacceptable. It continues unneeded programs costing nearly $20 billion from 1990 to 1994, holding our defense budget hostage to projects that will strip money from programs crucial to strategic modernization. You see, this modernization is vital, vital because America must base its procurement decisions on the future capacity—the actual weapons—that any Soviet leader might have available.

Here there are hopeful signs, for Mr. Gorbachev is taking some steps to reduce that threat posed by the massive military machine that is the Soviet Armed Forces. We applaud those moves; and we hope there will be more, many more. But at the same time, we cannot cause the Soviet Union to reduce its forces by unilaterally disarming ourselves. Progress has been made precisely because we have been strong. So far, in terms of cutting strategic weapons systems, Soviet words have not been matched by Soviet deeds. Our own strategic modernization program must deal with deeds and encourage the Soviet Union to work with us in reducing the threat of nuclear war.

And that's why we've begun a vital program to modernize our strategic triad, and by that I mean submarines, missiles, and bombers. We have called for two Trident submarines to be funded in 1990 and 1991. And today I renew that call and reaffirm my commitment to the second part of our triad: strategic land-based missiles. Already the Soviet Union is deploying two mobile systems. We have none. We need to move forward with our mobile programs not only to modernize our forces into the 21st century but to gain leverage for arms control.

You see, what we're talking about here is simple logic; or as Sam Rayburn said, "If a man has common sense, he has all the sense there is." Accordingly, our ICBM program calls for a new single-warhead small ICBM missile and our ICBM missile, Peacekeeper, multiwarhead ICBM. The small ICBM represents the future of our ICBM force: highly mobile single warhead, the very essence of stability and deterrence. But it won't be ready until 1997, so I've asked Congress for funds to make our existing Peacekeepers mobile by utilizing our rail system in an emergency, providing survivability at low cost for this very effective and proven system. The third part of our deterrent triad—the B–2, or the Stealth bomber—employs absolutely revolutionary technology to make certain that it can penetrate defenses and assure the credibility of our deterrence.

And finally, there is the last part of our defense equation; that's the Strategic Defense Initiative. SDI will begin the movement from offensive to defensive deterrence and deter not merely existing threats, but also nations on the verge of possessing nuclear and chemical weapons. Now, if that's not common sense, then I don't like fishing and I don't like playing horseshoes. [*Laughter*]

Fellow veterans, real peace is not an accident, so let us modernize our strategic forces and thus encourage arms control. We need the Trident, the small ICBM. We need the Peacekeeper, B–2, and SDI. And I have proposed to the Congress an affordable budget to pay for them. It is a solid, well thought out, and essential program. The Congress should support it and not try to substitute pet projects in place of a closely integrated strategic program. For this, above all, we know: When it comes to national defense, finishing second means finishing last.

We can have an America free from war, free from drugs and crime—an America free from fear. What a wonderful legacy for this and generations of children to come. Some might call it only a dream. To them, I say, okay, America is the land of dreams—dreams that come true.

God bless you all. God bless the United States of America. And thank you for your hospitality. Thank you all very, very much. Remember Pearl Harbor! We'll see you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. at the Baltimore Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Herman F. "Sparky" Gierke, national commander of the American Legion, and Ambassador Edward L. Rowny, Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters.

Remarks at the Ceremony Commemorating the 175th Anniversary of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in Baltimore, Maryland

September 7, 1989

What a lovely day! And thank you, Congresswoman Bentley—my friend, Helen Bentley—for, one, inviting me here, and for joining in the invitation for me to be here. I have a very high regard for Maryland's great Helen Bentley. I'm very pleased that you have Tom Clancy, the esteemed author, my friend, involved in this project. What a marvelous contribution he's made to our literary world and, I also would like to think, to the national security interests of the United States by his writings.

Superintendent Tyler, I'm pleased to be with you, sir, having heard of your tender loving care for this and other of our great monuments. I'm pleased that Congressman Montgomery, a great leader in the veterans movement, was with me at the Legion and here with us today—Mississippi's son.

I'm proud to share this platform with Mayor Schmoke. And of course, I have a few differences with your Governor. [*Laughter*] We went to the ball game when the Rangers were in town, and I understand that the Orioles are playing the Rangers tonight. And I hope you'll excuse me if, for the first time, I visibly differ with Don on this one. I want my kid, who runs the Rangers, to keep his job. [*Laughter*] So, you'll have to forgive me, Governor, for this one evening. But as for Don Schaefer, we may be in opposite parties, but I am grateful to him for his leadership in this State, and I am grateful to him for his standing up with us as we formulate it and now are trying to advocate a national strategy to combat narcotics in this country. Your Governor is out front, and I am very, very grateful to him.

And what a lovely day to visit one of America's most hallowed shrines. I'm grateful to all of you for the warmth of the reception. One hundred and seventy-five years ago, three events—the Battle of North Point, the Battle of Baltimore, and "The Star-Spangled Banner"—wrote one of the greatest chapters in the American experience. And even now, they teach us, and they inspire us, and they remind us of what Francis Scott Key saw "by the dawn's early light." He saw this flag, the American flag, a flag that honored sacrifice and heroism and embodied all that matters to the human spirit—a flag that Americans have cherished from Bunker Hill to Khe Sanh, fighting on the front lines and on the homefront so that freedom could prevail.

Think of it—that night's historic Battle of Baltimore. Remember the birth of the national anthem. Marvel at how 1,000 citizen soldiers defended Fort McHenry against the mighty enemy. And today we remember those volunteers, for, because of them, Baltimore stopped the British invasion and preserved our independence. And today also, we praise their successors, volunteers like you.

I think of the Fort McHenry Guard or visitors who donate to help to preserve this site or the patriots of Fort McHenry and members of the 175th Anniversary Commission—volunteers helping to restore the Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, volunteers who show how community service is timeless, like the American ideal. As an old Navy person, I salute your mission; for you're ensuring, as Francis Key said, that our flag will yet wave. And as an American, I ask you: Help salute that flag by supporting a constitutional amendment making it illegal to desecrate that unique symbol of our liberty.

Key wrote his "Ode to the Courage of American Patriots and the Liberty They Fought to Protect." All Americans believe in liberty, for the evidence of its power lights the world. The volunteers of 1814 showed that, and the volunteers of 1989—it's an enormous force across our country—prove it anew.

I want to thank them and you for this wonderful occasion. I came by to say thanks, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. And let's together ensure the true destiny of America, that "what so proudly we hail" will always bless "the twilight's last gleaming." Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:50 a.m. at Fort McHenry. In his remarks, he referred to John W. Tyler, Superintendent, Fort McHenry National Monument; Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke; and Gov. William D. Schaefer. Following his remarks, he returned to Washington, DC.

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Remarks to the Crew of United Air Lines Flight 232

September 7, 1989

The President. Well, let me just—one, I'm sorry for keeping you waiting and, two, say what a great pleasure it is to receive Captain [Alfred] Haynes and the crew—everybody connected with this tragedy, but also connected with what I would term as a national heroism. I know Al would disclaim all credit, but certainly he deserves an awful lot. And there's the controllers, and there's the ground crew, and there's the cabin crew, and then there's a lot of plain people that were just watching with wonder and great pride. So, I'm glad you all came.

What I want to do when we finish what looks like an ample photo opportunity here—[*laughter*]—invite you, if you would, to come into the Oval Office, and maybe we can have some individual pictures. But with our friends here, it gives me an opportunity to say thank you from a very grateful nation.

Captain Haynes. Thank you, sir.

The President. Can I talk you into coming across the hall? [*Laughter*]

Note: After the failure of its electrical system, United Air Lines Flight 232 crashed in Sioux City, IA, on July 19.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on NATO-Warsaw Pact Conventional Forces Negotiations

September 7, 1989

The third round of the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe began today in Vienna. At the NATO summit in May, allied leaders endorsed the President's initiative to include land-based combat aircraft and land-based combat helicopters and U.S. and Soviet ground and air manpower stationed in Europe in the negotiations. On July 13, 2 months ahead of schedule, the allies presented details of this initiative at the negotiations in Vienna. The tabling of those elements of our proposal reflects our determination to fulfill the President's commitment and move forward as rapidly as possible in these negotiations. The members of the Warsaw Pact have indicated that they want to conclude a conventional arms reduction agreement, and we await their response to our initiatives during this round.

Similarly, we hope that the Warsaw Pact members will be prepared to discuss the 12 detailed measures that we and our NATO allies put forward during the last round of the 35-nation talks on confidence and security-building measures, which have just resumed in Vienna. Greater openness and predictability about military forces and actions in Europe are key elements in the NATO alliance's approach to conventional arms control.

Our objectives in both these negotiations is to secure a more stable balance of forces in Europe and to reduce the risk of armed confrontation on the Continent. It is a goal we and our allies have been seeking for 40 years. We believe that the conditions are right for achieving sound and stabilizing agreements which will increase security for all the nations concerned.

Nomination of Duane Perry Andrews To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

September 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Duane Perry Andrews to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence). He would succeed Gordon Smith.

Since 1977 Mr. Andrews has served on the professional staff of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives. Prior to this, he served as an officer in the U.S. Air Force, 1966–1977.

Mr. Andrews graduated from the University of Florida (B.A., 1967) and Central Michigan University (M.A., 1976). He was born January 19, 1945, in Boca Raton, FL. He is married, has two children, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of David Courtland O'Neal To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior

September 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate David Courtland O'Neal to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior (Land and Minerals Management). He would succeed J. Steven Griles.

Since 1987 Mr. O'Neal has served as Acting Assistant Secretary for Mine Safety and Health in Arlington, VA. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Director of the Bureau of Land Management at the Department of the Interior, 1986–1987; general manager of the Augustines Convention Center and president of O'Neal Inns, Ltd., in Belleville, IL, 1984–1986; president of O'Neal Printing Co. in Chicago, IL, 1982–1984; and executive vice president of Aviation Systems International, 1981–1982. In addition, he served as Lieutenant Governor of the State of Illinois, 1976–1981, and sheriff of St. Clair County, 1970–1976.

Mr. O'Neal graduated from St. Louis College of Pharmacy (B.S., 1962). He served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1956–1959. He was born January 24, 1937, in Belleville, IL. He has two children and resides in Arlington, VA.

Continuation of James R. Richards as Inspector General of the Department of the Interior

September 7, 1989

The President today announced that James R. Richards will continue to serve as Inspector General at the Department of the Interior.

Since 1986 Mr. Richards has served as Inspector General at the Department of the Interior. Prior to this, he was Inspector General at the Department of Energy, 1981–1985; general counsel and legal director of the National Legal Center for the Public Interest, 1980–1981; vice president and legal director for the Capital Legal Foundation, 1977–1980; Director of the Office of Hearings and Appeals at the Department of the Interior, 1973–1977; Assistant United States Attorney for Colorado at the Department of Justice, 1969–1973; and legislative and executive assistant to U.S.

Senator Peter Dominick (R–CO), 1963–1965.

Mr. Richards graduated from Western State College (B.A., 1955) and the University of Colorado School of Law (LL.B., 1960). He was born November 21, 1933, in Kinderpost, MO, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Continuation of Paul A. Adams as Inspector General of the Department of Housing and Urban Development

September 7, 1989

The President today announced that Paul A. Adams will continue to serve as Inspector General at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Since 1985 he has served as Inspector General at the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he held several positions at the Department, including Deputy Inspector General, 1980–1985; Assistant Inspector General for Investigation, 1977–1980; senior inspector, 1973–1977; and supervisory investigator, 1969–1973. Mr. Adams began his career with the agency in 1962 in its Atlanta, GA, inspection division.

Mr. Adams graduated from Benjamin Franklin University (B.S., 1960). He was born in Lawrenceville, GA. He is married, has one son, and resides in Crofton, MD.

Continuation of Carol C. Adelman as an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development

September 7, 1989

The President today announced that Dr. Carol C. Adelman will continue to serve as an Assistant Administrator for Asia and the Near East at the Agency for International Development, United States International Development Cooperation Agency.

Since 1988 Dr. Adelman has served as Assistant Administrator for Asia and the Near East at the Agency for International Development. Prior to this, she was a lecturer and author on international economic development, 1985–1988; and a consultant for the U.S. Government and the private sector on international health and nutrition, 1983–1988. Between 1971 and 1981, Dr. Adelman held several positions with the Agency for International Development, including nutrition adviser for the Near East Bureau of the Agency for International Development, 1978–1981; program analyst for the Office of Nutrition, 1975–1977; assistant program officer, 1972–1975; special assistant to the Assistant Administrator of the Africa Bureau, 1971–1972; and program analyst for the Office of Development Planning, 1971.

Dr. Adelman graduated from the University of Colorado (B.A., 1968), Georgetown University (M.S., 1970), and Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health (M.P.H., 1979; Ph.D., 1984). She was born September 16, 1946, in Evanston, IL. She is married and has two children.

Nomination of Margot E. Machol To Be a Member of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission

September 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Margot E. Machol to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for the term expiring April 13, 1994. She would succeed Robert R. Davis.

Since 1988 Mrs. Machol has served as a Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission. Prior to this, she served as Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1985–1988; and Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, 1981–1985.

Mrs. Machol graduated from Northwestern University (B.A., 1970; M.B.A., 1976). She was born May 25, 1949, in New York, NY. She is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of LaJuana Sue Wilcher To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

September 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate LaJuana Sue Wilcher to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (Water Programs). She would succeed Lawrence J. Jensen.

Since 1986 Ms. Wilcher has served as a partner with Bishop, Cook, Purcell and Reynolds. Prior to this, she served as Assistant to the Deputy Administrator at the Environmental Protection Agency, 1985–1986; Special Assistant to the General Counsel at the Environmental Protection Agency, 1983–1985; and Special Assistant to the General Counsel at the Department of Agriculture, 1983. She has served as a trial attorney at Reynolds, Catron, and Johnston in Kentucky, 1980–1983.

Ms. Wilcher graduated from Western Kentucky University (B.A., 1977) and Salmon P. Chase College of Law, Northern Kentucky University (J.D., 1980). She was born September 16, 1954, in Danville, KY. She resides in Annandale, VA.

Nomination of Alan Green, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Romania

September 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alan Green, Jr., to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Socialist Republic of Romania. He would succeed Roger Kirk.

Mr. Green has served as a commissioner of the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial, 1986; Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, 1981–1985; and commissioner of the port of Portland, Oregon, 1979–1981 and 1970–1975. In addition, he served on the executive committee of the national review board for the East-West Center for Cultural and Technical Exchange, 1974. He was chairman of the board of Tom Benson Industries, Inc., in Portland, OR; member of the board of directors of Comprehensive Care, Inc., in Irvine, CA; chairman of the board of Western Batteries, Inc., in Beaverton, OR; and secretary-treasurer of the Southern Oregon Battery and Supply Co., in Oregon. Mr. Green was named Oregon Republican of the Year in 1988.

Mr. Green graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1949). He served in the U.S. Army, 1943–1945. Mr. Green was born May 1, 1925, in Portland, OR. He is married, has three children, and resides in Portland, OR.

Nomination of Marion V. Creekmore, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Maldives

September 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marion V. Creekmore, Jr., a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Maldives. He would succeed James W. Spain.

Currently, Dr. Creekmore serves as Deputy Afghan Coordinator at the Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as diplomat in residence at George Washington University, 1988; Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau for Near East and South Asia at the Department of State, 1985–1987; Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff, 1985; deputy chief of mission in India, 1981–1984; and Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of International Organizations Affairs, 1979–1981. In addition, he directed the Office of International Energy Policy at the Department of Energy, 1978, and worked on energy and development issues in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 1974–1977. Dr. Creekmore served in South Africa, 1965–1966; Ghana, 1966–1968; and the Federal Republic of Germany, 1970–1973, for the Department of State.

Dr. Creekmore graduated from Vanderbilt University (B.A., 1961) and Tulane University (M.A., 1963; Ph.D., 1968). He was born January 8, 1939, in Memphis, TN. He is married, has two children, and resides in Springfield, VA.

Appointment of Al Cardenas as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association

September 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Al Cardenas as a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association for a term ending on the date of the annual meeting of the stockholders in 1990 (Mortgage Industry Representative).

Currently Mr. Cardenas serves as director of Greenberg, Traurig, Hoffman, Lipoff, Rosen, and Quentel, P.A., in Miami, FL. Prior to this, he served as a partner with the law firm of Broad and Cassel. He has served as a member of the National Mortgage Association, 1985 to present, and a member of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Small and Minority Business Affairs, 1982–1985.

Mr. Cardenas graduated from Miami Dade Community College (A.A., 1967), Florida Atlantic University (B.A., 1969), and Seton Hall University (J.D., 1974). He was born January 3, 1948, in Havana, Cuba. Mr. Cardenas is married, has five children, and resides in Miami, FL.

Appointment of Henry C. Cashen II as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association

September 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Henry C. Cashen II as a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association for a term ending on the date of the annual meeting of the stockholders in 1990 (Public Member). This is a reappointment.

Since 1973 Mr. Cashen has served as an attorney at Dickstein, Shapiro, and Morin in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Assistant to the President and White House Liaison with the Public Sector, 1970–1973; Deputy Counsel to the President at the White House, 1969–1970; and attorney with Dickenson, Wright, McKean and Cudlip in Detroit, MI, 1964–1969.

Mr. Cashen graduated from Brown University (A.B., 1961) and the University of Michigan Law School (J.D., 1963). He was born June 25, 1939, in Detroit, MI. He is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of George L. Clark, Jr., as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association

September 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint George L. Clark, Jr., as a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association for a term ending on the date of the annual meeting of the stockholders in 1990 (Real Estate Industry Representative). This is a reappointment.

Currently, Mr. Clark serves as president of George L. Clark, Inc., in Brooklyn, NY. He has served as a real estate broker, appraiser, and consultant for the past 26 years in the following capacities: president of the Bay Ridge Real Estate Board, first vice president of the Brooklyn Board of Realtors, and director of the Flatbush Real Estate Board. Mr. Clark has served as Republican State committeeman from the 42d assembly district in Brooklyn, NY, 1970, and was elected Republican county chairman of Brooklyn in 1972. In addition, he has served as Republican State chairman of New York, 1981–1985.

Mr. Clark graduated from St. John's University (B.A., 1962). He was born January 4, 1941, in Brooklyn, NY. He is married, has four children, and resides in Brooklyn, NY.

Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in New Orleans, Louisiana

September 8, 1989

Thank you, President Abel Quintela—two Odessa boys on the same platform. [*Laughter*] I'm delighted to be here, glad to know from your president that this has been a highly successful meeting of the chamber. I'm proud to salute Abel for the job he has done and then to pay my respects to Lupe Garcia, who's the incoming president. Texas seems to have a lock on this organization for a—[*applause*]—and I'd be remiss if I didn't mention the fact that I'm very pleased our Secretary of the Interior, our friend and yours, certainly, Manuel Lujan, is with us today. You see—where is he? And I'm proud to say that, along with Larry Cavazos, we have two Hispanic Americans in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and that's a very good thing for our country.

I want to thank the Governor of the State of Louisiana, Buddy Roemer, my friend of longstanding, for being with us here today. We have two Congressmen from out and about, Congressman Holloway and Congressman Tauzin, who are with us over here. I'd like to ask them to stand up. And right close in, Congresswoman Lindy Boggs over here. And then, a man with whom I work very closely in the Congress and for whom I have great respect, also from the metropolitan New Orleans area—Bob Livingston, a Member of Congress here.

And also, Abel was telling me about the fact that this really is a hands-across-the-border meeting, and I should salute Dr. Ugarte from Mexico, the Under Secretary of Commerce who is with us today, and also Jose Maria Alverde, the president of the largest chamber of commerce in the world, I believe. He's head of the Mexican chamber of commerce from Mexico City, and we are honored to have them with us here today. So, we do meet as *vecinos*, neighbors, and as businessmen and businesswomen as well; but mostly, perhaps, as citizens who understand how Hispanics have helped America create a greater land for all of us.

You know, 9 years ago, America began what has been called the decade of the Hispanic. And now, at the decade's end, Hispanics are one of America's fastest growing minorities, enriching our country socially, academically, economically, spiritually and living, more than ever, the American dream. I've been to many such meetings of the chamber. And every time I come here, I realize that what I just said is true: The American dream—you epitomize it for me in so many ways.

You know, in one sense, the past decade has reaffirmed that dream: the dream which brought your parents and your grandparents and then, indeed, some of you here in this room to this country. For today you are building, building a better life, and building it in the schools, the police forces, the small and large businesses all across society, building it for your kids—I've got 11 grandchildren—for our grandchildren. I'm old enough to have grandkids. Some of the rest of you young guys here—it's your kids. For us, it's grandchildren, but what I'm saying is for everybody.

In another sense, the past decade is but a preview of coming attractions. For it can be a gateway to tomorrow, much as America has been a gateway to many of you in this room. And the theme of this convention is "Gateway to the Americas." And today it's the gateways that I'd like to talk to you about—gateways to prosperity and stability that make progress possible.

First, the gateway to prosperity is—and you understand this—the free enterprise system which fosters equal opportunity. Winston Churchill noted that some people view "private enterprise as a predatory tiger to be shot; others look on it as a cow they can milk. Only a handful see private enterprise for what it really is: the strong and willing horse that pulls the whole cart along." Now, Churchill spoke those words at the end of his career, 1959; but in 1989 they're truer than ever before.

I'm always reminded of the Commissioner of Patents of the United States Government, back around 1900, who suggested that the Patent Office be closed because everything worthwhile had already been invented. Then you think of Marconi inventing the wireless; or the Wright brothers, the airplane; or going to the Moon; or whatever, and you wonder what this guy was thinking of back there. But as you know, the gateway isn't highly concentrated government bureaucracies; it isn't bigger government; it's bigger dreams.

Look at Pedro Garza, a former migrant worker who overcame disability to own a construction company—$4.5 million in sales; Remedios Diaz-Oliver—with us here, I believe—here she is—Remedios, Hispanic Businesswoman of the Year; or the father-and-son team, Louis and Fred Ruiz, who in 1964 started a food business in an old warehouse—battered stove, small freezer, single mixer—they now employ 534 workers. And they prove, as you do, that while government can encourage opportunity, it is Americans who seize opportunity.

Over the past decade, committed individuals like these—and then a million others of unsung Hispanic-Americans—have made big dreams come true for themselves and for so many others. Here's a partial scorecard of your success. Since 1980, according to your estimates, Hispanic-American-owned businesses have nearly doubled—that's in this decade, 9 years. And today the total—more than 400,000 and earn revenues about $20 billion in 1987 alone. Impressive? Of course, you bet. Good enough? No, never. For as long as one Hispanic-American is bereft of hope, that is one American too many.

And so, as we work to extend the prosperity that blesses our country today, all citizens must participate. Government can play a unique role as a catalyst for opportunity. As Vice President, I supported—and I know many in this room did—the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives. And knowing how cooperation can spur development, we've tried to build on what the preceding administration fostered. I've asked Commerce Secretary Bob Mosbacher and Ken Bolton [Director of the Minority Business Development Agency] to develop a bold and innovative strategy for the reinvigoration of the Minority Business Development Agency. Every linkage between corporate America and a minority vendor and educational institution in the minority population brings us one step closer to assuring the equal participation of all Americans in our free enterprise system.

These partnerships will aid the shopowner in Los Angeles or the small developer in Des Moines. And so will one final project that I'd like to mention here: the 1990 census. You might say, "Why?" Look, there are 19.5 million Hispanic Americans, approximately—19.5 million. And I urge you to do your best to make them count. Tell your friends and neighbors to cooperate with census officials. Don't let the decade of the Hispanic go unreflected in this very important national survey. So, remember, the more accurate the census is, the greater Hispanics' influence and ability to help people help themselves.

I've talked of the prosperity which can better the lives of every American. And in that context, let me just say a word about our relationship with Mexico. The first head of state that I met after the election, after I was elected—indeed, after his—was President Salinas. And 2 months ago, I was pleased to renew what I can tell you is a genuine friendship now, at that economic summit in Paris. Mexico, by restructuring her economy, reducing trade barriers, and then with our help, reaching agreement with her commercial bank creditors, has opened the gateway of increased trade with America. We welcome this commerce, for Mexico is—and most Americans don't know this—our third-largest trading partner.

I salute President Salinas for his leadership on this Mexican debt problem. It's a tough problem, and he made some very difficult decisions. He led the way. He was out front. Mexico was the first country to achieve agreement on these major debt problems that are lingering out there, and I think that his leadership has paved the way for other countries. And so, I salute him here today, with many of his friends and colleagues in this audience. I look forward to next month's state visit, and we will give him the honors that a good friend, Mexico, merits and honors. We will give him those honors on the White House lawn. And together, we can build a gateway to the 1990's that will provide both Mexico and America with economic opportunity and stability. We must never take our friends for granted.

Now, I would be remiss if I didn't take a couple of minutes more—I know you're starving out there, I can tell—[*laughter*]—the look on the faces—but if I didn't take a couple of minutes more to talk about another kind of trade. You know what it is—a more destructive kind of trade that slams shut the gateways of opportunity. And, of course, I'm talking about the drug trade.

Consider these statistics: Last year the Government estimated that 23 million Americans used illegal drugs on a "current" basis; that is, at least once in the preceding 30 days. Last year more than 8 million people used cocaine, and almost 1 million used it once a week or more. Last year hundreds of thousands of babies were born to mothers who use drugs—babies born desperately sick, weeks or months premature. A nation with those numbers cannot long preserve its very soul. And that's why, three nights ago, I announced America's first national, comprehensive, and coordinated strategy to wage unconditional war against the scourge of drugs. And we've got four major elements in this plan.

First, enforcement, using our laws and criminal justice system—for America must take back its streets. We need more jails and prisons and courts and prosecutors and, indeed, in my view, tougher sentences. Drug dealers deserve a gateway, but that gateway is one where they go to prison. And I still feel in my heart, for the ultimate drug violators, those that do the most to corrupt the kids in this country and strip them of every chance at a meaningful life—I'm talking about those drug kingpins or those that kill police officers—I strongly favor the ultimate sentence, and that is the death penalty.

In that context, I sent my crime package, encompassing these things I've mentioned and others, to the Congress 3 months ago. That package went up 3 months ago, and it has languished there in the Senate Judiciary Committee. So, please, urge the Congress to pass this anticrime package. There's no reason to wait any longer to move forward with this part of the national strategy.

The second part of our drug plan is interdiction, a tool of foreign policy. Working with other governments—and I might again salute Mexico; cooperation has increased demonstrably there—we're going to break the international drug rings who grow and process cocaine and crack.

And again, I'd like to say here, with friends from Colombia—many of us have friends in Colombia—that I salute what President Virgilio Barco is trying to do. You talk about a tough, tough climate in which to take action; but he's taken it, and I'm praying he will stay with it. And the United States must give him the support that he needs.

It's not all muscle—the program, the national strategy. There's a third part: treatment to help addicts who want to get clean, with special emphasis on expectant mothers. And finally, our drug program aims to stop use before it starts—education and prevention—from grade school to graduate school.

I was talking with Chief of Staff John Sununu and Governor Roemer coming in. And the news, as I pointed out the other night, isn't all bad. Casual use of cocaine is down by about a third. We can change things in this country. Peer group pressure is changing in the universities and in some of the high schools in this country. And if we all pitch in, we can see that it changes even more. This plan can help stop the trade I spoke of earlier. Some trade builds lives; drug trade takes lives. And it is the drug trade we've got to stop. Nobody, nobody, believes it will be easy.

Tuesday night I proposed this strategy to end drug use and trafficking. And we're proposing a drug budget totaling about $8 billion—a dramatic increase over the figure that was used in the House of Representatives just this spring, the largest increase in history. And I know already there are some who criticize. Not tough enough, they claim. They say that we aren't spending enough. Well, those who judge this strategy by its pricetag, by pricetag alone, don't understand the problem. Let me repeat: This is an $8 billion program with record funding increases, a program that is comprehensive and touches every aspect of the drug problem.

And those critics are the same ones who complain they don't know how we can fund the proposal unless, of course—one easy answer—that some think is easy—raising taxes. And I know and the American people know that to some the first and only answer is to hit the working man or woman with more taxes. And that is not the right answer. I have sent to the Congress specific offsets. When you hear this debate rage, we have sent suggested specific offsets to fund this strategy without raising taxes or without increasing the deficit. And all the critics have to do now is to go out and implement it.

Government is going to do its part, but government will not win this battle alone. This isn't a Federal problem; it's a national problem. And we're all in it together—cops to teachers, parents to clergymen. And we'll have to fight together to crush the drug menace at every turn, fighting in the barrios and the boardrooms, cities and in the towns, winning it kid by kid, human life by human life, house by house, neighborhood by neighborhood, putting the emphasis where the problem is—locally, in the community.

Fellow parents and businessmen, fellow Americans, that's where you come in. For drug use isn't merely statistics: It's the young kid tormented by cocaine addiction or the pregnant mothers whose use of crack impairs her child, perhaps for life. At stake is the very future of every community, and the Hispanic community is no different. At stake is the future of the Hispanic community, and I'm referring to our kids, of course.

And so, let me challenge you: Get involved. There are so many who need your help. Join the grassroots groups like the Miami coalition of leaders from business, education, government, and law enforcement to stop drug use. Take the time to really know your neighborhood, at home and at work. Help your church and antidrug parents' groups. Support drug programs in your childrens' schools. Look at New Orleans, for an example—drug-free zone concept. It is working, and can work anywhere in the country.

And then I talk about a Thousand Points of Light. People have finally gotten the message. It isn't a thousand pints of Lite I am talking about. [*Laughter*] It is a Thousand Points of Light, and I talked about that just a year ago here in the Superdome, and I feel strongly about it. I feel more strongly about one neighbor helping another, the need for you to be involved in the life of another—constructive involvement in the lives of others. So, do this with your business. Use it as a storefront against drugs. Put the banners up and the brochures. Don't let the cynics disturb you—those that think everything has to come out of Washington. Employ volunteer counselors. Be a symbol in the community and, especially, for its kids. And join the ranks of caring and committed and help us win this crusade.

So, I guess my question is: Will you enlist? I believe you will. And I'll tell you why I feel so strongly about it in this audience: Because I know of your values of family; religion; and above all, your commitment to freedom that has brought many of you to this country. That's going to compel you to get involved.

I think I understand Hispanic America. I've got lots to learn, but I think I understand. And the roots run deep, and the aspirations run high. And its people ask not the promise of success, only the opportunity to succeed. And Hispanic America is at her best when the challenge is the toughest. So, together, let's open those gateways to prosperity and stability, build for our children a better tomorrow. The kids: they're the trustees of America's future, so let their horizons touch the sky.

I appreciate your kindness. You have this wonderful way of making me feel at home. I appreciate the chance to share this occasion. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:57 a.m. in the Imperial Ballroom at the Fairmont Hotel.

Remarks to the National Baptist Convention in New Orleans, Louisiana

September 8, 1989

Now, what do you think of a man like Reverend Jemison who would make you come on after that beautiful music by Earl Taylor? [*Laughter*] Not only were his remarks deeply appreciated, but, Earl, wherever you've gone to—here he is over here—what magnificent joy, what magnificent music! Thank you very much.

To Reverend Jemison and Reverend Clark and Reverend Richardson; my friend, Dr. Ben Hooks, behind me here; and the board of directors: I feel honored to be here. And I brought some reserve troops with me. I brought three Members of the United States Congress. And to be sure that the Reverend knows this is not a partisan gathering—[*laughter*]—they are Democrats and Republicans, and I want you to meet them. Reverend Tauzin, Reverend Livingston, and Reverend Boggs: three of the great Congressmen with us here today. And also a member of the President's Cabinet, the Secretary of the Interior, Manuel Lujan, over here.

What a joyous meeting! So many Baptists in New Orleans, I expected, particularly at a crowd like this, to hear "When the Saints Came Marching In." [*Laughter*] And I expect Reverend Jemison and Franklyn Richardson have learned their lesson, because they were at the White House not so long ago, and we finished a meeting there. Dr. Hooks was there—and several other leaders here today—celebrating a 25th anniversary so important to our country. But afterward, Reverend Richardson came out—Franklyn—and he said, "Listen, hold up a minute." We elbowed the Secret Service away, and I said, "What's on your mind?" He said, "Reverend Jemison and I want to extend you an invitation to come to our great convention." And before they could change their mind, I said, "It's a deal. I'll be there." And here I am, and I'm very grateful to you.

You'll excuse me if I reminisce. The last time I was here was August 18th, a year ago. And I was running for President, and I addressed thousands of Republicans. And now I'm addressing many thousand Baptists; but the feeling, speaking before such a large audience, is about the same. Barbara, the "Silver Fox," my wife, is not with me today. But she said, "George, look, just pretend that you're standing in front of another Sunday school class." [*Laughter*] Well, I did teach Sunday school, but I never had one quite this big. [*Laughter*] And I never taught in one where the music was quite this magnificent. Thank you all very, very much.

And I'm proud to address a convention that, as Psalm 84 says, goes from strength to strength. It is important to our nation that this convention and what it represents goes from strength to strength. You know, I've come to New Orleans to tell you something, and it really is summed up by that motto of your convention. Your good works and your faith and your beliefs are an inspiration to this country. And you, in turn, draw your inspiration from your faith in a great church. And it was the first American Baptists in Rhode Island who led the campaign for religious tolerance. And it was the Baptists who played an important role in securing our freedom of religion in the American Constitution. And it was the Baptists who, as pioneers, built sturdy new churches on the empty prairies and the plains of the West. But it is another tradition that we honor in New Orleans here today. We honor your parents and your grandparents, who were also brave pioneers. They blazed the trails into another frontier, the freedom frontier.

And living in the White House—privileged to live in it—you can't help but feel it every day you live there. And upstairs is the—known as the Lincoln Bedroom—I'll share with you some historical trivia. Lincoln never slept in that room, I'm told, but nevertheless, it's called the Lincoln Bedroom. But he did sign the Emancipation Proclamation there, and you can't help but feel that sense of history and obligation and responsibility when you live in that beautiful house.

It took this convention, the leadership of your pastors and people, to extend the struggle for freedom to all men and women. It took leaders, of course, like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Wyatt T. Walker, E.V. Hill, Dr. Hooks, Jerry Moore, T.J. Jemison—so many. And it took nothing less than another great awakening, an awakening to the promise of civil rights. This movement has blossomed. You know, one thing in the struggle for equality and opportunity: Your hopes and dreams are among the highest aspirations of my Presidency. You can't be President unless you feel that in your heart. We are on a journey to a new century; and, yes, from time to time, I am troubled by inequities that I see. But we have got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind us, back there in our history.

Discrimination is not the only problem we face today. And just as you led America in the civil rights movement, so you're now leading communities struggling with another national problem. Is it crime? Not quite. Is it homeless? No, not by itself. Is it drugs? Yes, but it's even more than that. As serious as all these problems are, they are related to another one, the decline of the most basic institutions of all: the decline of the American family. Too many children in America are growing up--no matter what community they live in—without direction, without values, without esteem for themselves or anyone else. And so, our goal is simple, and it is vital: We must work together to save the American family. I feel it in my life, and I know the members of this Baptist convention—you feel it in your lives.

Family life—plus our faith—but family life must be a major source of our strength. It is for Barbara and me, I can assure you. Strong families are bound by more than blood. They are bound for Christians by the precious memories of Christmas morning. They're bound by a toddler's first step or a grandfather's tall tales to his grandkids or the lasting pride of a graduation ceremony. And our families are bound together by something else: simple acts of learning and teaching; simple acts to instill the values of fairness, compassion, honesty, and hard work.

And of course, there are more single-parent families today then ever before. And difficult though that may be, most single parents are raising happy, well-adjusted kids with the help of family and friends. They've got to draw on their own inner strength. Imagine for just a moment the lonely plight of a single mother who has no help, has no money, has no ability to keep her kids from being totally lost—lost to the unhealthy life of the streets. And so, to save the American family also means providing support for those parents who are struggling against tough odds.

And nor can we ignore the difficulties of poor couples with children. The challenge of strengthening these families requires both public and private efforts. And church leadership is meeting the challenge in ministries like that of E.V. Hill of Los Angeles—I'm going to get in trouble here starting any names, but I've known Mr. Hill—where hungry families find sustenance, in ministries where Baptists are providing families with everything from highchairs to a hand up.

You know that no matter how close-knit your family may be, the decline of the American family is not just someone else's problem. It is everyone's problem. Where's Jerry Moore? There's Jerry. When I was in D.C. General Hospital the other day—I speak to him and the other reverends from Washington—I went there, and there was a ward there. They called them boarder babies that were in there. Babies were born; mothers left them there. And who's looking after them? It's not the Government of DC; it's not the Federal Government. It's a group of black ladies who have gotten together. And they said: We're going to do this. We are going to see that these kids have a chance for love. And it's coming out of their own pockets. And we are all in this together.

You know, no matter how close-knit your family may be, I guess the bottom line is the decline of the American family is not someone else's problem; it's everyone's. And when one generation is raised without values, it starts this chain of misery that weighs down future generations. About half of all black families with children are headed by one parent, and many of these are simply overwhelmed. And because they're overwhelmed, more than 4 out of 10 black kids live in poverty. And because of this, it's becoming harder for your churches, no matter how hard you try, to reach so many promising young men and women. And how can you teach respect for a hard-earned dollar when that easy drug money flourishes out there on the street? And how can you teach that achievement is found in quiet moments and subtle rewards when a murderous materialism glitters—the promise of gold chains, fast cars, and fashion clothes? And how can you persuade young men and women to have faith in themselves if their mother and dad have lost all faith?

In short, without strong families, how can values triumph over vice? And the answers can only come from right here, right from the heart of every parent. And the answers can come from you, from the people of faith, the people of our churches; indeed, from all people of faith, whatever their religion. And so, I came to New Orleans today to pledge my support as best I can, but to recognize your heroic efforts, your ministries, your efforts as parents or as church members.

First, we can work together in many ways to strengthen the family—greater choice in child care is one that I feel strongly about, also education—by replacing the crippling fear of crime with the promise of opportunity. Let me talk about child care just one minute. Often, while parents work, love and care come from extended family—grandparents, aunts, uncles. And in many ways, the church community is the greatest extended family of all.

And I've seen that spirit of family and love permeate the day-care center at Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, which I went to see not so many months ago. And your great church has already taken a load off the shoulders of a lot of the working parents—some single, some together. And as we work to solve the child-care problems of this country, I am determined to protect Shiloh and every other church-sponsored child-care center in America. The church must stay involved, and it must not be pushed out by well-intentioned Federal legislation. And in that spirit, I offer some ways that the Government can help.

I believe in the child-care tax credit focused on those who need such assistance the most—and I'm talking about the low-income family. But this approach is different from past programs. It would empower parents, not the Government, to choose the best care for their children—be it a grandparent, a neighbor or, yes, a local church. And we need to give the parents a choice in their children's care, not take it away.

I recognize honest differences on this question. Some in Congress do differ with me. But perhaps it's time that we say this: Just as we should support single-parent families, we should also support two-parent families where one parent chooses to care for the children at home. And my proposal to the Congress does just that. I really believe in my heart of hearts that it is wrong to discriminate against church-sponsored child care. And when it comes to child care, we need more churches involved and not more government intervention. We need more congregations with love and concern helping to take care of the kids, not more government regulations. Yes, we need certain regulations so kids can't go into places that are unsafe—be left there. But the excesses of regulation must not erode out the participation of the Baptists or whoever else it is that are concerned enough to try to help these kids.

And I guess every President should, from time to time, reiterate his—or maybe her's someday—profound—not for the next couple of years, okay? [*Laughter*] No, but I do believe that a President should reiterate, if he feels it—and I do—the belief in separation of church and state. Presidents must feel that, but church-related centers that keep our kids in an environment of love and sound values must not be denied to parents who choose them.

But, on we go. Child care for families is by itself not enough. Families need opportunity. And so, again, I would urge support for these enterprise zones to bring opportunity to the barren lots of South Bronx, or to inner Baltimore, or to the streets of Watts, to farm towns, and to every community in need.

And I renew my proposal here today before this magnificent audience for tenant management of public housing. We cannot deny any of our people the autonomy and the dignity that they deserve. And speaking of tenants in public housing, they deserve something else: a safe place to raise their children and live their lives. And so, I ordered an additional $50 million to HUD the other day to evict the drug dealers from public housing. Let's give these kids a fighting chance.

You see, there's one thing I'm sure of: If the 15,000 or whatever it is here today—your friends, your families, your neighbors decide, when America decides that enough is enough, the dealers will not stand a chance. And I am determined to see America make that decision while I am President of the United States.

Today's job market—and if you will excuse a personal note of pride, I salute my wife for her effort in working with some of you all in this very room toward the goal of full literacy. They see the job market changing. Another 10 years—not going to be a question of whether there's a job for everyone. The question's going to be, demographically: Is there somebody qualified to take the existing job? It's changing that fast. And so, the market will not settle for anything less than an aptitude for full literacy and an aptitude for skilled labor. And those who are incapable—and they are great in number—will fall, unless we're careful, further and further behind.

So, what's the answer? I see you pointing the way. For a century and a half, these churches demonstrated the liberating power of learning. No one better exemplifies this tradition than the Reverend Henry Rose. Born into slavery, liberated at age 21, he walked all the way from Texas to Virginia, worked on the railroad until a Baptist society sponsored him at a little seminary school. Reverend Rose was so poor that when he graduated he had to wear a boot on one foot and a shoe on the other. But Henry Rose had something better than a matching pair of shoes. He had knowledge; he had pride; he had faith in God. And as a Baptist minister, he founded five churches and two schools, establishing institutions with great traditions of service that live on to this day. And there is a lesson for us in this remarkable man's life. If he could beat the overwhelming odds of slavery, oppression, and blatant prejudice to lead a community, then any obstacle can be overcome; and we must not forget it.

Yes, I know we have a responsibility in improving education, and I hope the proposals I've sent to the Congress will do that. We've got to give parents and students greater choice. And when you choose one school and leave a bad one behind, that bad one's going to change. There are examples of that in many of the cities in America where choice has been put into effect. I'm talking magnet schools. And this means public and private partnerships like "Say Yes To Education," which sends impoverished minority students to college. And this means increased support, which I'm proud to do my best on for historically black colleges and universities.

Education is more than schooling: It is nothing less than the communication of values. And once again, my respects for leading the way. Just look right here in New Orleans, where the Greater Liberty Baptist Church is preparing many young men for adulthood through its Black Manhood Training Program. That's a church thing. Government's not doing that—the church—men and women of that church got together and decided this is what we're going to do. I call it a Thousand Points of Light, and people in this country are beginning to understand now what I mean when I say we must be involved in the lives of others.

To get to school, to get to work, to get to a child-care center, families must also be free to walk the streets without fear. And today freedom from fear—no, you know it as well as I do, it means freedom from drugs. And that is why Tuesday night I announced our nation's first comprehensive, coordinated, all-out assault—a national strategy, a way to attack the drug menace on every front.

I believe that the Congress wants to work with me on this. Yes, I understand nobody's going to do it exactly my way. I would be very closed-minded if I said you can't have this change or another, or we can't make this part of it better—another. But this is no time for partisan carping. We have come out with the first national strategy, and I want the support of every Member of Congress: Democrat, Republican alike. There's a lot of times we can play partisan politics, and I'll get in there with the best of them. Don't like it too much, but now that I'm President, I kind of wish they'd do it my way. I recognize that there's differences here, but not on this one, not as our country tries to come up with a national strategy and then fight the narcotics that are ripping off and killing the kids of this country, their very soul. Time to come together—the first time in our history—pass a national strategy to fight drugs, and I'd welcome your efforts and your support on that behalf.

Let me come back 1 minute to New Orleans, because when I was coming down here, the Congressmen reminded me—and Congresswoman Boggs as well—that things are going—you know, we've got some problems in New Orleans, like every city in the world. Of course, there are problems, but people are rolling up their sleeves right here. Drug-free zones have been set up to help make New Orleans a safer place. West of here, 60 miles or less, Thibodeaux, Louisiana, a local police set an example—I want to say that maybe the first such police force in the country that set what they call a drug-free police force by volunteering out there to take drugs [drug tests] and be sure the other police officers stay off of drugs. That's exactly the kind of united effort that we need if America is going to win the war on drugs. There are 100 million Points of Light out there, and I've just cited two of them here.

To provide child care, improve education, to create opportunity, defeat drugs—these are steps to strengthening the family that require nothing less than a sustained national effort, a national partnership. I believe government can and should be a strong partner, but I also believe that the answer, or the solution to the social problems facing us, ultimately depend on what you and your communities do.

And I like what's been tested and found to be true, and your faith has been tested. And your values—your values have been found to be true. And it is your faith in those values that America is turning to today. And so, I know there are a lot of problems out there, but I am an optimist. I believe we can reach out to families in need. I believe we can see a strengthening of the many patterns of family life. And I believe we will see a sharing of values, values rooted in the conviction that we as individuals and as families are engaged in a single, wonderful enterprise called America. America—let us never forget it. We are one nation under God.

And Reverend Jemison said that on my shoulders rest the hopes of so many, but I have what you have: I have faith in God. I have conviction about family and family values, and I will not let you down. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

Thank you very much. Thank you. Back to work. This was pure pleasure.

Note: The President spoke at 2:39 p.m. at the New Orleans Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Theodore J. Jemison, C.A.W. Clark, and W. Franklyn Richardson, president, vice president, and general secretary of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., respectively, and Benjamin Hooks, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Camp David, MD, for a weekend stay.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the American Success Awards

September 11, 1989

It's a great pleasure to see you here, and I certainly want to welcome Senator Kassebaum. I don't know what happened to Senator Orrin Hatch, but I expect he'll make the dramatic entrance any minute now. [*Laughter*] But thank you so much for coming.

My thanks to Michael Farley, Chairman of the National Council on Vocational Education, for all his hard work. And there's an old saying: The more things change, the more things stay the same. Well, today I'm going to talk about our rapidly changing work force and the simple, proven ways America is preparing for the future.

You know, during the administration of Abraham Lincoln, the Government made a strong commitment to what most people now consider a current idea: vocational-technical education. And by establishing the land grant colleges—the agricultural and mechanical, or A&M schools—Lincoln ensured that American workers were on the cutting edge of the new technologies. Well, that sounds familiar, and since the days of Lincoln, America has been concerned with competitiveness in the world marketplace of technology.

Lately, there's a bad rumor going around that the work ethic is dead. And I don't believe that's true, not when so many of the best new jobs in the Nation are going to Americans educated in vocational-technical schools. It sounds to me like the work ethic is alive and well. And it's going to stay that way. Eighteen of the twenty fastest growing occupations within the next decade require vocational-technical education, and jobs for technicians will grow 38 percent by the year 2000—the fastest of any major occupational group.

You know, there are dramatic changes in the Nation's work force, changes that point to a brighter future for our young people. Take, for example, the fact that our population is growing much more slowly now that the baby boom is over, the same time that we're creating a record number of new jobs. The bottom line in the year 2000—and this is a statistic that really is staggering—in the year 2000, every person who wants a job will have one if they have the skills. And that's where you all come in.

All across America, some 26,000 vocational-technical education institutions provide 16 million Americans with marketable skills in over 150 occupations. These students will be the high-tech computer programmers and operators, equipment assemblers, and communications specialists who stand at the cutting edge of our economy. As we rely more and more on automation in our industries, employers will be looking for smart workers who can communicate and solve problems, from monitoring production rates to repairing robots, and people who are skilled on the production line and who know how to get things done, and craftsmen such as computer programmers and electrical engineers, and practical nurses, who keep our economy going strong.

Let's look at some of the benefits of vo-tech education: marketable graduates and lower unemployment. For example, one study found that graduates of Ohio vocational education programs earn 21 percent more money 4 years after graduation than high school graduates without this training. And unemployment is lower for vo-tech graduates than for those in the general work force who are the same age and have the same number of years of schooling. But even beyond the numbers, when vo-tech education can help young Americans get a better start in life, then the whole country benefits.

And here's another benefit: improved learning skills. Job training and academics are not contradictory; actually, many people learn academic subjects better in the context of how to use them on a job. Students in a vo-tech school taking a "Principles of Technology" course will learn about thermal resistance not from a lab experience with beakers and test tubes but from working the insulation in a house. Vo-tech schools are leading the way in educational improvement and applied academics.

The partnerships that community colleges and vo-tech institutes have formed with businesses to provide retraining and skills for employees are essential. There are now 23 million adults who receive retraining through vo-tech programs, which allow them to get new or better jobs. The reality of lifelong learning has arrived. We call it career ladder opportunities, the kind of education that builds bridges between vocational education and higher education. It's the kind of education that puts more and more Americans on the ladder to success.

Building a world-class work force, then, must be a national priority. Improving America's capacity to educate and train workers is critical to the future of this country. And that's why today we're presenting to you—not all of you, some of you—the American Success Awards. You have become American success stories through your involvement in vocational-technical education, and you're building a better America every day. Each of you has lived the American dream, and each one of you deserves our congratulations and thanks for your work in vocational–technical education. God bless you all, and thank you all for coming today.

And now, Mike, let's present these American Success Awards.

Note: The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Recipients of the American Success Awards were Dorothy Holland, vice president, Kraft, Inc.; Maj. Gen. Joseph H. Engle, space shuttle commander; Norma Kamali, international fashion and home furnishings designer; Frederick Napolitano, chairman of the board, Pembroke Enterprises; Roy S. Roberts, vice president and general manager for truck operations, Navistar International Transportation Corp.; Joseph Semprevivo, vice president, L&J Lite Co.; George Shinn, chairman, George Shinn & Associates and owner of the Charlotte, NC, Hornets; Delbert Staley, chairman of the board, Nynex Corp.; George Strait, the Country Music Association's Male Vocalist of the Year in 1986; Charles Strang, chairman and chief executive officer, Outboard Marine Corp.; Brian Rowe, senior vice president, General Electric Aircraft Engines; and Ralph Hofstad, president and chief executive officer, Land-O-Lakes.

Remarks at the Ceremony Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Department of the Treasury

September 11, 1989

Thank you all. I notice one lady just passed out, and I hadn't even begun to speak yet. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Mr. Secretary. What a job Nick Brady is doing as our Secretary, at the helm here in the Treasury. I'm grateful to him in every way, and I feel the same way about the dedicated staff here at this magnificent Department. I, too, want to acknowledge the all-star cast of past Secretaries, four of whom I believe are sitting over here—Secretary Barr and Fowler and Miller and Simon are in the front line right over here, and I'm delighted that they're here today. On the end down there I think I see a refugee—Dick Darman, who used to be Deputy Secretary and is now doing a superb job across the way here as head of OMB. And of course, I wasn't sure anybody could fill his shoes, and now we have our Deputy Secretary, John Robson, with me today. So, we've got a first-class team here at Treasury, and I certainly want to salute Nick's predecessors who are with us today.

I want to thank you for inviting a neighbor to your celebrations. I know it's not easy to be next door to a house that gets about 5,000 visitors a day. Fortunately for us, Treasury's 200th birthday fell on a Monday, so we've got the driveway all to ourselves. And of course, I told Barbara, who may be—I don't see her, but I thought she might be watching—that I wouldn't invite all of you over to the house for a quick tour. [*Laughter*]

But I understand that the Treasury wanted to celebrate its 200th anniversary the way Malcolm Forbes celebrated his 70th birthday. [*Laughter*] But unfortunately or fortunately, Kitty, Secretary Brady doesn't know Elizabeth Taylor that well; and the Treasury doesn't have near as much money as Malcolm. So, that idea fell through. [*Laughter*]

But some of the greatest American statesmen, as Nick said, were involved in the Treasury's beginning. Thomas Jefferson invented the American monetary system. There have been others who have tried to invent money—many of them in prison, thank heavens. [*Laughter*] Legend has it that Andrew Jackson ordered the Treasury built on this site, despite the fact that it blocked the view of the Capitol. Now, I've heard some folks down on the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue say that I can't see past the Treasury, and I want you to know there's nothing wrong with that, nothing at all. [*Laughter*]

I'm honored to join you in celebrating this day—200 years since the first Treasury Secretary, Alexander Hamilton, took the oath of office. And it's a great pleasure to be with so many of the dedicated public servants who carry on Hamilton's tradition today. We all know the Treasury is one of the original four Departments established by the First Congress. And what isn't as well-known is that in its long history Treasury has been in some ways the birthplace of the Federal bureaucracy. The U.S. Postal Service; the Public Health Service; the Coast Guard; the Departments of Interior, Commerce, and Labor; and the President's own budget office, OMB—all were once a part of Treasury's domain.

And even with these spinoffs, there's more than enough remaining in Treasury's portfolio. It's grown from an original 6 officers authorized in 1789 to 150,000 able employees today. And the work you do here has national and certainly international implications. From public finance to law enforcement to the challenge of the Third World debt, Treasury is at the center of public debate, sustaining our long running economic expansion, restructuring our savings and loans, putting the Brady plan to work in the developing world. Many of the challenges our nation and the world will face in the decade ahead will be the challenges you face each working day at Treasury, including the war on drugs.

Treasury is making an outstanding contribution to our nation's fight against drugs. The Customs Service interdiction capabilities have never been better. Agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms are also on the front lines, investigating the violent gun-running organizations allied with the drug lords.

But there's another front in the battle, the white-collar end of the drug trade—money laundering. Treasury, IRS, and Customs are doing first-rate work tracing the path of drug profits in the world's banking system. And Secretary Brady is working closely with our partners in the Group of Seven [economic summit participants], the G–7, to wage an international battle against money laundering. Make no mistake; we are going to track every lead that we receive from whatever source to separate the drug barons from the drug money. The bravery and courage shown by President Barco and the people of Colombia demand nothing less. The international drug cartel is a multibillion-dollar business. We've got to hit the drug lords where it counts. It's time to take the profit out of the drug trade. And I know you're all interested in the current state of play in Colombia, so let me just tell you briefly where we stand.

First, we're making good progress in getting the much-needed military aid and equipment on the ground in Colombia. As of today, we've supplied over $10 million worth of equipment: 10 aircraft, 5 UH–1 helicopters, an assortment of jeeps, ambulances, and armor. Sixteen members of the American Armed Forces are in Colombia to oversee the supply operation and provide training.

Second, we are working with the Colombian judiciary to increase the physical safety of judges and other members of the judicial system. And that includes security training as well as the delivery of armored cars and vests and communications equipment already underway.

And third, we're moving ahead with the extraditions. Mr. Martinez, of course, is in U.S. custody; and three more extradition requests granted by the Colombian Government are now in that 5-day appeal process. I know there's been some recent discussion about U.S. military personnel operating in the Andes.

Well, let me state clearly: None of the Andean nations have asked for U.S. troops, and there is no contemplation of the use of American Armed Forces in any combat role there. No U.S. military personnel will accompany host government forces on actual field operation. Our personnel will provide training, equipment, and operational support, as we have been asked to do. And I will see that it works just exactly that way.

It's been my privilege today to join you in this celebration. You can all be proud of the long, illustrious history of your institution and the new chapter that you're writing here at the U.S. Treasury today. Thank you very much for inviting me over. Congratulations! Keep up the good work. Thank you to the Coast Guard. And God bless America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. on *the grounds of the Department. In his remarks, he referred to publisher Malcolm Forbes; Katherine Brady, wife of the Secretary; actress Elizabeth Taylor; and Eduardo Martinez-Romero, a suspected drug money launderer who was extradited from Colombia to the United States on September 6.*

Continuation of John C. Layton as Inspector General of the Department of Energy

September 11, 1989

The President today announced that John C. Layton will continue to serve as Inspector General of the Department of Energy.

Since 1985 Mr. Layton has served as Inspector General of the Department of Energy. Prior to this, he served as Inspector General of the Department of the Treasury, 1984–1985; Deputy Inspector General of NASA, 1983–1984; and Director of Investigations for NASA at the Goddard Space Flight Center in Maryland, 1980–1983. In addition, he served as a special agent for the FBI.

Mr. Layton graduated from Rider College (B.S.C., 1966). He served in the U.S. Army Finance Corps, 1967–1969. He was born October 9, 1944, in Stroudsburg, PA, and currently resides in Woodbridge, VA.

Continuation of Sherman M. Funk as Inspector General of the Department of State

September 11, 1989

The President today announced that Sherman M. Funk will continue to serve as Inspector General at the Department of State.

Since 1987 Mr. Funk has served as Inspector General of the Department of State. Prior to this he served as Inspector General of the Department of Commerce, 1981–1987. Mr. Funk was Director of the Air Force Cost Reduction Office for 7 years and served as a senior program official in several minority business and economic development agencies in the Departments of Commerce and Energy.

Mr. Funk graduated from Harvard College (B.A., 1950). He was born November 13, 1925, in New York, NY. He served as a corporal in the U.S. Army, 1944–1946. He is married, has five children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Nomination of Curtis Virgil McVee To Be Federal Cochairman of the Alaska Land Use Council

September 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Curtis Virgil McVee to be Federal Cochairman of the Alaska Land Use Council. He would succeed Vernon R. Wiggins.

Since 1986 Mr. McVee has served as executive director of the Alaska Miners Association in Anchorage, AK. Prior to this, he served as president of the Alaska Community Engineering Services and a private consultant, 1984–1986; State Director of the Bureau of Land Management in Anchorage, AK, 1971–1984; and Assistant and Associate State Director of the Bureau of Land Management, 1967–1971. In addition, he has served in several other capacities for the Bureau of Land Management, including watershed specialist at the Department of the Interior in Washington, DC, 1963–1967; district manager in Ely, NV, 1960–1963; assistant district manager in Miles City, MT, 1955–1960; and a range conservationist in Dillon, MT, 1954–1955.

Mr. McVee graduated from Montana State University (B.S., 1950). He was born March 11, 1929, in Glasgow, MT. He is married, has four children, and resides in Anchorage, AK.

Continuation of Dennis M. Devaney as a Member of the National Labor Relations Board

September 11, 1989

The President today announced that Dennis M. Devaney will continue to serve as a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring December 16, 1989. He was recess-appointed on November 22, 1988.

Since 1988 Mr. Devaney has served as a member of the National Labor Relations Board. Prior to this, he was General Counsel at the Federal Labor Relations Authority, 1988; a member of the Merit Systems Protection Board, 1982–1988; and with the law firms of Tighe, Curhan and Piliero, 1981–1982, and Randall, Bangert and Thelen, 1979–1981.

Mr. Devaney graduated from the University of Maryland (B.A., 1968; M.A., 1970) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1975). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1970–1972. Mr. Devaney was born February 25, 1946, in Cheverly, MD. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in Columbia, MD.

Nomination of H. Allen Holmes To Be Ambassador at Large for Burdensharing

September 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate H. Allen Holmes, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador at Large for Burdensharing at the Department of State. This is a new position.

Since 1985 Ambassador Holmes has served as the Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs. Prior to this, he served as Ambassador to Portugal, 1982–1985; as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State of the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, 1979–1982; as deputy chief of mission in Rome, Italy, 1977–1979; and as Director of the Office of NATO Affairs at the Department of State, 1975–1977. Ambassador Holmes joined the Foreign Service in 1958.

Ambassador Holmes graduated from Princeton University (B.A., 1954), and he attended the Institute of Political Studies at the University of Paris, 1957–1958. In 1989 he was awarded the President's Distinguished Service Award. Ambassador Holmes served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1954–1957. He was born January 31, 1933, in Bucharest, Romania, to American parents. Ambassador Holmes is married, has two children, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of George W. Haley To Be a Member of the Postal Rate Commission, and Designation as Chairman

September 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate George W. Haley to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission for the remainder of the term expiring October 14, 1992. He would succeed Janet Dempsey Steiger. Upon confirmation he is to be designated Chairman.

Currently, Mr. Haley serves as an attorney with George W. Haley, Esq., Professional Corp. in Washington, DC. Since 1988 he has served as director of the Frederick Douglass Foundation Institute for the Study and Analysis of Mass Transportation in Washington, DC. He served as General Counsel and Congressional Liaison at the U.S. Information Agency, 1976–1977; Associate Director for Equal Employment Opportunity at the U.S. Information Agency, 1973–1976; and Chief Counsel for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration at the Department of Labor, 1969–1973.

Mr. Haley graduated from Morehouse College (B.A., 1949) and the University of Arkansas (LL.B., 1952; J.D., 1969). He was born August 28, 1925, in Henning, TN. He served in the U.S. Air Force as a sergeant. Mr. Haley is married, has two children, and resides in Silver Spring, MD.

Nomination of Leonard L. Haynes III To Be an Assistant Secretary of Education

September 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Leonard L. Haynes III to be Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education at the Department of Education. He would succeed Kenneth D. Whitehead.

Dr. Haynes currently serves as assistant superintendent of the office of academic programs for the Louisiana State Department of Education. Prior to this, he was executive vice president and system vice president for academic affairs for the Southern University System in Baton Rouge, LA, 1982–1985, and was a professor in the department of history at Southern University-Baton Rouge, 1982–1988. He was director of the Office for the Advancement of Public Black Colleges in Washington, DC, 1979–1982; director of the Ford Foundation-sponsored desegregation policy studies unit of the Institute for Services to Education, 1976–1979; and assistant to the provost and coordinator for the committee on academic misconduct at Ohio State University, 1975–1976.

Dr. Haynes graduated from Southern University (B.A., 1968), Carnegie-Mellon University (M.A., 1969), and Ohio State University (Ph.D., 1975). He was born January 26, 1947, in Boston, MA. He is married, has four children, and resides in Baton Rouge, LA.

Address to Students on Drug Abuse

September 12, 1989

You know, somehow the fall always feels like a time to start over, a time full of possibility, and everyone gets a new chance. Now, I know there are Americans of every age watching. And to those at home or at work, I ask you to talk with your families and coworkers about drug abuse. But Presidents don't often get the chance to talk directly to students. And so today, for each of you sitting in a classroom or assembly hall, this message goes straight to you.

When I was thinking about what I wanted to say to you today about drugs, I tried to put myself in your place, to look at it from your perspective. But, you know, the harder I tried, the harder it got. It may seem to you that your parents and your teachers grew up in simpler times, but most of them lived through the civil rights struggles. Some of your fathers fought in Vietnam. And for many of you, your parents and teachers were among the first to face drugs. If you care enough to talk to them, you might be surprised at how much they do understand.

I used to play baseball. Knew I'd never make the big leagues, but I made a lot of friends—friends I learned to count on, both on and off the field. And we trusted each other to come through, no matter how tough it got. And I learned from that. I learned that the kind of people you make your friends can either give you strength, or take it away. I'm not sure why it is, but some people just make you find the best in yourself. They can help you become a better person, help you discover more of who you are. There are others who may seem like friends, but they're not—and they prove it every time they offer you drugs.

Every day, with a thousand small decisions, you're shaping your future. It's a future that ought to be bright with potential. And most of you are doing the right thing, but for those who let drugs make their decisions for them, you can almost hear the doors slamming shut. It isn't worth it. We know that now. Attitudes that once encouraged or excused drug use have changed. Among high school seniors cocaine use has dropped by about a fifth, and overall drug use is at the lowest levels in 10 years.

But even if you don't use drugs, you ought to be angry about them because you're being cheated by those who do. Add it all up: Drug and alcohol abuse costs this country billions of dollars a year, and I don't know how to quantify the human suffering drugs cause, but I do know we're all paying for it. We're all feeling it—every day. Every time someone does drugs, or sells drugs, or even just looks the other way, they're supporting an industry that costs more than money—it costs lives.

Each of you has a decision to make and dozens of chances to make it: at a party, on the street, in the school parking lot. And parents, teachers, coaches, politicians, Presidents—no one else can make that decision for you. But if you talk to someone you trust, they may remind you of what's at stake. Yes, it's your decision. I can't tell you how to make it, but I will tell you what it means. You all watch TV. You see the news—the crime, the devastation.

Every dollar that goes to drugs fuels the killing. As long as there are Americans willing to buy drugs, there will be people willing to sell drugs, and people willing to kill as a cost of doing business. There's a connection between the suppliers and even occasional or weekend users that can never be forgotten. Casual drug use is responsible for the casualties of the drug war. From the city streets of America to the street bombings of Colombia, even dabblers in drugs bear responsibility for the blood being spilled. And unlike those of you in school this fall, those killed by the drug trade never do get a second chance. Drugs are rightly called an equal opportunity destroyer. They have no conscience. They don't care where the money comes from. They just murder people. Young and old, good and bad, innocent and guilty—it doesn't matter. For too many, drugs mean death.

I keep this badge—I keep this badge in my desk to remind me of that. It was worn by a young rookie cop named Eddie Byrne. Twenty-two years old, not much older than some of you. He was out trying to stop the drug trade, protecting a witness so that a dealer could be brought to justice. Eddie Byrne had three brothers, a girlfriend he'd known for 4 years. He loved fishing and football, was a running back at Plainedge High School in New York. And he had a lot of friends in his neighborhood. And Eddie Byrne had dreams. But in the early hours of a cold February morning, sitting in a police cruiser, Eddie was blown away at point-blank range, killed on the orders of a drug kingpin—cold and calculated.

I've heard some say if you do drugs now and then, why, you're not hurting anybody. It's no big deal. Well, the next time you think about using drugs, I want you to think of Eddie Byrne, and I want you to think about the family that lost him. To me this badge is a constant reminder that Eddie Byrne's life was not given in vain. This is a promise: The killing must and will stop. Where you're sitting right now, where you're sitting there in school—I know you've got your dreams, everyone does. But out on the streets, a nightmare for America is happening every day, every night.

Somewhere a teenage girl who ought to be in school is giving birth to a baby already addicted to cocaine. And that baby is coming into this world shaking and twitching from withdrawal, so sensitive to the touch that it can't be held or fed properly. How can drugs cause so much pain? How can they lead brothers to kill brothers and mothers to abandon children? And behind all of the senseless violence, the needless tragedy, what haunts me is the question: Why?

I have one answer. Drugs are still a problem because too many of us are still looking the other way. And that's why I wanted to talk to you today. I'm asking you not to look the other way. Maybe you're in trouble, or on the edge of trouble. Maybe you know someone who is. Maybe you've got younger brothers or sisters—you know they're looking up to you. Don't risk your life, or theirs. And if you're struggling with the kind of problem that can truly be the toughest, if you have parents who have problems with drugs or alcohol, find someone you can trust. Talk to them about it. You know—all of you in a classroom know—who's got a problem. Today I'm not just asking you to get help. I'm asking you to find someone who needs you, and offer to help. I'll say it again: If you're not in trouble, help someone who is.

We all want to succeed. And I'll let you in on a secret: We all can succeed. If you don't use drugs, you can be anything you want to be. Maybe you've heard Michael Jordan say, "You've got at least three-quarters of your life to go. That's three more lifetimes to you. So don't blow it." Saying no won't make you a nerd. It won't make you a loser. In fact, it will make you more friends than drugs ever will—real friends.

But if that's not enough reason, there's another side: Using illegal drugs is against the law. And if you break the law, you pay the price. Because the rules have changed. If you do drugs you will be caught, and when you're caught you will be punished. You might lose your driver's license—some States have started revoking users' driving privileges. Or you might lose the college loan you wanted—because we're not helping those who break the law. These are privileges, not rights. And if you risk doing drugs, you risk everything, even your freedom. Because you will be punished.

Now, I can imagine a few whispers out there: Maybe you think we'll never get drugs under control, that it's too easy for the dealers to get back on the street. Well, those days are over, too. The revolving door just jammed. Some think there won't be room for them in jail. We'll make room. We're almost doubling prison space. Some think there aren't enough prosecutors. We'll hire them, with the largest increase in Federal prosecutors in history. The day of the dealer is drawing to a close.

No matter who you are or how strong you are, drugs take control of your life. Though without drugs, you're in control. You can determine your future, and that means staying in school. If you're thinking about dropping out, think it through. Maybe you know somebody who wants to quit school. Talk to them about it. And if you have friends who have already dropped out, talk to them, too. Find a way to bring them back.

Today, I've asked you to think about the terrible cost drugs are making us all pay every day. But even more important, I'm asking you to think about what you can do to make a difference for someone else. Last winter, after I was sworn in as President, I said that from now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others, helping others. And I hope you all believe that.

There's a story about a young boy and an old man who were walking along a beach. And as they walked, the boy picked up each starfish he passed and threw it into the sea. The old man asked him why.

"If I left them here," the boy said, "they would dry up in the sun and die. I'm saving their lives." "But the beach goes on for miles and there are millions of starfish," the old man said. "How can what you're doing make any difference at all?" And the boy looked at the starfish in his hand, threw it out into the ocean and answered, "It makes a difference to this one."

You're here to make a difference, for yourself and those around you. So learn to count on each other. Take care of each other. Give someone else another chance. And make the days mean something. Have a good year, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. from the Library at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide television. In his remarks, he referred to professional basketball player Michael Jordan of the Chicago Bulls.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Boris Yeltsin of the Soviet Union

September 12, 1989

General Scowcroft met with Boris Yeltsin for approximately 1 hour. Also attending the meeting was Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates. The President dropped by for approximately 15 minutes to greet Mr. Yeltsin. The President mentioned the drug speech he was about to deliver to American students and the problem that drugs have created throughout the world. The President and Mr. Yeltsin both agreed that drugs are a major problem that touches on both American and Soviet societies.

The President said that there is much interest in Mr. Yeltsin's visit. He expressed his view that the overall bilateral relationship is in good shape. In this connection, the President noted his very positive relationship with General Secretary Gorbachev and reiterated his support for *perestroika*. The President emphasized that the American people share his hope for the success of the reform movement in the Soviet Union.

In his general discussion with General Scowcroft and Mr. Gates, Mr. Yeltsin provided his evaluation of the progress of *perestroika*. The Vice President also dropped by to greet Mr. Yeltsin.

Note: Boris N. Yeltsin was a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet, and Brent Scowcroft was Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Nomination of Mary Sterling To Be an Assistant Secretary of Labor

September 12, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mary Sterling to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor Management Standards. She would succeed Salvatore R. Martoche.

Since 1988 Ms. Sterling has served as an attorney with the law firm of McDowell, Rice and Smith in Kansas City, MO. Prior to this, she served as executive director of the Bush-Quayle campaign for the State of Missouri, 1988. In addition, she has served in several positions at the United States Department of Justice: White House fellow and Special Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, 1987–1988; organized crime prosecutor in the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section, 1985–1986; and an Assistant United States Attorney in the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Western District of Missouri, 1982–1985. Ms. Sterling also served as an associate with Watson, Ess, Marshall and Enggas in Kansas City, MO., 1980–1982.

Ms. Sterling graduated from Harvard University (A.B., 1976), Ohio State University (M.A., 1977), and New York University School of Law (J.D., 1980). She was born September 4, 1955, in Pioneer, OH. She is married and resides in Kansas City, MO.

Nomination of William James Tattersall To Be an Assistant Secretary of Labor

September 12, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William James Tattersall to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety and Health. He would succeed David Courtland O'Neal.

Since 1979 he has served as Deputy Secretary General of the International Iron and Steel Institute in Brussels, Belgium. Prior to this, he served in several capacities at the Bethlehem Steel Corp. in Bethlehem, PA, including manager for State government affairs, 1975–1979; labor counsel and assistant to the vice president of mining, 1970–1975; and senior labor attorney in the industrial relations department, 1967–1973.

Mr. Tattersall graduated from Moravian College (B.A., 1960) and De Paul University School of Law (J.D., 1966). He served in the U.S. Army, 1952–1954. He was born May 11, 1932, in Wilkes Barre, PA. He is married, has three children, and resides in Pennsylvania.

Nomination of Barbara Zartman To Be Deputy Director of the Peace Corps

September 12, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Barbara Zartman to be Deputy Director of the Peace Corps. She would succeed Edward A. Curran.

Mrs. Zartman served as the New York State cochairperson for George Bush for President, 1988, and chairman of the Monroe County Republican Committee, 1985–1988. Prior to this, she served as campaign director for Jill Emery for Congress, 1984, and vice-chairman of the Monroe County Republican Committee, 1978–1981.

Mrs. Zartman was born August 20, 1943, in Jersey City, NJ. She has six children and resides in Rochester, NY.

Remarks at the National Hispanic Heritage Presidential Tribute Dinner

September 12, 1989

Thank you very, very much for that warm welcome. Hey, listen, you've got to eat, too. Cathi—what a great U.S. Treasurer Cathi Villalpando's going to be. I'll tell you, I'm just so proud of her. And I am delighted to be here. I see so many distinguished

United States Senators here: I understand that one of the honorees is Orrin Hatch; and Senator Warner is here with us; Senator Connie Mack, from Florida; Pete Wilson was to be. And I want to salute them. And if I might be accorded a special privilege, I understand there is another former Senator with us tonight, a very special friend and a man who has shown the way in terms of equity for all Americans. And I'm thinking of my own former Senator, Senator John Tower, who is out there someplace—there he is.

And we're honored to have the Ambassador from our great neighbor here, Ambassador Petricioli. Please stand up so they can see you once more. I'll tell you, I don't believe—and I say this with tribute to him and to President Salinas—I don't believe we've ever had better relationships than we have with Mexico today. And I'm determined to keep it that way and make it even better. And this Ambassador is going to be doing a lot of the heavy lifting, I'll tell you.

You see, Bob Estrada was here, and so many others. I am delighted that Lee Atwater is here. He does not have to sing, and that—[*laughter*]—some rejoice in that and others feel deprived. [*Laughter*] But do what you want; I'm leaving right after I give a speech here. So if Atwater plays, why, you're lucky. I'm grateful that Manuel Lujan, a friend of longstanding, a guy that I served with in the Congress, is our Secretary of the Interior, and he's doing an outstanding job.

I know there are many members of the House here—House of Representatives—and those that have taken a very special interest in the National Hispanic Assembly. And I'm grateful to each and every one of them. I'm pleased, also, to be joined by John Sununu. And I want to tell you how lucky we are to have him. When he gets upset that I don't understand source codes and thermonuclear physics, he lapses off into Spanish hoping maybe he can get me on the same wavelength—[*laughter*]—but a versatile Chief of Staff who is doing a superb job.

As I say, I mentioned Orrin. You appropriately are going to honor him later on, so I won't say any more. But he is the Chairman of the Republican Senate Task Force on Hispanic Affairs, and you are appropriately honoring him for his efforts on behalf of the Hispanic community.

Like you, I know many of you had a chance to get away on vacation, and I heard some allusion to mine here. Before I go any further, I want to put an end to the rumor, ugly rumor that's making the rounds since I was up in Maine about a covert amphibious operation off the coast of the American Northeast. [*Laughter*] There is no truth to the rumor that the bluefish I finally caught was hooked on the line by a Navy frogman—not true, not true at all. [*Laughter*]

Actually, about Lee, what a job he's doing as chairman of the Republican National Committee. Really, it is outstanding. In addition to being the Andres Segovia of the Republican Party—but actually, the tunes Lee likes to play aren't always music to everyone's ears. I hear Lee asked Orrin Hatch, "If I bring my guitar tonight, would you have any special requests?" Orrin said, "Yes, just one. Don't play it." [*Laughter*]

Let me say that I am deeply honored to meet with all of you. I knew for fact-certain 15 years ago when I was in Lee's job, when I was Chairman of the National Committee, that the time had come for the Hispanic Assembly. And we started it. And over the years, I've watched with admiration all of the energy that you've devoted to advancing the Republican cause. And it is a source of great pride to be able to feel, that at least on that one, I was in there at the beginning with so many men and women right here in this room.

As Lee said in saluting my beloved daughter-in-law [Columba Bush], honoring her for what she has done, all of you have made the 1980's a time of great pride for Hispanic Americans. And I'm honored to enjoy the advice and counsel I mentioned—of one Cabinet officer that I mentioned, Manuel Lujan, but certainly of another of Hispanic descent, and I'm talking about Larry Cavazos.

Just one week ago, we welcomed someone else to Washington, and she's with us here tonight. And I am so proud of Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and for her victory down there in Florida—the first Cuban-American to serve in Congress and the 12th American of Hispanic heritage in the 101st Congress, and she's here tonight. And I can tell you after just 1 week: She is going to be a tiger. She is going to be a force to be reckoned with on Capitol Hill and, boy, do we need her up there for good, common sense. But I look at her election, and I see it as just one more indication of the fact that Hispanic-Americans have made it into the mainstream and that more and more are choosing the Republican Party. For everyone in this room tonight, that's the ultimate victory that we're fighting for.

I want to thank Lee again, who's dedicated to making our party the party of outreach and inclusion—it's driving the Democrat Party right up a wall, the way he is reaching out and bringing people in and opening doors that have been regrettably closed. But what he's trying to do, and where we're all trying to help him, is build it on mainstream values. And I want all Hispanic-Americans to know that they have a home in the Republican Party.

And tonight, I want to announce two more talented individuals that I've asked to join my administration. I will nominate Velma Montoya to serve on the Occupational Safety and Health Administration Review Commission, and Adis Maria Vila as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture—two more distinguished appointments.

And last week I spoke to the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce—a meeting that I love to attend and have attended before, but this was their annual meeting, this time in New Orleans. And I talked about the extraordinary accomplishments of the entrepreneurs—Hispanic entrepreneurs. And you could feel it in this crowd. The enthusiasm there was absolutely electric, and the contribution these businessmen and women are making to the American economy cannot be measured in terms of the gross national product alone. They understand that they are role models to the next generation of Hispanic-Americans—tangible proof that every door is open and success is within their reach. And the successes we see really come as no surprise.

The values of this community are the very founding values of this nation and of the Republican Party. Faith and family, hard work and individual responsibility, respect for others, and above all, an abiding love of freedom—those are all the ingredients that anyone ever needs to succeed, anywhere, from the streets of San Antonio or Miami to the halls of Congress, or at the President's table as an officer in the Cabinet.

Our nation and our party need your contributions. And tonight is a night to take pride in all that you've done, and to take home with you a commitment to write the next chapter in the success story of Hispanic-American achievement. Once again, thank you for all you are doing. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 7:42 p.m. in the Regency Ballroom of the Omni Shoreham Hotel.

Message on the Observance of National Hispanic Heritage Month, 1989

September 11, 1989

I am delighted to extend my warmest greetings and congratulations to the members of the Hispanic American community as you celebrate National Hispanic Heritage Month, September 15–October 15, 1989.

Perhaps no single ethnic group has had as profound an impact upon our Nation as Hispanic Americans. From the days of the first explorers in what is now Florida, Texas, and California, the Hispanic peoples have played a major role in taming this vast country and developing its abundant resources. Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, and other men and women of Hispanic descent have not only demonstrated the power of individual enterprise but also added to the cultural diversity that so enriches American life.

Today, Hispanic Americans continue to be leaders and pioneers—in education, government, business, science, sports, and the arts. Every day, in communities across the United States, they remind their fellow Americans of the meaning of determination and hard work, as well as the importance of faith and devotion to one's family. The values passed from generation to generation in Hispanic American families are values central to the American experience, and our Nation is all the stronger because these individuals have recognized the importance of caring for one's neighbor, obtaining a good education, participating in one's church, and exercising one's rights as a citizen.

This month provides a wonderful opportunity for all of us to celebrate both our Nation's Hispanic Heritage and the beliefs that unite us. I encourage all Americans to take part.

Barbara joins me in offering Hispanic Americans best wishes for a memorable celebration and for every future happiness and success. God bless you, and God bless America.

GEORGE BUSH

Note: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 13.

Remarks on Signing the Drug Abuse Resistance Education Day Proclamation

September 13, 1989

First, let me thank the three presenters. It's not easy to get up in front of a big, scary audience like this and do such a good job, say what's on your heart, not worry if people agree with you or not, but recognizing that there's a common theme here that you all did a beautiful job on, and that is: Turn your back on drugs. And thank you very much for that presentation.

To Officer Morales from California and his counterpart, Officer Chapman from the east coast, this "Hands Across the Continent" that we saw here today says something about D.A.R.E. and its national nature. To Chief Gates, my respected friend; the Deputy Chief, Mr. Levant; and of course Mr. Shapell—he epitomizes the old adage that if you want to get a big job done, get a busy man to do it—and a successful one at that. And so, we're grateful to him for this, being one of the million Points of Light out there willing to give of his time to support a worthwhile program.

Barbara is a late starter for this event, but when I told her that Daryl was here for the D.A.R.E. program, she changed her schedule to be with us, and I am delighted she is because she feels so strongly about what you're doing. So, let me welcome you to America's house, where today we reaffirm our commitment to stop the scourge which threatens every American.

Fifty years ago, about, Winston Churchill said, "Without victory, there is no survival." America's enemy then was the tyranny of totalitarianism. Today, America has another enemy and that is the tyranny of drug use. And that's why, last week, I did announce, as Daryl said, America's first comprehensive national strategy to wage all-out war against the tyranny of drugs—an almost $8 billion effort, the largest increase in history. But we must have your help, too. And you know something? I am convinced we're going to get it, because perhaps no one has manned more front lines than the hundreds of dedicated Americans who form the ranks of D.A.R.E.—Drug Abuse Resistance Education. You talk of values—and we heard that here today—of right and wrong, and teach kids to do good and reject evil by avoiding drugs and by then opposing drugs.

Perhaps Daryl Gates put it best when he himself said, "Rather than just offering slogans, D.A.R.E. teaches children how to deal with peer pressure." Good words, sensible words. And this front-line police chief ought to know. He cofounded D.A.R.E. 6 years ago when 10 police officers were assigned as drug abuse instructors right there in the Los Angeles city schools—all veterans, all with street experience, all with unmatched credibility. And those officers were mentors, telling kids the truth about alcohol and drugs, showing them how to make decisions and how to resist peer pressure, providing alternatives to drug use—and they were pioneers. And you got a little sample of that from hearing Officer Morales here today—pioneers of a program which has become a model for other cities—a program which shows kids how to say no, but even more, to say yes to life.

I've watched the D.A.R.E. program in action. I saw it. I was there—attended a school class where an officer reached out to the kids. I know that it works. And I was terribly impressed, and it made a lasting impression on me as we formulated our policies here.

D.A.R.E. approaches most students early in life when they're 9 to 11 years old, the age most vulnerable to peer pressure, and another D.A.R.E. program confronts older kids with potential drug problems. But whatever the age, the goal is clear: to show, on the one hand, how the road marked tomorrow is wide open; and on the other, how drugs are the deadest of dead-ends.

A seventh-grader named Kevin knows about dead-ends and so does his D.A.R.E. teacher, Officer Mark Caswell. Caswell has been in the L.A. Police Department for 11 years, first on street patrol and then with D.A.R.E. He joined this group for the simplest of reasons—he could help save lives, and one of whose was Kevin's. Kevin wrote to D.A.R.E. officials and told them that on his way home, two kids—two boys—offered him drugs. And he told them that he didn't use any kind of drugs. And then he moved over to another seat on the bus. And as Kevin said, "Thank you, D.A.R.E., for showing us the ways to say no to drugs." What a wonderful tribute—small, perhaps, but what a glowing tribute to Officer Caswell. He, like others involved in D.A.R.E., should be very proud of those words.

And millions of Americans who are following Kevin's lead—they, too, are rejecting the dead-end of drug use. In 50,000 classrooms in 49 States and the U.S. Department of Defense schools worldwide—in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, American Samoa—D.A.R.E. is teaching elementary and junior high kids to resist peer pressure, and this year, reaching 3 million kids in all.

In D.A.R.E. districts, school vandalism and truancy are down. So is ethic [ethnic] tensions and gang activity. Work habits and grades are up, and so is the mental attitude that makes progress possible. According to a Los Angeles-based independent research organization, D.A.R.E. students perform 50 percent better than nonprogram students in post tests to measure student drug use knowledge and attitudes. These kids have dared to excel, and they are succeeding. And so far, so good—and yet, so far to go.

In my speech last week, I talked of stopping drug use before it starts through education and prevention in the cities and towns, through church, family, and the schools. And then I asked, "Who's responsible?" Everyone who uses drugs, everyone who sells drugs, and everyone who looks the other way—that's who is responsible. My friends, you haven't looked the other way. You are involved, for your sake and America's. And we, too, will be involved. Whether in prevention or treatment, we'll be there to help people stay clean and to get clean. Our new strategy calls for a 25-percent funding increase, or an additional $233 million, for prevention and education, and a 53-percent increase of $321 million for drug treatment. Any American who wants help should be able to find help. So let us finish the job D.A.R.E. has started and create an America we can all be proud of—an America free from drugs.

Thank you so very much for coming to the White House and for your generosity and, in most cases here, your inspired leadership. God bless you and the work of this wonderful organization. And now, I'm very pleased to sign the proclamation declaring tomorrow National D.A.R.E. Day.

Well, I guess that does it. Nice to see you, sir. Let me thank these officers.

Note: The President spoke at 10:13 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Officers Louis Morales and Nathan Shapell, Chief Daryl Gates, and Deputy Chief Glenn A. Levant of the Los Angeles Police Department, and Detective Patricia Chapman of the Arlington County, VA, Police Department. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Nomination of Donald Belton Ayer To Be Deputy Attorney General

September 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald Belton Ayer to be Deputy Attorney General. He would succeed Harold G. Christensen.

Since 1988 Mr. Ayer has served as a partner with the law firm of Jones, Day, Reavis and Pogue in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Principal Deputy and Counselor to Solicitor General Charles Fried, 1986–1988; United States Attorney for the Eastern District of California in Sacramento, 1981; and Assistant United States Attorney for the Northern District of California.

Mr. Ayer graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1971), Harvard University (M.A., 1973), and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1975). He was born April 30, 1949, in San Mateo, CA. He is married, has two children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Continuation of Richard T. Kennedy as Ambassador at Large

September 13, 1989

The President today announced that Richard T. Kennedy will continue to serve as Ambassador at Large.

Since 1982 Ambassador Kennedy, appointed by former President Reagan, has served as Ambassador at Large. In this capacity he serves as Special Advisor to the Secretary of State on Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy and Nuclear Energy Affairs. Since 1981 he has served as the U.S. Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna. He served as Under Secretary of State for Management, 1980–1981, and as President-elect Reagan's transition team leader at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1980–1981. Ambassador Kennedy served as Commissioner of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1976–1980; Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Council Planning, 1969–1975; and Director, Africa Region, International Security Affairs at the Department of Defense, 1965–1969.

Ambassador Kennedy graduated from the University of Rochester (B.A.) and Harvard University (M.B.A.). He served in the U.S. Army, 1941–1971, and was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Army Commendation Medal. Ambassador Kennedy was born December 24, 1919, in Rochester, NY. He is married and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Adis Maria Vila To Be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

September 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Adis Maria Vila to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Administration. She would succeed John J. Franke, Jr.

Since 1987 Ms. Vila has served as secretary at the department of administration for the State of Florida in Tallahassee, FL. Prior to this, she served as Director of the Office of Mexico and the Caribbean Basin at the Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration, 1986–1987; special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, 1983–1986; White House fellow in the Office of Public Liaison in the White House, 1982–1983; and an associate with the firm of Paul and Thomson in Miami, FL, 1979–1982.

Ms. Vila graduated from Rollins College (B.A., 1974), the University of Florida College of Law (J.D., 1978), and the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva, Switzerland (LL.M., 1981). She was born August 1, 1953, in Guines, Cuba. Ms. Vila currently resides in Tallahassee, FL.

Continuation of Richard W. Carlson as an Associate Director of the United States Information Agency

September 13, 1989

The President today announced that Richard W. Carlson will continue to serve as an Associate Director of the U.S. Information Agency for Broadcasting.

Since 1986 Mr. Carlson has served as the Director of the Voice of America in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Director of the Office of Public Liaison of the U.S. Information Agency; consultant for Communication Management, Inc., of Beverly Hills, CA, 1977–1985; senior vice president at Great American First and director of San Diego Federated Insurance Co., 1977–1984; political editor of KABC–TV in Los Angeles, CA, 1971–1975; and principal anchorman for KFMB–TV in San Diego, CA, 1975–1977.

Mr. Carlson served in the U.S. Navy Reserve as a midshipman, 1959–1965. He was born February 10, 1941, in Boston, MA. He is married, has two children and one stepchild, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of William P. Glade To Be an Associate Director of the United States Information Agency

September 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William P. Glade to be an Associate Director of the U.S. Information Agency for Educational and Cultural Affairs. He would succeed Mark N. Blitz.

Since 1970 Dr. Glade has served as a professor of economics at the University of Texas at Austin. Prior to this, he served in various capacities at the University of Wisconsin: professor of business and economics, 1966–1971; associate professor of commerce and economics, 1964–1966; associate professor of commerce and Hispanic studies, 1963–1964; and assistant professor of commerce and Hispanic studies, 1960–1963. In addition, he has served as an assistant professor of economics at the University of Maryland, 1957–1960; and a teaching fellow in economics at the University of Texas, 1953–1955.

Dr. Glade graduated from the University of Texas (B.B.A., 1950; M.A., 1951; Ph.D., 1955). He was born July 29, 1929, in Wichita Falls, TX. He is married, has four children, and resides in Austin, TX.

Nomination of Velma Montoya To Be a Member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission

September 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Velma Montoya to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for the remainder of the term expiring April 27, 1991. She would succeed Robert E. Rader, Jr.

Since 1988 Dr. Montoya has served as an associate professor of finance for the School of Business Administration at California State Polytechnic University in Pomona, CA. Prior to this, she served as president of the Hispanic American Public Policy Institute, 1984; an adjunct professor at the Pepperdine University School of Business and Management, 1987–1988; director of studies in public policy and associate professor of political economy at Chapman College, School of Business and Management, 1985–1987; and an expert economist for the Office of Regulatory Analysis, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, at the Department of Labor, 1983–1985. In addition, she has served as the Assistant Director for Strategy for the White House Office of Policy Development in the Executive Office of the President, 1982–1983; and as a staff economist for the RAND Corp. in Santa Monica, CA, 1973–1982.

Dr. Montoya graduated from St. Hugh's College, Oxford University Occidental College (B.A., 1959), Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (M.A., 1960), Stanford University (M.A., 1966), and the University of California at Los Angeles (Ph.D., 1977). She was born April 9, 1938, in Los Angeles, CA. She is married, has one child, and resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Remarks Announcing Proposed Legislation on Special-Needs Adoption

September 13, 1989

First, welcome to the White House. And I'm especially pleased to have these distinguished and very interested Members of both bodies, Senate and the House, with us today—so many noble leaders in our effort to encourage adoption. And they're leaders not because they tell others what needs to be done but because they themselves provide homes for orphans. And as I look about the room, I see and pay tribute to Reverend Clemens, Susan Freivalds, Jane Edwards, and others who are good samaritans in the adoption movement.

And those who adopt are given far more than they receive. And Barbara and I know that because we are blessed by one adopted grandchild. Few realize that Congress of the United States is a great source of encouragement to the adoption movement. More than 50 Members of the Congress are members of this adoption coalition, an informal group dedicated to encourage adoption. And their leaders—several of them couldn't be with us—but most here with us today, many of whom are adoptive parents. I know Senator Bentsen, who couldn't be with us, is one of those. Senator Humphrey is also the proud father of two adopted children.

And we don't merely want to pay tribute to those already part of the adoption movement. We are here to take action to encourage more Americans to adopt—and to adopt children with physical, mental, and emotional disabilities. Right now, more than 30,000 American children are legally available for adoption, and many of these are children with special needs. And some are physically or emotionally handicapped, some are members of sibling groups that need to be placed in the same home, and some are minority children.

And today we're sending to the Congress two legislative proposals to encourage adoption. The Members of Congress who are with us today have agreed to sponsor the legislation and to seek their swift approval in the Congress of the United States. The legislation is simple. The first bill will provide a $3,000 tax deduction to families for certain nonrecurring costs associated with the adoption of a special-needs child. And the second bill will create a 4-year demonstration program for Federal employees. Federal civilian employees who adopt a special-needs child will be reimbursed up to $2,000 for nonrecurring expenses.

And I hope that this program, demonstration program, will serve as a model for the private sector to offer—for their employers to offer similar benefits to their employees. I'm happy to be able to say that many companies are involved, many have done this already. These two bills are important steps in the effort to encourage adoption in America. And believe me, this is not the last you will hear from our administration about adoption.

I've directed the Cabinet to make adoption a high priority and instructed my Domestic Policy Council to develop the adoption initiatives that we're announcing here today. And I've also directed all Federal agencies to develop plans for supporting and promoting adoption, including providing the maximum flexibility to allow leave for employees who want to adopt. And we will continue to promote adoption in the future.

These two proposals—legislative proposals—will make a contribution toward solving one of America's most difficult and saddest problems: the children with special needs who have no loving family of their own.

I want to thank you all very much for coming down here. Let's get these bills enacted into law. And thank you all for your leadership very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:11 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. George Clemens of One Church, One Child; Susan Freivalds of Adoptive Families of America; and Jane Edwards of Spence Chapin Service.

Appointment of David H. Sudderth, Jr., as a Member of the American Battle Monuments Commission

September 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Brig. Gen. David H. Sudderth, Jr., as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission. He would succeed William E. Hickey.

Since 1974 General Sudderth has served as program development manager for marketing in the Saudi Arabian program office of the Missile Systems Division at the Raytheon Co. in Andover, MA. Prior to this, General Sudderth served as Infantry company commander, Artillery battery commander, Chief of Air Defense Artillery Personnel, Commanding General 31st Artillery Brigade and Deputy J3 (Operations) North American Air Defense Command. He served in the U.S. Army (private to general officer) for 28 years with extensive decorations, including the World War II Victory Medal, the Presidential Unit Citation, and the Distinguished Service Medal. General Sudderth retired from the U.S. Army in 1974.

General Sudderth graduated from the University of Maryland (B.S., 1954), the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and the U.S. Air War College. He was born June 4, 1923, in Leesburg, FL. General Sudderth is married, has two children, and currently resides in Salem, NH.

Remarks on Signing the National Historically Black Colleges Week Proclamation

September 13, 1989

I'm delighted that you all could be with us, particularly these two Secretaries and our distinguished Members of Congress. Many of you all were here in April when I signed the new Presidential Executive order on historically black colleges and universities, so it's good to welcome you back. And, as I say, I'm delighted to be flanked by two very able members of my Cabinet, Secretary Lou Sullivan and Secretary Lauro Cavazos. I want to thank Senator Strom Thurmond and Congressman Spence—I guess were the primary cosponsors—and certainly Congressman Conte and Senator Hatch.

Most of you have come to Washington to participate in this week's conference sponsored by the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. The signing of this proclamation to commemorate the National Black Colleges Week is perhaps a fitting way, since you're here for the other, to conclude the visit to the Nation's Capital.

And, as you know, I've been committed to historically black colleges and universities for over 40 years, since Bill Trent enlisted me in the cause back in 1947, I think it was, at college. And I am determined to do everything in my power to assist and to help keep black colleges strong. I know we can reach that goal. I feel very confident about that. So keep up the good work that you're doing. Thank you all very much for coming. And now you'll see how government works—this flourish of a pen. But really, I'm so pleased you all are here. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:27 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to William Trent, former president of the United Negro College Fund. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Message on the Observance of the Jewish High Holy Days, 1989

September 13, 1989

As Jews in this country and around the world observe Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, a sense of introspection prevails. These ten days are a time to take stock of past actions and to make resolutions for the year to come.

The liturgy of these High Holy Days recognizes the weaknesses inherent in every human being. Jewish tradition holds that, at this time, each shall be judged by the Creator: "who shall live and who shall die . . . who shall be at ease and who shall wander about . . . who shall be lowered and who shall be raised." Were strict standards of justice to apply, we know that few of us could withstand examination; but those who observe the "Days of Awe" are reminded that neither as individuals nor as communities are we locked into our fates. What one does, what he or she gives to life, does make a difference.

The universal message of the High Holy Days is that each of us can affect both our personal fate and our fate as a community. These Days remind us of the redemptive value of humility and repentence. The Almighty, who judges both those who heed His commandments and those who do not, is also kind and merciful. This message has important meaning for Americans of all faiths.

Barbara joins me in extending best wishes to Jews everywhere as you mark the High Holy Days. May the year 5750 bring us all closer to that day when all the world shares a profound understanding of the Hebrew word for peace. "Shalom" means more than simply the absence of strife; it conveys a sense of wholeness of completeness. Only then will we truly be able to "beat our swords into plowshares." L'Shanah Tova—may you be inscribed in the Book of Life for a good year.

GEORGE BUSH

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Rank Awards

September 14, 1989

Thank you all. Thank you, Connie Newman, and thank you, my two distinguished Cabinet colleagues, Lou Sullivan and Lauro Cavazos, for being here today. I also want to thank at the outset the marvelous music—the United States Marine Corps. They never fail to inspire, and once again my thanks to you, and all of you.

And I do appreciate this warm welcome, your warm greetings. But really we may have this a little backwards today, because, you see, I came over here to applaud you, you of the Senior Executive Service, and you whose leadership helps make possible the continuing success of the world's greatest experiment in freedom and diversity. And I'd like to take a moment to offer my personal thanks again to Connie Newman for the first-class job that she is doing at OPM. And I'm also glad to recognize, as I did a minute ago, these two Cabinet members, Lauro Cavazos and Louis Sullivan. I told them it seems we're going steady lately because we're appearing at so many worthwhile events.

But this is a cheerful occasion, and it's a pleasure to be here, really, to help honor a talented group of public servants whose contributions all too often do go unrewarded. And I'm thinking of the Defense Department official who was waiting for his annual physical when a young doctor struck up a conversation asking about the Pentagon and his job and so on. And the official said he liked his work, but then he launched into a nasty tirade about Washington weather, expensive housing, government pay. And the doctor heard him out and then wrote a few notes on the form. And nervously the official asked: "Did I do something wrong?" "Oh, no," the doctor answered, "you just passed the psychiatric part of the exam." [*Laughter*] But the official then said: "Well, what if I said I had no complaints about the weather or the pay?" And the psychiatrist said: "Well, then we'd have to ask you a few more questions." [*Laughter*]

But it's often said that nobody notices when things go right. Well, I notice the oath of office that each of you has taken is not much different from the oath that I took when I signed up for the United States Navy on my 18th birthday, and not much different from the oath that I've taken as President of the United States. And during the years that link those two events, I've held a lifelong belief in the nobility of public service and a lifetime respect for you who are engaged in this important and honorable work.

And that's why, right after I became President, you were the first group that I met with outside the White House. And 7 months as President have only confirmed what I told you then, that you're one of the most important groups I will ever speak to. And that's why we're back. And that's why we're honoring 63 public servants with the Presidential Rank of Distinguished Executive—the highest number of gold pins ever awarded. We're also very pleased to welcome today's nearly 300 meritorious winners, marking the first time this Presidential ceremony has included this special and very talented group.

All these awards represent a great honor, but they also represent something concrete: cash bonuses totaling more than $4 million. It's a sound investment—an investment in people. And it's an investment in excellence. And it's also money well earned. But the truth is, for too many years, money for the Senior Executive Service itself simply has not matched the high quality of the people and their efforts. And it sure hasn't kept pace with pay scales in the private sector. And that, in my view, is penny wise and pound foolish. An ever-increasing flood of skilled personnel leaving government service has indeed cost America some of her finest servants, and in the process, some of her best ideas.

We're with you in this battle for a fair shake for America's starting team. In July, we submitted legislation to Congress calling for pay increases of up to 25 percent for SES officials, along with higher salaries for positions requiring specialized and critical skills. And the numbers now on the table call for executive schedule compensation of nearly $125,000 and bring the top SES salaries up where they belong. It's not just that you deserve fair wages, America deserves a system that attracts the best in the land. And when we met here last January, I called on you to build a spirit of teamwork between career SES and newly appointed officials. And today we are very pleased with the progress that my administration is making and know that a large part of that success is due to the fact that you've answered that call with energy and, certainly, with good faith.

Our government works because it is made up of people who try to make their lives count—people who try to make a difference. And today we honor 349 who did. People like Wade Houk, whose management of the largest prison construction program in history has backed up law enforcement with something even the drug lords can respect—concrete and steel. And Stanley Laskowski of EPA, who will soon be returning to Poland as part of our pledge to provide environmental assistance abroad. Our commitment to a new era of educational excellence would be impossible without leaders like Mary Jean Le Tendre, who administers programs active in 75 percent of America's elementary schools and who helped develop that Nation at Risk report. And many of you have far-flung responsibilities almost epic in distance and time, like NASA's Richard Petersen, whose programs range from understanding global warming to the basic research needed to take us back to the Moon and to Mars and beyond.

There's never enough time to single out each of you, but there is time for me to say that I am proud to be leading a government served by the likes of you. And I will be proud to shake your hands when we finish. And before leaving, I do want to mention something very close to my heart, and that's community service—and to salute your efforts to give something back to society.

For example, one of today's distinguished executives, John Mullen of AID, showed leadership and initiative after the Armenian earthquake struck, cutting redtape to help speed private relief efforts for the victims. Over at Interior, they've launched the Take Pride in America campaign, coordinating volunteers to protect and enhance our natural resources. The Department of Transportation has bridged generations by adopting both a senior citizens home and an elementary school, enriching the lives of both young and old. Back at the White House, our staff is encouraged to sign up for at least one volunteer project each month, whether repairing low-income housing or answering phones for last week's telethon—you know, the muscular dystrophy telethon. And these kinds of initiatives are vital to our progress as a nation in our fight against homelessness, illiteracy, hunger, loneliness, and so many other social problems.

And so, I urge you, as I did America's business leaders in June, to make community service central to your daily life and work. The theme of my administration is building a better America, and with commitment, imagination, and sometimes daring, you strive to do that every day and have for years—not because of glamour or power, and certainly not for the pay. You do it because you believe it and because it is the right thing to do.

It's an exciting time to be serving America. The world is changing, and it's changing in part because America has stood steadfast as a beacon, a shining modern example of a system that works and of a people committed to doing the right thing.

Congratulations! You do really have my admiration, my respect, and my support. God bless each of you, and God bless the America that you serve so well. Thank you very much for letting me come.

Note: The President spoke at 2:08 p.m. at Constitution Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Constance B. Newman, Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

Statement on Food and Commodity Assistance to Poland

September 14, 1989

I am pleased to announce today that the United States will offer to provide additional food and commodity aid to the Polish people. Subject to consultations with the Polish Government, we are prepared to offer an additional $50 million in assistance in FY 90. This amount would be in addition to the $50 million already announced on August 1st. Together with the $8.4 million in emergency food aid in FY 89, this new aid brings to $108.4 million the total of U.S. food/commodity assistance. Our effort works in tandem with the $140 million of agricultural aid pledged by the EC as part of the coordinated effort called for by the United States at the recent Paris economic summit. We expect to offer quantities of meat, corn, butter, butter oil, cotton seed/sunflower oil, cotton, rice, and/or other commodities.

It is intended that the food aid will support long-term reform of the Polish agricultural system by providing much needed commodities during a transitional period toward a market economy. The food shortages and extremely high prices in Poland in recent weeks have placed a heavy burden on the Polish people. We expect that shipments of the new assistance will arrive in time for the difficult winter months.

This new assistance is one element of our continuing effort, working with our allies and others, to support the process of change that is underway in Poland. It underscores our continuing commitment to assist the Polish Government and people in their efforts to introduce market principles and to build a private sector that will enable Poland to invigorate its economy.

Memorandum on Emergency Food Assistance to Developing Countries

September 14, 1989

Memorandum for the Secretary of Agriculture

Subject: Food Security Wheat Reserve

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the Food Security Wheat Reserve Act of 1980 (the "Act")

(7 U.S.C. 1736f–1) and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, I hereby delegate to the Secretary of Agriculture the authority to release up to 2 million metric tons of wheat from the reserve established under the Act (the "reserve"), in addition to any quantity of wheat previously authorized to be released from the reserve, to provide, on a sale or donation basis, emergency food assistance to developing countries under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1691 *et seq.*) when domestic supplies of wheat are so limited that quantities of wheat cannot meet the availability criteria of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

The Secretary shall consult with the agencies comprising the Food Aid Subcommittee of the Development Coordination Committee (Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, State, and the Treasury, the Agency for International Development, the National Security Council, the Office of Management and Budget, and the White House Special Assistant for Agricultural Trade and Food Assistance) with respect to the use of the wheat released from the reserve.

This memorandum shall be published in the *Federal Register.*

GEORGE BUSH

Note: The memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 15.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Luncheon for Regional Editors and Broadcasters

September 15, 1989

The President. Well, welcome to the White House. And before taking your questions, which I'll be glad to receive, I just wanted to say welcome. I hope that your briefings this morning were interesting, and I'm delighted to follow on. I brought some experts along in case I stumble and fall—not an unlikely happening in this highly complicated world we're living in. But I'm pleased to have several of our very top advisers with me at this lunch.

Two items of immediate administration interests—and hopefully national interest: Drugs and education have the highest priorities as issues of concern to the American people. And we've laid out a national drug strategy. We had a chance to talk about it a little at our table here, to deal with the scourge of drugs over the long term. And it's a complex strategy in which all pieces fit together in a reinforcing way. We're attacking the use of drugs, the supply of drugs, the law enforcement problems, and then the international aspects of this question. In addition, we've suggested a funding program of about $8 billion—making it an $8 billion effort. And we believe that we've accommodated this kind of spending, which incidentally is a substantial increase, without jeopardizing either the national security interests or without having to raise taxes on the working men and women of this country.

Under Bob Dole's leadership up in the Senate, we are about to engage in detailed discussions with the Democratic leadership in the Congress. And as I said earlier, we're flexible in terms of the funding method, but I strongly believe that we must retain the integrated elements of this drug strategy, which took more than 6 months to develop. And we can't afford to sacrifice our military preparedness. And you know what I mean by that. Whenever there's a demand for more funds, somebody says we'll simply take it out of the Defense budget. And we're in complicated times; we're in interesting times vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. And we've got a good national security budget, and we've got a good national security strategy. And I view protecting that as a prime responsibility of the President of the United States. So, our military, incidentally, is an integral part of this drug strategy—drug effort.

The other issue is this education summit that will be convened on September 27th and 28th in Charlottesville. We've invited the Nation's Governors to come together for a 2-day period to focus on the educational system, a system which is not—in spite of the money being spent per capita—is not making the grade. And in a recent comparison of 13-year-old students in the United States and 11 other countries, the United States placed last in math and near the bottom in science. And we're spending more money on education than most other countries and, frankly, getting less in terms of our investment. So, in summary, the results are not there. And the educational system is basically well-fed, but it's undernourished. And we must find innovative, accountable ways to improve performance.

I was asked here, why the Governors, and what about the role of these professionals that are quite knowledgeable? But in my view, the Governors are the most knowledgeable political leadership in terms of education experience. And I am looking to share new ideas in a number of areas, including teacher recruitment and retention; how to instill a drug-free and crime-free environment in our schools; increasing choice—I'm a great believer in increased choice for parents and students—and the role of the Federal, State, and local governments in meeting the educational needs. All these topics will, I'm sure, be discussed. And we're going to have some roll-up-your-sleeve meetings. Hopefully, the outcome will be new ideas that can help us develop national educational goals and objectives. I'm not sure we've had that before.

And let me just say that before coming over here, and I don't know that you—maybe you've been briefed on these. There were some new economic statistics released today. Good news! Producer prices declined in August for the third month in a row. The principal reason was a decline in energy prices. And the PPI dropped .4 percent in July, .1 percent in June. Industrial production rose .3 percent in August—some rebound in the coal and auto industries. And then the merchandise trade deficit—which continues to plague us—but that deficit declined in July to $7.6 billion. And that was the smallest deficit since December of 1984. Imports fell $1 billion, while exports were off .6 percent.

So, on the net basis, the situation was improved. And I would add that the economy continues to go forward. I think in October it will be the longest expansion, if you will, in the history of the United States. And so, I'm not totally relaxed on all corners of the economy—on all quarters, but basically, why, it continues to produce jobs for the American people.

Now I'll be glad to take questions.

War on Drugs

Q. Street agents in the DEA, FBI, ATF, and so forth tell us that they've developed good working relationships in the fight against drugs, but that frequently their efforts to do a combined effort are hampered by the conflicting investigative priorities of the various Federal law enforcement agencies. What do you see being done to try to pull that effort together on a policy level among various Federal law enforcement agencies?

The President. One of the roles of the drug czar, Bill Bennett, is coordination. And we have had meetings around our Cabinet table to try to cope with bureaucratic competition that exists. I can't tell you we've got it whipped. I can tell you we've made progress. But I think from a management standpoint the drug czar, with the full confidence of the President, offers the best hope to be able to have us minimize, if not eliminate, the rivalries that sometimes have adversely affected the concerted effort.

But I do think it's a little better. I know it's not solved, because even in my line of work you hear directly from some of the various agents in the various Departments. So, I know we've still got some work ahead, but the answer would be the drug czar office. But to get that to work, because he is not statutorily in the Cabinet, he has to have the full support of the President.

Q. We have treatment programs in Columbus who are very anxious about this money—if and when, assuming it does come through—for treatment programs. But some of them are worried about the future. Will this money actually come through? If the Nation, as you say, is so concerned about drugs, why wouldn't the people be willing to go for a tax increase to pay for this, to know that the money is going to come year after year?

The President. Well, I touched on that a little bit because of my desire to see the economy continue and to have more and more jobs for people. And I think a tax increase would be counterproductive in that objective.

But we had this discussion here at this table not on that economic side but on the involvement of others. The Federal Government is not going to solve the treatment problem by itself. Yes, I think the money will be forthcoming, and it won't be enough of it to solve the treatment problem in every community in the country. And so, what does that leave you? It leaves you local government, State government, and involvement of citizens in the lives of others.

And I mentioned—I don't want to bore the people that drew the bean that had them sitting here having lunch with me, but I told them about visiting D.C. General Hospital the other day. And there was a ward full of what they call boarder babies—boarder in the sense that they're boarding, not coming from the border, boarder babies. And that ward was paid for not by the local government, not by the Federal Government, but by ten black mothers that got together. They had been blessed by having things a little better than the mothers that had given birth to these children, and they were taking care of it.

So, It's going to be an all-out effort where, in addition to the Federal Government doing its thing, people are going to have to help.

Q. You don't think people care enough, though, to pay a higher tax?

The President. Well, I don't think it's a question of taxes. I think people want a fiscal policy that is going to keep this recovery that I mentioned going. And I don't know of any economists who would argue that an increase in taxes would encourage the continuation of that. And so, I think we have to do both. We have to have proper revenues—and I think we're getting them—that we can bring to bear on this problem, and then I think we have to involve ourselves in the lives of others.

But you could go out and ask a question: Would you be willing to pay more taxes if you knew it would solve the problem of drugs? I bet you people would say yes. Would you be willing to pay more taxes if you knew you would never have the threat of nuclear war again?—probably say yes to that one. And so, it depends how you ask it.

But we've designed a national strategy that doesn't have to adversely impact the lives of the American working man and woman by raising taxes. And I don't think that there's a great cry out there in the country for more taxes. And they've got a President that doesn't want to raise taxes and is going to work against it, and you've got a President who believes deeply that we've got to stop this drug problem.

Gun Control

Q. Mr. President, I'm Jackie Hayes from WADE-TV in Louisville, Kentucky, where a madman went on a rampage yesterday and killed seven people and then himself. He had an arsenal of weapons, including an AK-47. I know they say guns don't kill people, people do; but why do we allow people to get hold of these weapons and massacre other people? What would you tell those families in Louisville, Kentucky, who don't have a dad, a brother, a mom after what happened yesterday?

The President. I'd tell them I feel horrible about the loss of life. I would tell them I'm from Texas, and I remember in that Texas tower a mad person grabbing, in this case, not an automatic weapon but a hunting rifle and killing a lot of people. And I would tell them that we must do everything we can to enforce laws that are already on the books. I don't know whether Louisville has antiautomatic weapon legislation on its books—a lot of communities do. I would tell them I don't think banning weapons is going to be the ultimate answer or could ever safeguard against that kind of tragedy.

If you have somebody that is deranged—and I don't want to prejudge this poor soul—but if he was deranged, I'm afraid you're going to have incidents like this. And it is terrible, and the loss of human life is horrible; but I have seen no evidence that a law banning a specific weapon is going to guard against it.

So, my view is: Do everything you can in terms of education, do everything you can in terms of enforcing your laws that are on the handbooks. And let me diverge for 1 minute, because I remember back in the sixties, when I was a Member of Congress, and I took my arsenal down to be registered down here at the DC police headquarters. And the guy looked at me like I'd lost my mind. And it was the second-to-last day of registration. And I had a .22 and .410. And I'm a hunter, and I like that. And I gave them the serial numbers, and I said, "How many people have registered?" He said, "We estimate about 11 percent." This was the day before. And I said, "Well, are you getting a lot of criminals to turn their guns in?" He said, "No, it's a bunch of suckers like you from Northwest Washington." And it made a profound impression on me.

War on Drugs

Q. Mr. President, speaking of finding funds for the drug war, an independent group of the National Governors' Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures just reported that primarily, that money is coming from—as a diversion from other grants to States and localities for public housing, immigrant training, EVA programs, and juvenile justice. If that's the case, then aren't we essentially paying for the drug war by taking money away from other important needs?

The President. I don't think it is the case, and I don't think we're paying for it by other important needs. You see, I still am of conviction that there are ways to make the Government more efficient in terms of spending. And we spend a tremendous percentage of our gross national product, a high percentage of our GNP, on Federal. And I think it is much less productive spending in terms of enriching the lives of people. So, what we tried to do is suggest certain offsets, and some of them we said we're flexible on this. We're very flexible on how you, the Congress, decide you want to pay for this; but here's our suggestions. And I don't think any one of them would have decimated the quality of life of the individuals in this country.

Q. Mr. President, the mayor of Philadelphia and other local elected officials are facing a possible $80 million deficit within a budget they've already slashed by $70 million. They took a look at your drug war and said, "It's a great plan, but if you're counting on us for any money, this plan cannot work." Many other good city mayors facing similar budget problems have expressed the same concern. How much of this is going to be passed on to the States and the cities? And if it's a good chunk, as the local officials are saying, how can it work when they have no money?

The President. Well, you're talking to a President who's facing a rather substantial Federal deficit, too, so tell the mayor we're in this thing together. We both have enormous deficits. And I am bound under the law to reduce the deficit, the law being Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. And I can't give you the specific figure—maybe somebody can help me with it—that's to be passed on to the States, but there are funds to go to the States and municipalities. But it isn't going to be solved by the Federal Government alone. It is the first time we have had a national strategy. It is aimed at the four categories I told you about. We will do everything we possibly can to help, but the message is: Everybody has to be in this together. And the Federal Government is facing an enormous budget deficit.

Q. But their answer to that is, "This can't work." Do you——

The President. Well, that's the answer of the cynics. That is the answer of some of the cynics, the reflex critics that say the first time out of the box, raise taxes. That's what some say to every problem we face in this country. And I took the case to the American people last year on that, and I don't think the American taxpayer is undertaxed. And we made a proposal that was received enormously well by the American people—some 70 percent saying they supported this national strategy. And so, we can't do everything we'd like to do. I'm going to protect the interests of the working man and woman in this country by not going out and raising his taxes and still having a strategy that I think is unique and imaginative and will take us an enormous way down the road to solving this drug problem.

Prison Construction Costs

Q. Mr. President, in the State of Illinois, they have spent a half a billion dollars to build 11 prisons—4 more under construction. The county jail in Cook County is fined $1,000 a day for overcrowding. Aren't you saying, sir, that we're going to have to build more jails out in Illinois, but it will have to be paid by raising taxes in Illinois and in Cook County?

The President. Well, I've talked to Governor Thompson, who incidentally signed a rather comprehensive drug bill the day after I announced our strategy—and to me, they dovetail rather nicely But as you know, the Federal Government has certain responsibilities for Federal prisons. And included in our recommendation are substantial amounts of money for increased prison capacity. And, yes, the States and localities are having to step up themselves and do stuff.

Q. Raise taxes to do it?

The President. Well, that's up to them. I'm not going to criticize a Governor or a municipality that has to do something on the revenue side. I'm going to try to hold the line as President of the United States on Federal taxes.

NATO Defense Spending

Q. Mr. President, on drugs and taxes, we're currently paying $150 billion to $170 trillion a year to defend Europe. And the congressional panel estimates that's a lot more than the other 15 NATO countries put together. Since the standard of living is higher in other countries and in Europe than it is here now, and since Gorbachev is offering deep cuts in the Warsaw armed forces, why not halve our contribution to the NATO forces and put that money in on the drug war?

The President. Because we have a very realistic approach to the Soviet Union, and I am delighted to see the changes that are taking place there. And I've heard a lot of rhetoric, and I welcome it. And I hope we can move forward on strategic arms and chemical weapon reductions in accord with the innovative proposal that we made and that NATO supported for conventional forces. But I'm like the guy from Missouri: Show me, and take your time, and do it right. And Europe has had peace for some 40 years now; and if you look at your textbooks, why, you'll see that that's a long, long time in an area of the world that has been troubled by conflict, in an area of the world that has involved us in this century in two—where we've been involved in two massive wars, that, overnight, expenditures went right through the roof, if we're talking about it in terms of money.

So, what I want to do is work—first place, keep the alliance strong; secondly, prudently deal with the Soviet leadership. And I'm looking forward to sitting down with [Foreign Minister] Mr. Shevardnadze next week. I'm looking forward to the substance that will be talked by [Secretary of State] Jim Baker and Shevardnadze out in Wyoming following the meeting with me. But not taking gambles and gambling on the outcome by making universal cuts in our commitment to a strong NATO. We have got to keep that alliance strong. And I know there's almost a euphoria in some quarters that there are no risks in the world anymore. Well, I don't believe that. And if you look at the Soviet Union modernizing its nuclear arsenal at a rather ferocious pace, I'm prudent enough to say, why? What's happening here? Why are they doing this? Why, if it's all euphoria and everything is rosy, nobody has anything to worry anymore about, how come? And so, let's not let down our alliance guarantees because we are more optimistic about peace.

I can look at my grandkids today and say I am much more optimistic about their growing up in a world where they don't go to school worried about nuclear conflict—much more—but how we handle our end of the equation I think has a lot to do with that.

Q. But the American taxpayer, sir, is paying twice as much as the European taxpayer to defend Europe.

The President. Well, I'm not sure of your numbers. I've never heard that statistic before. But I'm doing what I think is in the national interest of the United States. And part of that is our participation in an alliance that has kept the peace for 40 years, and so that's the way I would look at it. And look, if you're asking me would I welcome any country in the alliance doing more, the answer is yes. And that wouldn't extend just to the NATO alliance—it would be every alliance we have.

Legalization of Drugs

Q. Mr. President, there have been many good efforts through the years to interdict drugs and solve our drug problem that way. Do you envision a day when we might throw in the towel and treat it like we did prohibition and say let's shift our money from law enforcement back toward education, accept the legalization of drugs and try to fight in a more academic way?

The President. No, no. I don't visualize such a day.

INS Director McNary

Q. A local question: You recently nominated St. Louis County Executive Gene McNary to be the Director of Immigration and Naturalization. There are some people, even some admirers of Mr. McNary, who say there doesn't seem to be anything in his background that shows a sensitivity, perhaps, to work with minorities and so forth in that job. What did you see in Mr. McNary that led you to make the appointment to what is a growing—a job that has a growing responsibility?

The President. Extraordinarily capable manager. And that job is a major management job, and Gene McNary will do a first-class job in it.

Drug Testing for Public Officials

Q. Mr. President, today, at this very hour, there are three candidates for mayor of Cleveland taking urinalysis tests to prove that they do not have a drug problem. Has our drug problem in America gotten to that extent where even elected officials now have to prove that they're not a part of the problem, but part of the solution?

The President. No, I don't know that it's gotten to that case. I am one who favors testing in certain categories. And there's a certain lack of dignity that goes, I guess, with that in some ways. Having said all that, I guess you'll remember that a couple of years ago President Reagan and I submitted ourselves to that, what some thought was indignity. But if you believe in a drug-free workplace or the drug-free Armed Forces, certain testing is involved in that. I don't know the context of the Cleveland race, so how much of it is—I just leave to others to assess how much of it's political and how much of it sets a pattern or sets a standard for others. But I think we've come to the point in this fight on drugs that people should be a little less concerned about testing than they have in the past.

And again, I don't live and die by polls. If I did I wouldn't be standing here as President; we all remember that from about a year ago. But I would say that I think there is a shift in public opinion and people are much more serious about this fight on drugs. And I think there's much more support for a drug-free workplace, and I think there is much more support for testing.

Agricultural Chemicals

Q. I'd like to talk about a chemical of a different sort. You campaigned as an environmental candidate. Agricultural chemicals are more and more being discussed now as a major pollutant and a major concern. I'm wondering how aggressive your administration is prepared to be in either helping or pressuring Congress to reduce chemical use?

The President. I think we have a responsibility under our Environmental Protection Agency to look carefully at the realities of agricultural chemicals, because it does get into the food chain and—if there's abuse. But I also think that you need a balance in it, and EPA's looking at it right now. So I'd have to wait and see what recommendations they make and try to do our best. But we can't overlook that because of the controversy that it's caused in the agricultural community. And that's a little broad in general, but that's the only way I know to respond to that one.

Drug Use in Rural Areas

Q. Your drug strategy is often seen as an urban, inner-city initiative. How pervasive do you feel the drug problem is—I come from rural Minnesota—and how much of a priority is dealing with drug education and interdiction and helping law enforcement in rural areas?

The President. Well, I think in terms of interdiction, it's national and the effect of it is national. In terms of the international affairs component—for example, support for Colombia and what they're trying to do—it will impact favorably if we can encourage them on rural America and on city America.

I think you have to look in terms of treatment and in terms of impact of Federal money for education on those areas that are where the most heavy use is. And I think we have to do some vectoring of funds to the highest impact areas, and I think you'll see that when the program goes forward. But in terms of education and the need to have kids understand the risk, it is totally national, and it cannot be confined just to metropolitan areas.

War on Drugs in Washington, DC

Q. I've been in Washington a few days. There's two things that seem to be on people's minds. The first one is why Joe Gibbs [head coach, Washington Redskins] went for "Pass the ball" in the third-and-two situation. [*Laughter*]

The second thing that comes to mind is the drug issue. We all come from across the country, but in our Nation's Capital it's a pervasive problem that has intensified for the past 4 years. Coming from across the country, we sometimes look to DC as a symbol of what's going to happen. What do you see your drug plan doing for the people of the Nation's Capital and the inner city?

The President. You mean with——

Q. What the drug plan is doing for the people who live in the inner city—DC.

The President. Raising hope. I see it raising hope and, if we follow through, helping solve the problem. It isn't going to solve it alone. It's going to need those 10 black mothers in the D.C. ward. It's going to need the schools involved with their local control and their local ability to go into their communities with a sensitivity that the Federal Government will never have.

But I see the President using the bully pulpit of the Presidency to stay on it, to encourage and to exhort and to help financially through this national strategy where we can. But I got to keep making the point: The Federal Government isn't going to solve it. But you're asking about inner cities? But you can get the job done and do it in a lot of different ways, including involving ourselves in the lives of others.

And I don't care how much grief I get—and it's not so much anymore because people are beginning to understand it—about the Thousand Points of Light. But it is one American helping another, it's a teacher who cares, it's a foster parent, it's those 10 black mothers in the D.C. Hospital. And it's on and on and on. And that is how the problem, along with the municipalities and the State governments and the Federal Government are going to solve this problem. But the President, I think, has a disproportionate responsibility to have a strategy which we now have and then to—not forget it—to follow up on it.

And I do believe that in the final analysis we can whip the problem. I was encouraged, and I expect others were here, too, about the decline in casual use of cocaine—off 30 percent. And that's a good sign. Now, how do we do the same thing for the crack user, instead of having it go the wrong way? And I don't see as much on the media, for example, and the entertainment media, in terms of condoning that which we now condemn. You don't see that much about it any more. It used to be the joke. And I keep citing—I hope without prejudice—the scene in "Crocodile Dundee" with the guy in his tuxedo and it was humorous, the use of cocaine. Today you don't see that. It's because the industry itself has moved in.

I cited in my drug speech the efforts of a man named Jim Burke, who was the former chairman of Johnson & Johnson. He's guaranteeing, to the best of his ability, that $1 million a day will be spent—$1 billion over the next 3 years—on reaching out in education, you know, changing a whole condoning culture into a condemning culture. And so, I am excited about the potential, provided everybody pitches in together. And so what do you say to a kid in the city? There's something better for you, and we've got to prove it.

Last, says Marlin.

War on Drugs

Q. Your last question—you mentioned your grandchildren a while ago, and this is kind of a personal question, maybe putting this in perspective for us. How do you feel as a human being and as a grandfather about the drug scourge? Are you afraid that your family members, your grandchildren, your friends, relatives, the people in the White House family are going to be seduced by drugs? Do you identify with the grandparents across the Nation?

The President. Yes, I worry about it—of course I do, about these kids. Peer group pressure—enormous. Declining, I hope, but enormous. And so, when I stand out there in the garden with the D.A.R.E. program that teaches these kids out of the efforts by police officers all across this country to turn their back and how to resist peer pressure, I can identify with that—perhaps more than if I didn't have these 11 grandchildren.

But I'm not pessimistic about it. I think America is waking up, and we are beginning to condemn that which, let's face it, we've condoned. We condoned it in my theory in a kind of a post-Vietnam period, or even in the Vietnam war period. We have got to understand the pressures that lead one that wants to escape. Now we see that it was wrong. We see that in condoning it, for whatever the reason, should have been condemned. And I think as those national mores change, then I think you're going to find that the future of not just my 11 grandchildren, but the others, is far brighter. And mine, you know, are blessed with not having some of the pressures of a neighborhood where there are high incidences of cocaine use.

But, now we've got to take these changing mores and have inner-city America, highly impacted America, understand. And of course that has to, in my view, be coupled with opportunity—opportunity to work, have an honest living instead of one where you're a lookout at $100 a crack for some drug addict. And so, we've got a big educational job to do.

But I do worry about it, and I don't think any kid is immune from this peer pressure. But I'm absolutely convinced it's changing. You know, you embark on something like a war on drugs and people say, yes, yet another war, and you have your cynics out there. And I can understand it because there have been efforts made, and they've gone off the radar screen. But this one isn't going to go off the radar screen. And what I've got working for me in this timeframe in which I'm serving as President is this changing feeling in the country that we've got to do something about it. It's not just the administration, it's not just a handful of teachers or some parents group—it's the country itself. And that is very different, and that is working for us.

And so, this gentleman doesn't feel I'm giving him the brush-off. You see, I think if we then go out and legalize drugs, we work just the opposite from what I'm saying are the appropriately changing mores in this country, and that's why I strongly oppose it. And as long as I'm President, there will not be any Federal Government-level consideration given to the legalization of narcotics. It simply is counterproductive as we try to help in this whole field of education.

Urban Housing

Q. In Detroit we have severe drug problems, but we also have other problems: blight, abandoned housing, and decay. UDAG [Urban Development Action Grant] monies and block grant monies have been decreased significantly over the past few years. Will those monies be returned in some capacity, and how does the Bush administration propose rebuilding America's inner cities, including Detroit?

The President. We've got a brand-new Secretary of Housing who is aggressively going after tenant ownership and changes in the housing programs. I don't want to mislead you. I don't think you'll see a change soon on revenue-sharing or increased UDAG's, for example, you asked about. But I think we've got a program that emphasizes tenant ownership, helping to clean the existing projects from narcotics' reach, and then I come back to jobs—jobs. And it's got to be the economy that is going to lift people up. A job in the private sector is the best poverty program.

And you look at the demographics—and

we again bored you all at lunch about this—but they're changing. And in the year 2000—and what, Roger [Roger B. Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy], somebody help me—2010, there are going to be more jobs than there are people looking for jobs. And that says then to the Federal Government, the State government, the government in Detroit—train people, job retraining—training them for jobs that will exist. And that, of course, gets back into what we were talking about at our table, about educational excellence. So, it's education, job retraining, all of which impact in this question of housing. If a person has a job and a reasonable salary, he hopefully can afford to have an apartment or make a down payment on a house.

All right, she was very persistent, over here, screaming in outrage because I boycotted the table. This is the last one.

Q. Thank you very much.

The President. I'll say ahead of her question that I've always learned that the last question is the one that gets you in trouble. So, let me see the seams on this one. [*Laughter*]

Prison Overcrowding

Q. In Pittsburgh, we are arresting drug suspects, and they're being turned loose from the Allegheny County jail because of overcrowding. A Federal court order has mandated a certain population cap. Across the river, still Pittsburgh, our State prison facility has been ruled an overcrowded firetrap by another Federal judge. My question is: Our Allegheny County commissioner has written you asking you for permission to open military bases, underused or closed military facilities, to house some of these prisoners, especially the drug suspects that we're letting go. How will you respond to——

The President. I'll respond to this as being given serious and active consideration. You talk about closing a military base now—come on out and try it sometime. [*Laughter*] Even though the law prescribes it, and even though we have a sound program up there right now in the Senate, some people are challenging the closing of these bases. And it isn't much fun to have to go to a community that's been dependent on a base and say we're going to close your base.

Every Congressman wants to close bases in somebody else's district—or every Senator, but in someone else's State. And we have a program to do this, and part of it might well be active consideration being given to a concept of using these facilities for jail space. There's some existing bases where we might be able to do that. There's some trading where you take prisoners from one jurisdiction and boarding them in somebody else's jail. They're innovative programs in terms of jail construction of lease backs. And so there's a lot of new thinking going on, including the proposals that are in our strategy of—and this doesn't get directly to your question—of more Federal prisons.

But I think the man, whoever—this fellow suggested this—is on to something, and we will try to be very cooperative in that regard.

President's Mail

Q. How soon might you respond to him if he's written about a week or two ago?

The President. Well, tell him to get in line. I get about 100—let's see, how many—I'll tell you, one of the great—they were asking me the joys of this job at the table. One of the frustrations is the mail, and the volume is horrendous. But your having raised it, I trust somebody will—he will be hearing from him sooner than he might have. But we've got to be responsive on these—[*laughter*]—it's an understandable frustration when somebody asks. And I would simply take this opportunity to ask for forbearance and to say we will endeavor to do our very best.

When I left for summer vacation, the backlog on our mail was something like 100,000 letters. It was down to 9,000 when we got back—somebody else doing all the heavy lifting, obviously. But we do want to do better on it, and especially when somebody is crying from the heart for help on a problem of this sensitivity. But we'll look into that one and see when he—and hope he gets a very positive response. I expect—your having brought it up—he will.

Listen, thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:57 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President and Press Secretary.

Appointment of Peter F. Schabarum as a Member of the Advisory Board of the National Air and Space Museum

September 15, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Peter F. Schabarum as a member of the Advisory Board of the National Air and Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution. He would succeed Donald M. Koll.

Currently Mr. Schabarum serves as Los Angeles County supervisor. Prior to this, he served as an assemblyman in the California Assembly, and as chairman of the Los Angeles County Transportation Commission. In addition, he works in real estate development and securities in California.

Mr. Schabarum graduated from the University of California at Berkeley (B.S., 1951). He was born January 9, 1929, in Los Angeles, CA. Mr. Schabarum served in the U.S. Air Force during the Korean war. He is married, has three children, and resides in West Covina, CA.

Nomination of Edward G. Lewis To Be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs

September 15, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward G. Lewis to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs for Information Resources Management. This is a new position.

Since 1989 Mr. Lewis has served as a Staff Assistant and White House Liaison in the Office of the Secretary of Defense in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as manager of the office of résumé management in the Office of the President-Elect, Presidential Personnel, 1988–1989; director of management support services for the Bush-Quayle campaign, 1988; director of the delegate training office at the national convention, 1988; and director of the delegate management office for the George Bush campaign, 1988. In addition, he has served as a U.S. Marine Corps representative for the Task Force on Competitive Strategies at the Department of Defense, 1987; manager of strategy and operational campaign development with the Advanced Amphibious Study Group, 1986–1987; manager of strategic initiatives in the Plans Division at the Headquarters of the Marine Corps, 1984–1986; and manager of joint plans and organizational development in the Plans Division of the Headquarters of the Marine Corps, 1983–1984.

Mr. Lewis graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy (B.S., 1967), Columbia University (M.S., 1968), the University of Maryland (M.B.A., 1974), and Georgetown University (M.A., 1981). He was born March 13, 1945, in Chicago, IL. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1967–1988, and as a commanding officer, 1977–1978. He is married, has one child, and resides in Woodbridge, VA.

Nomination of Alvin P. Adams, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Haiti

September 15, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alvin P. Adams, Jr., of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Haiti. He would succeed Brunson McKinley.

Since 1987 Ambassador Adams has served as the Associate Coordinator for Counter Terrorism at the Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti, 1983–1985. He has served in several capacities at the Department of State: Deputy Executive Secretary, 1981–1983; Director of the Secretariat Staff, 1981; Special Assistant for Legislative and Public Affairs, 1979–1981; Deputy Director of the Office of Business Practices, 1977–1979; Financial Economist in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 1976–1977; and Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, 1974–1976. In addition, he has served as a staff member of the National Security Council at the White House, 1972–1974; political officer in Saigon, 1971–1972; and special assistant to the Ambassador in Saigon, 1969–1970.

Ambassador Adams graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1964) and Vanderbilt University (LL.B., 1967). He was born August 29, 1941, in New York, NY. He is married, has one child, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Remarks at the South Dakota Centennial Celebration in Sioux Falls

September 18, 1989

Good morning, Sioux Falls, and happy birthday, South Dakota! Don't worry, I'm not going to try to sing it. And thanks to the young men of the McCrossan Boys Ranch for the ride in here. Apparently, when Teddy Roosevelt came to Sioux Falls, they called that wagon Buckboard One. [*Laughter*]

And I especially want to thank Governor and Mrs. Mickelson for that warm welcome back to this State. What a job he's doing for the State of South Dakota. And it's always a pleasure to see my old friend Bill Janklow, who greeted us at the airport, as well as Walter Dale Miller, the Lieutenant Governor of this State, and the fine delegation that represents the Sunshine State in Washington.

I'm delighted to see my friend Larry Pressler here today, very pleased that he's with us. We also would like to say hello to Ben Reifel. I had the privilege of serving in Congress with Ben, a native American who has devoted his whole life to public service. And tomorrow is his 83d birthday, so let's hear it for him. [*Applause*] And I'm also pleased to see another great United States Senator here—Montana's, your neighbor's—Conrad Burns, new Senator, doing a big job. I also want to salute Mr. Ice—100-plus and going strong, right over here—the true spirit of this great State. And also coming out with me from Washington on Air Force One, the former speaker, Deb Anderson, now doing a big job for me and for the country in the White House. She's with us today, too.

And I want to thank these kids who did these essays—the winning essays—and then presented them to me earlier on. It's a great thing. I just got a chance to glance at one of the papers, to see these kids looking to the future, see them representing such strong South Dakota principles in such a beautiful way. I think we're lucky to have young people like this in any State.

You know, years ago when I first started thinking about running for President, I went out for a long drive outside Washington to think it over—alone, and hoping that I'd be sent a sign to help me decide. And sure enough, a sign appeared, and it said, "Only 2,000 miles to Wall Drug." [*Laughter*]

It is a pleasure to be back with you in South Dakota, home of some of nature's most wonderful creations: the American buffalo, the antelope, the prairie dog, the jack rabbit. The only missing thing today—the Silver Fox. And Barbara is not with us, unfortunately. [*Laughter*] But I could get away with calling her that; I'm her husband. [*Laughter*] It's true. When we went through the receiving line here, several people mentioned her. And she wanted to be here, but she's in the Panhandle of Texas this morning, in Amarillo, at Cal Farley's Boys Ranch, a place not unlike the McCrossan Ranch here. And I know that, like me, she's going to be very interested in reading these essays that these South Dakota kids have put together for us. And again, with talented kids like these and like those down below, your State and mine can look forward to a great second century, and America can look forward to a great tomorrow. I am optimistic about the young people in this country.

Before the turn of the century, when your State was not yet 10 years old, a former Ohio Congressman who had fought for statehood came here to greet the returning heroes of the Spanish-American War, South Dakota volunteers famous throughout America for refusing to abandon their decimated ranks until replacements could be shipped to the Philippines. The ex-Congressman was President McKinley, who praised South Dakota's early pioneers for always setting up three things wherever their wagons stopped: schoolhouses, churches, and the American flag. And McKinley called South Dakota "a new and promising State." And in your first 100 years, you've made good on that promise. You've built a good State, a good place to call home, good place to raise grain and livestock and barns, and, particularly, a good place to raise families. Yours is a people that draws strength and purpose from the land, sinking deep roots, feeding your country, and nurturing the dreams of your children.

And as a new century begins, South Dakota is also a good place for forward-looking people, a place to invest in clean technologies and the growing service industries. South Dakota is one place that has never forgotten what made America great: pride, hard work, neighborliness, self-respect, and respect for others. And as a visitor to Sioux Falls wrote in 1814: "The spirit of the West is one of faith"—faith in God, faith in country, and faith in one another.

Maybe you've heard the definition of "the real West" in the old cowboy poem: "Out where the hand clasps a little stronger, out where the smile lasts a little longer, that's where the West begins." Well, that's also where South Dakota begins—still a place where business is done with a handshake most of the time.

Two years after McKinley's visit to Sioux Falls, Teddy Roosevelt became the youngest President in the United States history and the only one of this century to be enshrined at Mount Rushmore. Everyone knows which four Presidents are found on that mountain. Less well-known is that each was chosen not to represent an individual but rather to represent an American ideal. Washington represents freedom; Jefferson, democracy; Lincoln for equality; and Roosevelt, conservation. In the American galaxy of ideas, conservation is rarely ranked up there alongside freedom, democracy, and equality. But it is on Mount Rushmore, and it is in South Dakota. And it's time that that tradition was rekindled everywhere.

Our stewardship of the Earth is brief. South Dakota sits atop beds of oil and coal that eons ago were tropical swamps. Above ground, the landscape is cut by hills and valleys and shaped by the huge sheets of ice that covered this land in a later age. When the glaciers retreated, they left behind a precious resource: the rich, fertile soil of South Dakota. No one here who witnessed the black blizzards of the 1930's Dust Bowl needs to be told just how fragile that resource is or how important it is that we be responsible stewards of these gifts.

And what is true for our farmlands is also true for our forests and rivers and for our oceans and for the oceans of life-giving air that cover this planet. Earlier this year, we introduced dramatic new proposals to strengthen the Clean Air Act, calling for major reductions in acid rain and urban smog and other toxic emissions. And I said then that our mission is not just to defend what's left but to take the offense, to improve our environment across the board. It's not enough to stop dirtying the air; we've got to clean it up. And to help do that, we should remember the oldest, cheapest, and most efficient air purifier on Earth: trees.

Nature has powerful rejuvenative forces, but we need to help them along. We need to reforest this bountiful land. As the settlers here learned decades ago, planting trees can greatly reduce erosion from wind and water. And as we are learning, tree-planting can help clean the air by reducing carbon dioxide. For its centennial year, your sister State to the north has pledged to plant 100 million new trees by the year 2000. Well, I've heard it said around Sioux Falls: Anything North Dakota can do, South Dakota can do better.

So, I challenge you to come up with a pledge of your own to join the new greening of America by foresting South Dakota with centennial trees. And of course, reforestation is only one part of our comprehensive and sometimes highly technical proposals to clean up America's air. But trees possess a value that no high-tech solution will ever match: Trees can reduce the heat of a summer's day, quiet a highway's noise, feed the hungry, provide shelter from the wind and warmth in the winter.

You see, the forests are the sanctuaries not only of wildlife but also of the human spirit. And every tree is a compact between generations. The White House today is blessed by a tree planted by John Quincy Adams; the southern magnolias of Andrew Jackson; Dwight Eisenhower's trees—oaks, I believe. George Washington's home at Mount Vernon is still shaded by a dozen trees planted by our first President, a living link to our roots as a nation and to the giant whose face adorns the Black Hills of this State.

Of course, not every President is blessed with a green thumb. Five months ago, I planted an elm to mark North Dakota's new campaign. It turned out they have some kind of moth disease. [*Laughter*] So, in the interest of public safety here in Sioux Falls, they specifically asked me not to dedicate a building. [*Laughter*] Well, so far, my luck in this tree business is about like—as I had in fishing. [*Laughter*]

Just as the Government has a key responsibility in reducing air pollution, the Government can also act as a model and leader in the greening of America—and it has. Last year, Federal efforts planted 340,000 acres of new trees. But that's only about the size of Lincoln County. Private efforts and families and businesses planted eight times that number—enough to blanket an area almost the size of the State of Connecticut. And clearly, the real solution is at the grassroots level—Americans joining to shade this land and to clean our air, a new spirit of activism and voluntarism to serve each other and save our planet.

The paper here last month said that today there are exactly 28,334 trees in the city of Sioux Falls. Now, first of all, I'd like to meet the guy who counted the last 334 trees right here in Sioux Falls. [*Laughter*] But seriously, a people that counts its trees so carefully knows how to value them. Each one makes a difference, and so can each one of you.

And as we commemorate the year South Dakota became a new star in the American flag—the American constellation, if you will—I hope that every family in the State will become part of yet another constellation, a constellation that we've called 1,000 Points of Light, because you in South Dakota know what it takes to plant a tree. It doesn't take a Federal program. It doesn't take a great big Washington bureaucracy. And it sure doesn't take some fancy new study. What it takes is a shovel. And it's a family project, you can do it in your own homes, literally in your own backyards. And we can cultivate good character in our kids by cultivating cleaner environment.

We need to plant new hedgerows around croplands, new windbreaks around our homes and towns. And in the middle of this century, we built the interstate highway system, the greatest ground transportation network since Rome. And now let's make these corridors beautiful, quieter, greener, and cleaner.

On the plains of Texas, where for 12 years Barbara and I raised our children, the story is told of a pioneer tradition that said, "Plant plums for yourself, pecans for your grandchildren." A hundred years ago, some farsighted Texas settlers planted these tiny pecan seedlings, and it took hours of backbreaking work, hauling water in the hot prairie sun. But pecan trees take many years to mature, and the settlers themselves would never live to enjoy shade or food from the trees. It was called, therefore, a grandchildren's grove. Other settlers—well, they wanted quick results, and they planted the fast, quick-growing plum trees. And for a few years, they got good fruit. Soon, the soft bark split, sprouting tangled, barren plum bushes. And instead of enjoying the protection of these tall stately pecan trees, the grandchildren who followed were saddled with the hardship of clearing a thicket.

It is planting time now for your great State, for South Dakota and for America and for all of spaceship Earth. The choices that we make today can either nurture and protect our children or bequeath them only another generation of thickets and foul air. So, let us tap into the greatness of the American spirit. Let us honor the pioneers who gave us this State by giving back to generations yet to come. And 100 years from now, South Dakota will still be a good place to raise children, cottonwood trees, and other precious living things. Enjoy this celebration; enjoy the autumn ahead.

Good luck, God bless you, God bless the State of South Dakota. And thank you for inviting me. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in the Sioux Falls Arena. In his opening remarks, he referred to former Gov. William J. Janklow; Senator Larry Pressler; and Debra R. Anderson, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs.

Remarks at a Centennial Tree Planting Ceremony in Sioux Falls, South Dakota

September 18, 1989

Thank you, Governor Mickelson, and what a glorious place to plant a tree today. Thank you, Mayor White, for welcoming us here. And most of all, thank all of you. Any excuse to get out of school—I know how it works. But here you are, and I couldn't be more pleased. Thank you.

The South Dakota Centennial Commission deserves great recognition here for all the restoration of this park as a centennial project. And I know that many people and organizations were involved in the project, and I'd like to congratulate each and every one of them.

I do love seeing all you kids here today. Let me tell you about this tree that I'm presenting today to commemorate the centennial. It's a Bonfire Silver Maple. It's a hardwood tree which provides a brilliant display of colors every fall. And like the people of South Dakota, this tree is hearty and resilient, and should provide beauty to your children for years to come.

Someone said a tree is a gift of God and a friend of man. Well, I hope this tree will grow and flourish, be a friend of Sioux Falls and to South Dakota. And with this gift I can say, as your centennial bumper stickers so proudly proclaim and as your Governor invited me to, I've got roots in South Dakota. Happy birthday South Dakota! And thank you all very, very much for the welcome.

Note: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. at Terrance Park in Sioux Falls. Following his remarks, he traveled to Helena, MT.

Remarks at the Montana Centennial Celebration in Helena
September 18, 1989

Thank you, Governor Stephens. Thank you very much—you and Mrs. Stephens—for greeting us at the airport. Lieutenant Governor Kolstad, congressional delegation, members of the State legislature, and the mayor of Helena: Let me say to everyone gathered here and to all the people of Montana that it is a great pleasure for me to be back in this great State. Happy Birthday—100!

And you're certainly celebrating this in style. I have to tell you that I was mightily impressed with that centennial cattle drive. It captured the hearts of America—nearly 3,000 cattle, 60 miles in 6 days. Now, maybe I can get a few of those drovers to come back with me to Washington. There's a herd back on Capitol Hill that I'd like to move in my direction. [*Laughter*]

You know, this is my first visit to Montana since the campaign and since I started my new job. November 8th was a big day for me in 1988, and I know it's the big day for all Montanans in 1989. And this is my first visit. You know, we've come a long way today from Pennsylvania Avenue; but here I am, standing on Capitol Hill, just a mile away from Last Chance Gulch. Maybe I haven't left home after all.

But it's good to be back under the Big Sky, looking out at the Sleeping Giant, with your historic statehouse—a marvel of Montana granite, sandstone, and copper—standing here at our back. And you can feel the history of this great State, its land and its people.

And I've heard that there's a 5-pound trout waiting for me up in the Bob. And I don't know if you've heard about that horrible fish shortage up in Maine this summer. But anyway, it's not a problem here, since I hear that Montana has 896 catchable fish per square mile. Now I know why I had so much trouble catching a fish up in Kennebunkport: They're all in Montana.

Montana has contributed a great deal in the 100 years since it became a State. Along with its gold, copper, and ore, Montana's given our nation a sense of its own pioneering destiny. And there's something about spaces so vast you can see the curve of the Earth. What encouragement it gives us to see the future as an unlimited horizon.

I spent this morning in the State of South Dakota, which is celebrating its own centennial this year. And you've got a lot in common in this part of the country: a can-do attitude, a faith in hard work, and a straightforward love of nature and the land we live in.

This morning I spoke in Sioux Falls about a common concern of all of ours: the environment, about the need to awaken a new spirit of environmentalism across America. And here in Montana I know that spirit exists. This great State was once the scene of an epic battle—man against nature. Too often, the only question that mattered was what man could take from the Earth, not how we left it or how we put it back.

Well, no more; times have changed. The conservation ethic runs deep here. In the past two decades, Montana has enacted some of the most advanced environmental statutes in all of the 50 States. The citizens of the Big Sky State understand it's not man against nature; it's man and nature. Montanans have made a decision never to let environmental exploitation go unchecked. We can have a sound ecology and strong economy. And that is what I am committed to; and so, might I add, is my environmental protector, the head of the Environmental Protection Agency who works at my side, Bill Reilly. And I'm delighted he's here with me today.

The Nation and the world can learn from your example. And believe me, we must learn. The single most significant word today in the language of all environmentalists is interdependence. That's a fact all Montanans should find it easy to appreciate. Not so many miles from where we stand is a spot called the Triple Divide, where the waters begin their separate journeys to the Pacific, to the Gulf of Mexico, to the Hudson Bay and the Arctic beyond—the Earth's own geography lesson—global interdependence.

The plain fact is this: Pollution can't be contained by lines drawn on a map. The actions we take can have consequences felt the world over: the destruction of the rain forests in Brazil; the ravages of acid rain that threaten not just our country but our neighbors to the north, and not just the East but the lakes and forests of the West as well; the millions of tons of airborne pollutants carried across the continents; and the threat of global warming. We know now that protecting the environment is a global issue. The nations of the world must make common cause in defense of our environment. And I promise you this: This nation, the United States of America, will take the lead internationally.

Here in this great State, you're already taking the lead with your commitment to the environment, led by every schoolchild in this State who's planted a Ponderosa pine to commemorate 100 years of history. In just a few minutes I'll be planting a tree of my own, and let me say from the heart: There's no finer symbol of the love each one of us feels for this land than a tree growing up in Montana's good earth.

We're working hard to clean up America, but we can't stop there. We've got to work with the rest of the world to preserve the planet. We're already taking action. To preserve the ozone layer, we're going to ban all release of CFC's [chlorofluorocarbons] into the atmosphere by the year 2000. To prevent pollution of the world's oceans, we're going to end virtually all ocean dumping of sewage and industrial wastes by 1991. And after that, anyone who continues to pollute is going to pay for it with stiff fines. And we're going to join forces with other nations.

In February the United States will host the plenary meeting of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. In July, when I visited Poland and Hungary, I pledged America's help in tackling the increasingly serious pollution problems those two nations face. At the Paris economic summit, we helped the environment achieve the status that it deserves at the top of the agenda for the seven major industrial democracies. And I mean to keep it right there at the top of the agenda.

America spends more than any other nation in the world on environmental research, and we're going to continue this pioneering effort to protect the environment and put that environmental expertise to work in the developing world as well. We cannot pollute today and postpone the cleanup until tomorrow. We have got to make pollution prevention our aim, and sharing our expertise with the world is one way to do exactly that.

Today I want to announce a new environmental initiative, one that will bring the Environmental Protection Agency and the Peace Corps together in a joint venture in the service of the global environment. Beginning in 1990, as part of their standard preparation for duty, Peace Corps volunteers will be trained by the EPA to deal with the full range of environmental challenges: water pollution prevention, waste disposal, reforestation, pesticide management. Armed with greater knowledge about our environment, our Peace Corps volunteers are going to help spread the word in the developing world. They'll work to stop pollution before it starts and ensure that economic development and environmental stewardship go hand in hand.

And Montanans know more than most how much that means, how vital it is for us to accept our responsibilities, our stewardship—the environment in Montana, across America, and around the world. We hold this land in trust for the generations that come after. The air and the Earth are riches we simply cannot squander.

One hundred years ago, Montana was a land where man sought the treasure that lay beneath the Earth. And today it's the land itself we treasure, a living legacy we must preserve and pass along. One hundred years from now, on the bicentennial of this great State, we want our children's great-grandchildren to enjoy the natural wonders that abound across Montana today. From a glacier down to Yellowstone and out to the Great Plains, we want to know that 100 years from now the legacy will live on.

To the young people of Montana, we're living in exciting times. I can tell you, as your President, I feel much more confident than at any time since World War II about being able to help bring a more peaceful world to the benefit of all. We're living in historic times, but we must do everything in our power to protect the environment.

Thank you for coming out to give me this warm Montana welcome. God bless you, and may God bless the State of Montana and bring it another 100 years of happiness. Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:46 p.m. on the State capitol grounds. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Russ Ritter.

White House Fact Sheet on Environmental Initiatives

September 18, 1989

CLEANING UP THE NATION'S AIR

Clean Air Act

On June 12 the President announced proposals to reduce emissions which cause acid rain, urban ozone, and toxic air pollution. The proposals, the first major overhaul of the Clean Air Act to be proposed by an administration in over a decade, calls for a 10 billion ton reduction in SO_2 emissions by the year 2000, a 2 million ton reduction in NO_x, and a 40-percent reduction in emission of volatile organic compounds which cause urban smog, and a reduction of 75 to 90 percent in air toxic emissions. These reductions will also help to curb an increase in global warming resulting from fossil fuel combustion. The proposal also calls for use of alternative fuels in 1 million vehicles by 1997. Alternative fuels, while reducing ozone precursors, will also reduce the toxic aromatics which come from conventional gasoline. The President submitted a comprehensive clean air bill to the Congress on July 21 embodying the proposals announced on June 12.

Clean Coal Technologies

The President proposed $710 million in FY 1990 for the Clean Coal Technology Program to encourage development of new technologies to reduce SO_2 and NO_x while still allowing coal to play a role in our energy future.

Fuel Efficiency

The administration approved action to increase Corporate Average Fuel Efficiency (CAFE) standards for automobiles to 27.5 miles per gallon. This action will reduce oil imports and reduce the contribution of automobile emissions to global warming.

AIRBORNE TOXICS

Asbestos Ban

On July 7 EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] announced an almost total phaseout of all uses of asbestos by 1997. The ban will prohibit importation, manufacture, and processing of asbestos, a carcinogen linked to lung cancer and mesothelioma (lung and chest cancer). EPA estimates asbestos is responsible for 3,000 to 12,000 cancer deaths each year. The action comes after over a decade of proposed rulemaking and data analysis on effects of asbestos and its uses.

Air Toxics Emissions Standards for Benzene

On August 31st the EPA Administrator [William K. Reilly] announced standards to reduce public health risks from benzene emissions. This air toxics standard has been in litigation for years, and this action represents an important step toward reducing emissions of a major air toxic pollutant.

HAZARDOUS WASTE CLEANUP

Medical Waste

EPA implemented a medical waste tracking program on March 10 to track medical wastes to ensure proper disposal and prevent ocean pollution. The pilot program applies to 10 States. EPA will report to Congress after 2 years on whether nationwide application is needed. Violators can be charged up to $25,000 for civil penalties and up to $50,000 for criminal penalties.

The program constitutes a first step in the President's pledge to clean up medical wastes which have washed up on beaches.

Superfund Cleanup

The President's budget proposed $315 million to pursue an aggressive cleanup schedule of toxic waste sites; and the administration has opposed congressional efforts to cut the Superfund budget to $150 million.

Superfund Management Review

The President proposed in February a major strengthening of the Superfund program to beef up enforcement. On June 14, under the President's direction, Administrator Reilly concluded a management review of the Superfund program, outlining initiatives for a more effective program, including immediate control of acute threats, better enforcement to induce private-party cleanups, and expanded research into better technologies for cleanup. Over 500 people will be added to EPA's enforcement staff to ensure that sites are cleaned up.

Department of Energy Nuclear Weapons Facilities

The President has endorsed a major increase of almost a billion dollars in the Federal Government's effort to clean up the environmental effects of Federal nuclear weapons plants. Under the President's direction, Secretary [of Energy] Watkins announced a 5-year environmental and safety cleanup for Federal nuclear weapons facilities. The administration is aggressively investigating any possible violations of applicable environmental laws that may have occurred at Federal facilities.

National Energy Strategy

The President announced the development of a national energy strategy, and the Department of Energy has conducted five public hearings across the Nation to elicit public testimony. The strategy will have as one component a plan to reconcile the need for a secure, abundant energy supply with environmental protection.

Ocean Pollution

The President proposed in his 1990 budget and has sent to Congress legislation which will toughen penalties for those who dump waste illegally in our oceans. The legislation calls for criminal felony sanctions against illegal dumpers. The administration signed a consent agreement with New York providing for phaseout of ocean dumping of sewage, sludge, and industrial wastes by 1991.

INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Global Climate Change

The President proposed an increase in global environmental research for FY 1990 of 43 percent, or $191.5 million. In addition to Clean Air Act initiatives and the Clean Coal Technology Program, the United States will host the plenary meeting next February of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The United States chairs the Response Strategies Working Group which Secretary Baker addressed last January, where he stressed the importance of a coordinated effort to address climate change. The United States has begun discussions on a framework for a global convention to reduce emissions of gases which may cause global warming.

Chlorofluorocarbons

On March 3 the President called for a worldwide phaseout of chlorofluorocarbons by year 2000 if safe substitutes are available. Chlorofluorocarbons are responsible for depletion of the ozone layer.

Hazardous Waste Exports

On March 10 the President called for a ban on the export of hazardous waste unless the receiving country agrees to its proper disposal through a bilateral agreement. A small amount of hazardous waste generated in this country is exported, some to developing countries whose lack of good disposal practices could pose environmental problems.

Poland and Hungary

On July 9 and 10 the President announced technical assistance to both Poland and Hungary to control air pollution and improve water quality.

Driftnet Fishing Agreements

The administration successfully persuaded Japan, Taiwan, and Korea to enter into driftnet fishing agreements to monitor driftnet practices and enforce laws prohibiting the take of U.S.-origin salmon. The agreements will allow the United States to quantify the incidental take of seabirds, seals, whales, and other marine mammals. Each year several hundred billion dollars worth of illegal U.S.-origin salmon is traded on the international market. The agreements will protect the U.S. fishing industry from such losses in the future while protecting the marine environment at the same time.

Peace Corps Initiative

On September 18 the President announced a joint Peace Corps/EPA initiative to begin in 1990 the training of Peace Corps volunteers, as part of their standard preparation for duty, to deal with a full range of environmental challenges: water pollution prevention, waste disposal, reforestation, pesticide management.

ENDANGERED SPECIES AND HABITAT PROTECTION

Ban on African Elephant Ivory

On June 5 the administration announced a ban on importation of African elephant ivory into the United States. Under the ban, importation of African elephant ivory from any country is illegal and includes both commercial and noncommercial shipments. Seized goods could subject a traveler to $5,000 fines. As a result, the value of ivory on the world market has plummeted, reducing the incentive for illegal poaching of elephants.

Desert Tortoises

The Department of the Interior issued an emergency listing of the Desert Tortoise as an endangered species under the Endangered Species Act in southern California, Utah, and Nevada.

Panthers

The Department of the Interior has acquired additional habitat for endangered panthers in Florida.

Habitat Protection

The EPA has denied a permit for construction of the controversial Two Forks Dam in Colorado because construction would have destroyed thousands of acres of valuable wildlife habitat.

Fishery Development

The President reversed a proposal to cap the outlay of funds collected under the Wallop-Breaux Trust Fund used for fisheries protection and development.

Offshore Oil Drilling

In his February address to the Joint Session of the Congress, the President proposed to postpone lease sales of offshore oil and gas development in environmentally sensitive areas off the coasts of California and Florida. The President set up a task force to examine environmental concerns associated with these sales and pledged to pursue development only in areas where drilling can be accomplished in an environmentally sound manner. The administration published proposed rules to prohibit oil and gas leasing in the environmentally sensitive Cordell Bank National Marine Sanctuary off the coast of California.

RESOURCE RESTORATION AND PROTECTION

Wetlands

The President has called for a national goal of "no net loss" of wetlands. Consistent with that pledge, an interagency task force has been convened and is meeting to develop recommendations to meet that goal. The President has proposed special legislative authority to allow interest from monies collected under the Pittman-Robinson Act to be used for wetland purchases under the North American Waterfowl Management Act.

Expanding Parks and Refuges

The President proposed in his FY 1990 budget new spending of $206 million to expand America's national parks, forests, and wildlife refuges. This was the first proposed expansion in several years.

Reforestation

The President has long believed that the concept of stewardship of our natural resources is the basis of a sound approach to the environment. As part of this belief, the President has long been an advocate of reforestation. His personal commitment to planting trees is indicative of his support for the ongoing efforts of Federal, State, and local programs, as well as reforestation projects undertaken by private and voluntary organizations.

Remarks to the Five-State Legislators Conference in Helena, Montana

September 18, 1989

Thank you, Governor Stephens. Thank you, Governor, very much, once again, for the warm welcome to your State. Maybe four-fifths of this crowd out here, inasmuch as it's a five-State conference, will join me in thanking you for your hospitality. And then your own troops—you can take care of them any way you want. [*Laughter*]

But I am delighted to be here. My respects to Representative Peck and Speaker Vincent, Senate President Galt, and ladies and gentlemen. Thank you again, Governor, and to everybody involved in all the arrangements for a trip of this nature. It's a pleasure to address this five-State conference, and it's timely.

You know, being here reminds me of that TV series a few months back. Remember "Lonesome Dove"? Cattle drive—started down in Texas and wound up in Montana. Well, here's one Texan who's followed suit today and, who, because of your hospitality, is feeling anything but lonesome. I don't know if your slavedriver leaders of the conference let you go outside, but I was really deeply moved by that wonderful reception and wonderful meeting out there in the front of this lovely capitol. So, I'm delighted to be here. I'm sorry Barbara is not. She happens to be in the Panhandle of Texas today, in Amarillo, and so is not with us, but she would have loved it, too.

Let me just share a few words of appreciation—Henry David Thoreau, who said, "Eastward I go only by force, but westward I go free." And those words hit home on a day like this. For it's freedom that moves the mind and spirit as you travel west from Washington. And you see the Mississippi, mighty and meandering, and the Great Plains, from Air Force One—a giant, sprawling checkerboard—and then the Rockies, and a sampling of some of God's best handiwork. And you're free to enjoy this Big Sky and dream dreams as big as all America. But as we dream, we must also act—act as wise stewards of this generation, for all the generations to come.

Speaking at the Montana centennial celebration a few minutes ago, I talked of one kind of stewardship: the safeguarding of our national resources. The great outdoors is precious but fragile. To preserve it, we must protect it. And let me again say here, as I said outside, I'm very proud to have Bill Reilly, the head of EPA, doing his job, and traveling with me here today, too. He's an outstanding environmentalist, a very sensible man; and already I think he's making a real difference.

In talking about the preservation, yet, protection, I'll confess I sometimes feel like a student advising his teacher. For I needn't tell the people in this audience from these five States about hunting and hiking and rafting and fishing. I had a terrible streak in Maine this summer on the fishing. But stewardship can mean preserving the purity of our living environment, for America can only be as beautiful as her people are vigilant. Stewardship can also mean—and this is what this meeting is about—preserving our teaching and learning environment, for America can only be as great as her children are educated. And it's this kind of stewardship that I just want to talk to you briefly about. And it's the reason, of course, that each one of you is here—many of you from centennial States—sharing ideas and responsibility to help shape the next hundred years of American education.

We hear a lot today about our education problems. And we should because the problems are real: a too high dropout rate; too little parental involvement; erratic standards; too little accountability by teachers and students; schools that are unsafe and wracked by drug use and drug trafficking; kids ill-equipped to read, write, or understand new technologies. And these problems must have solutions. This conference hopes to find some. Because when it comes to education, I really feel strongly Washington does not know best: the people do. And nowhere is that truer than here in the American West, where local values and school autonomy are as revered as love of freedom and love of country.

And perhaps nowhere is it more embodied than in this magnificent painting just behind me—a Russell. It has been called Charles Russell's greatest work, entitled "Lewis and Clark Meeting the Flathead Indians at Ross' Hole." And it says a lot about the West and, strangely enough, about western education. To the right stand Lewis and Clark, asking questions about a strange world, willing and needing to learn. And in the center are the Indians, ready to share knowledge and lead Lewis and Clark along unknown terrain.

For decades after, this spirit of freedom and discovery spurred the West. And, yes, it was tough. Life was hard. And there were homes to be built and schools to be constructed so that kids could learn. And how did these pioneers do it? The way the West has always done it. They were selfless and independent, and they were resolute and unafraid.

Let me take just a couple of minutes to remember how it was, not as some trip down memory lane but as a profile in the stewardship of education, a profile of courage and self-discipline, lessons as timely to 1989 as to the pioneers of 1889.

Remember, first, the schools themselves—names like Dry Run and Sitting Up, Crocus Hill—and their condition: small, often only one room—dirt floors, log walls. And remember the communities that built them. What a task it was. Often, supplies were limited, but there were always enough hands. For communities pitched in—lumberjack, carpenter, mason. Whatever it took, those kids would have their school.

And remember, too, the students—just getting in to school—we know that from our history—mission impossible. In Chinook, Montana, almost a hundred years ago, a 10-year-old, Lillian Miller, needed sturdy shoes—her little log school was 7 miles from home. And once at school, here's what she and others found: makeshift furniture—students sat on boxes or benches. Books? They were more elusive than prospectors' gold. Four or five kids studying from a single volume. Just think of it. Think of how those students must have loved to learn, for look what they endured.

And when it came to love or endurance, no one eclipsed their teachers. They were the first stewards of American education. To begin with, think of their problems: leaking roofs, rooms full of kids of all ages, and skunks beneath the schoolhouse—imagine what that did for student discipline. And think, then, of their pay. That was really a problem—less than $30 a month. And privacy; what privacy? Teachers were often boarded in small houses with larger families. And they often doubled as a community leader.

And then there were the parents. And they had to run a farm, raise a family, fight off everything from claim jumpers to bears. And what's more, they housed kids from distant families, caring for them like their own, so that every child might have the chance to learn. For they realized the future lay in their children, through education.

These pioneers knew, as we do, that education can carve a better life. And they knew that true learning—basics like reading, writing, and arithmetic—don't stem from trendy curricula. Rather, true learning stems from values that are always in style, values like "Do unto others;" values that tell kids why drugs are public enemy number one and detail a program, as our administration has, to defeat that enemy. And in that context, let me say: This national strategy needs your help. We need the States to toughen their laws: mandatory time for weapon offenders; no plea-bargaining on guns; the death penalty for heinous drug criminals; and more police, prosecutors, and prisons so that vicious thugs will be pursued, prosecuted, put away for good. And these steps will help make learning possible and allow teachers to teach values like self-respect, good citizenship, and patriotism, values as central to the American West as the bravery that tamed its frontier.

I guess the bottom line is that no government planner told these pioneers how to structure courses or how long the school year should be. They decided right there. They didn't need Washington to know that those closest to the community best understand its priorities, and nor do you today. I'm talking about local school boards, teachers, parents working with each other or in a partnership with all levels of government.

As a partner, let me pledge to you: Our administration will listen. I meant it when I said earlier Washington doesn't know best, the people do. For I reject implicitly the notion of Federal mandates—Federal mandates back telling the State legislatures or the Governor what they have to do. I reject Federal mandates, Federal bullying, in education. Instead, what we need and what I'm asking for are local ideas, local creativity, and more local autonomy.

The plain truth is that our educational system is not making the grade. In a recent comparison of 13-year-old students in the United States and five other nations, America placed last in mathematics and near last in science. Spending more money on education than most other countries, we're getting less return on our investment. And it's time, then—and you sense this—it's time, then, for change—perhaps radical change—to find new ways to improve educational performance. And that's why over the past several months I have met with groups from the American Federation of Teachers to the National Association of School Boards, and from mayors to elected officials to many State legislators. And it's why we're meeting today. For I know how important State legislators are. You appropriate the money; you make the programs possible. And you are often experts on education. And yet you can't do it alone, any more than Washington. Only through partnerships—government serving as a catalyst—can we make American education number one.

Accordingly, in April I sent to the Congress the Educational Excellence Act of 1989. Our program has four objectives: first, to reward excellence; second, to see that Federal dollars help those most in need; third, our program demands educational accountability; and fourth, it supports greater flexibility and choice. We want to create a $500 million program to reward schools that improve the most and a new magnet schools or excellence program, helping parents choose which public schools their children will attend.

And then there's alternative certification, allowing talented Americans to teach in the classroom, and then special Presidential awards for the best teachers. And through a new initiative of the National Science Scholars, we want to increase incentive to excel in science, math, and in engineering. The 1989 Education Act seeks to invest in the kids, and their kids, who will truly shape the next 100 years.

This conference, I believe, can help advance that goal, as can ideas of citizens from Maine to California, and so can an unprecedented event which occurs next week: the Nation's first Presidential education summit. We will gather to talk, to think, to exchange ideas: ideas about how to boost teacher recruitment and retention, and increase the choices for parents and students; ideas on how best to coordinate the role of Federal, State, and local governments and instill a drug-free and crime-free environment in our schools; in short, ideas on how to spur educational reform and return power to the people.

Our summit will be as wide-ranging as the West. So, let your Governors know precisely what you think. And if you do, summit participants will reaffirm the central lesson of the centennial pioneers: that only together can we truly educate America's children. For education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become.

What a legacy they have given us, these pioneers of a century ago, and what a responsibility we have. So, let us meet it, so that a hundred years from now future generations will say of us: They taught their children well.

I am impressed with what you're doing. Five States, a room full of committed people: you really can make a difference, and we want to work with you. Thank you for the privilege of sharing this occasion. God bless you for your commitment, and God bless this great State, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:32 p.m. in the house chamber of the State capitol. In his remarks, he referred to State Representative Ray Peck, Speaker of the State House John Vincent, and President of the State Senate Jack E. Galt. Representatives from North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Idaho attended the conference.

The President's News Conference in Helena, Montana

September 18, 1989

The President. I have a brief statement, and then I'll be glad to respond to some questions.

I have decided, and Secretary Mosbacher has announced in Hungary, that Hungary will be granted permanent most-favored nation, MFN, status in October and will be granted the benefits of a Generalized System of Preferences.

Hungary has undertaken major steps toward political and economic reform, and during our recent visit, we witnessed significant changes toward freedom in that country. The dedication and diligence of the Hungarian people is quickly transforming the economic system into a more productive and competitive posture.

GSP eligibility will open new doors for the Hungarian economy, encouraging greater market orientation and increasing the foreign exchange earnings. Our commitment to helping the reform movement in Eastern Europe is strong. Our step today underscores our willingness to help these countries. Obviously, it's up to them to make the structural adjustments, but they should be aware that the United States is ready and willing to assist in this progress.

Let me just say a word on economic growth at home. There is an issue before the Congress which I feel is just the kind of thing that will help States like Montana bolster their economic productivity and employment. A reduction in our capital gains tax rate is right for Montana, and it is good for America. And I am pleased that there has been a bipartisan effort in the Congress to bring this issue to the House floor. I'm hopeful that the Congress will continue in this bipartisan spirit.

And now I'll be glad to respond to some questions.

Arms Control

Q. Mr. President, when you meet on Thursday with Mr. Shevardnadze [Foreign Minister] of the Soviet Union, there's a lot of speculation that he will bring with him a major new strategic arms proposal from the Soviet Union. Are conditions ripe now to move ahead on a strategic arms agreement, or is there a chance that further delays may make it impossible to reach such an agreement in your term?

The President. I would not take that pessimistic an assessment that further delay will make it impossible to reach an agreement in the next 3½ years. I don't know, Tom [Tom Raum, Associated Press], what he is going to bring with him. I've read speculation that there might be a new arms control proposal, but I can't confirm that for you. We do want to move forward on START. As you know, we came in, did a review, completed the review; and we're working inside our own administration to have proposals that I think will capture the imagination of the Soviet Union. But I don't know what he's going to bring. We haven't had that confirmed.

Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting

Q. Mr. President, is it time now to talk about a summit with Mr. Gorbachev?

The President. No, it's time to talk about a constructive, productive meeting of the Foreign Ministers out in Wyoming, and we'll have to see what message Mr. Shevardnadze brings with him. But I feel under no rush on that subject. I think our handling of the Soviet account is pretty good. I feel we've got experts in whom I have great confidence that are handling these matters—the Secretary of State; General Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs]; Bob Gates [Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs], with us here today; Dick Cheney; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs [Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr.].

And so, I think the key point is: Does the Soviet Union understand that we want to see their *perestroika* succeed and see them move forward with more liberties? And I think they do understand that. And so, I don't think there's any chance of a disconnect there.

Arms Control

Q. Mr. President, why hasn't there been more progress on START? By the time that Shevardnadze arrives on Thursday, you'll have, or be close to having, a couple of modest agreements, one on chemical arms inspection, one on nuclear testing. You're moving ahead with an innovative plan on conventional weapons. But there's a perception here that the administration just has not been willing or had the desire to move forward as fast and with concrete action on START as it has elsewhere.

The President. That perception may have come about because we did put the earliest effort into conventional forces. I happen to think that that's the place the earliest efforts should have gone—into getting some conventional force stability. And therefore, we did move forward more quickly on that. But I don't think it's right to read into that effort—incidentally, a proposal that captured the imagination not just of the West but of many in the East as well—to indicate from that that we're not interested in going forward on START. Or let me throw in chemical weapons—most of you here have heard me speak about the importance of trying to do something in the chemical weapons area. So, the fact that we've tabled one imaginative and, I'd say, far-reaching proposal should not mean that we're not interested or unwilling to go forward with START. But that may be how—if there is such a perception—how it came about.

Q. Is it that the START issues, the last four remaining big issues on START, are too difficult? Are the differences between the U.S. and the Soviets too deep? Are the problems within your own——

The President. Well——

Q. ——administration too great?

The President. I don't think any of that—I mean, maybe some of the above, but not all. I mean, these are not easy problems. Verification issues aren't easy. I would simply say that I don't see any insurmountable stumbling blocks there, though.

Racial Tensions

Q. Mr. President, closer to home, in the past few months there have been a number of racial incidents in this country—blacks attacking whites, whites attacking blacks. Sir, what does this say about the state of racial relations in our country?

The President. Well, it says something ugly whenever there's an incident of that nature. I hope there's no trend towards more and more divisiveness along racial lines. And I will do my best to speak out against bigotry, wherever it occurs; racism, wherever it occurs, in what direction it goes; and against violence of any kind.

Q. But as a practical matter, sir, is there anything that either yourself or the Federal Government or even State government can do to end what seems to be a new trend in racial violence?

The President. I don't want to accept that premise. I don't feel that there's a new trend of racial hostility. But when these regrettable incidents occur, I think that all of us should unite in speaking out against them. But I don't think there's a Federal statute that is going to take care of an incident of that nature.

Gun Control

Q. Mr. President, Colombian leaders claim that the drug cartels are arming themselves with rapid-fire weapons manufactured in the United States and smuggled into that country. Given the fact that we're asking Colombian authorities to put themselves at risk in order to deal with this drug problem, how can you justify refusing to ban the sale and manufacture of those weapons in the United States?

The President. Well, I think everybody here knows my position on guns and banning guns. I do feel one thing we can do is cut down on the automatic clips that are used, the amount of fire coming out of one of those guns. We've made proposals, and I think we ought to get along supporting the President's proposals and the anticrime package—and that will send a very strong signal to Colombia.

Q. May I follow?

The President. You want to follow his question? No. [*Laughter*] You're second, however.

Drug War in Colombia

Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that the Colombian drug lords have targeted people in the United States and maybe even members of your own family. I was wondering if you had any message for any drug traffickers in Colombia who might be thinking along those lines.

The President. Well, I think I take a rather dim view of it. Look, I know there's speculation on this, but there is no hard intelligence evidence of such targeting. So, let me just lay that one out there to rest. But clearly any such action would, I think, just bring down the total wrath of the American people and the American Government.

But as I tried to make clear at one of our last press conferences, sometimes a courageous government in South America has difficulty controlling its own fortunes. And one of the reasons I have objected to some of this far-sweeping legislation on the Hill—about let's cut off all South American countries from which these drugs come into this country—is that that would stand up against President Barco, who is doing his level best to confine this and to control it in Colombia.

Q. Are you afraid for the security of your family, sir?

The President. No, I'm not. I'm not afraid. I have great confidence in the selflessness and in the thoroughness of the intelligence community and of the Secret Service.

Gun Control

Q. You said today and on Friday that you would not extend to domestically made semiautomatic weapons a ban you placed on imported weapons. But are there any restrictions at all that you would accept if Congress approved them on those weapons?

The President. Well, I'd be glad to talk to Congress about it. But basically I think the thing to do is go forward and approach the problem by passing our anticrime bill. I used the analogy the other day of the person in the tower with an automatic, I mean, a quick-firing rifle as a view that it's going to be very, very hard to legislate against aberrational behavior. And I have long felt that the answer is to go after the criminal and not, in the process, do violence to the rights of legitimate gun owners.

Visa Request From Yasser Arafat

Q. Mr. President, we're told that Yasser Arafat is preparing a visa request so he can come to the U.N. General Assembly to speak. Now that the U.S. has opened the dialog with the PLO, would you have any objection to Arafat coming to New York?

The President. I will consider that matter when and if it comes to my attention. You've heard something I haven't heard—that he is preparing a visa request, but I will look at that. What I mean is, I'm not going to answer your question right now because I don't know the final answer. But, obviously, it was a decision that would come to me, but it's not that far along.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. Back on the capital gains tax rate cut: the Democrats on Capitol Hill seem plainly determined to make it a major party question. How do you deal with that going into the floor debate in the House, and how does that tie into the grand strategy that we keep hearing about for a major budget compromise in the next 2 years?

The President. Well, it ties into the fact that I ran for office in this State and in 49 other States on a platform that included very clearly a capital gains differential. And I happen to feel that it is good for creating more jobs. I think it is good for risktaking. I think it is something that should happen. So, we'll fight for it on the floor and hopefully get it passed, and then approach the follow-on budget considerations.

But this concept that I'm hearing from some who are on the other side of the issue—well, if you insist on this, then we won't talk to you about A, B, or C for the future—I don't think that's right, and I don't think the American people would support that. There was a good, clear fight in that committee; and at this juncture, at least, after lots of amendments, my side prevailed on a bipartisan way—a lot of Democrats supporting us. And now we go to the floor. And then whatever comes out of the floor, we have to fit in, obviously, to the budgetary requirements for next year.

But I don't think it is right for people who get whipped on an issue in a committee to then start a lot of threats on the other side, saying, well, we'll never deal with the President. It doesn't work that way. You know why? Because the American people have a say. And they had a say last year about this question, and they'll have a say in the future. And it is not, as my critics contend, a tax that will simply help the rich. A lot of countries don't have tax on capital at all.

Federal Role in Education

Q. Mr. President, a few minutes ago you told the State legislators that Washington does not know best on the subject of education. At the education summit next week in Charlottesville, many of the Governors, not all Democratic, are going to say they want more from Washington. How are you going to reconcile the difference?

The President. Yes, they want more, and sometimes justifiably so. But I can't think of a Governor that's going to come to me and say: Tell us how to do it. Mandate it. Mandated benefits from Washington—we've had enough of that, and I am against that. And I will make it clear I don't care how many of them come and say that. But I don't think any will, John [John Mashek, Boston Globe]. I don't think they want control. Of course, Governors are going to want additional resources of one kind or another. And maybe we can accommodate them, or maybe we can't. But I don't think they want that control of education, what they call mandated benefits. I'm absolutely certain they don't.

Trade With Hungary

Q. How much did it figure in your decision on Hungary and trade—their facilitating travel to the West with the East Germans?

The President. Well, to be candid with you, it was in the mix before those rather dramatic happenings. And I think their overall economic performance merits it. But clearly, when a country takes a courageous decision, that's just of additional benefit to this relationship that's growing and that is very, very important.

German Reunification

Q. Mr. President, the recent exodus of East Germans to West Germany has got a lot of people thinking about the potential reunification of Germany and whether that would be a good idea or not. Do you think a reunified Germany would be a stabilizing force in Europe or a destabilizing force?

The President. I would think it's a matter for the Germans to decide. But put it this way: If that was worked out between the Germanys, I do not think we should view that as bad for Western interests. I think there's been a dramatic change in post-World War II Germany. And so, I don't fear it. And I notice that the Chancellor had something to say on this the other day—I might need help from Bob [Gates]. But nevertheless, this is something that should be for them to determine. But I think there is in some quarters a feeling—well, a reunified Germany would be detrimental to the peace of Europe, of Western Europe, some way; and I don't accept that at all, simply don't.

Alaskan Oilspill

Q. Mr. President, throughout your

speeches today, you talked a great deal about the stewardship of the environment, yet you haven't mentioned the Alaska oilspill, and you dropped plans to go to Alaska as an extension of this trip. Shouldn't an environmental President have visited the site of this terrible oilspill?

The President. We had an environmental Vice President that went and gave an accurate report, and environmental head of the EPA that went and gave a good report, and an environmentally conscious head of the Coast Guard that went. And I would like to have gone up there, and maybe I'll get to go. But I don't think the fact that you don't go somewhere shows—of this nature, at this time—shows a lack of interest at all. And I am hopeful that the winter will be kind to the environmental damage there and help follow on to what man has tried to do. But please don't associate my not going to Alaska at a rather busy time with a lack of interest in Prince William Sound.

Q. If I may follow up, sir: Are you satisfied with Exxon's efforts, and do you believe that they will either themselves be back in the spring or that you'll be sending them a bill for more work to be done?

The President. Well, we have to see, but they will come back there—I am convinced of that—if the matter is not further along. There's no question, and I think they've said that. But we will be looking to that.

China-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, it's been 3½ months since the massacre in Tiananmen Square, and American businessmen, including your brother, are now back making deals with the Chinese. Are you willing now to resume normal relations with the Chinese Government?

The President. No, no, we're not. We have relations. I've tried to protect and preserve a long-time relationship that is very important to us, to the United States. It's in the national security interest, in the geopolitical interest, of the United States to have a relationship. But, no, it's not time for total normalcy, and I would hope that we would see proper signals that would indicate to me that it is in the future. But I don't want to hurt the people by cutting off commerce from the West. I've said that early on, right at the beginning, and I haven't changed my mind on that one. But there's still difficulties, great difficulties there.

Soviet-U.S. Trade

Q. Does your action on Hungary today indicate that you might be moving closer toward some similar action for the Soviet Union?

The President. Well, one of the matters that will be discussed in the Wyoming meeting will be the whole economic front, and perhaps that. But I couldn't say that in our decisionmaking process at the White House and the State Department that it's been moved forward, knowing of this decision on Hungary.

Q. I wonder why not, since the Soviet Union approved of Hungary's actions vis-a-vis East Germany and, at the same time, they have released so many Jews——

The President. Soviet Jews.

Q. ——they don't know what to do with them—Soviet Jews.

The President. Well, there are encouraging signs coming out of the Soviet Union, and we're going to continue to look at them closely, continue to have contacts with the Soviet Union across a wide spectrum of levels, and then make our recommendations on that. But all of this helps, Saul [Saul Friedman, Newsday]. In my view, all of these things help.

Q. At what point do you make some decisions, rather than simply saying we're looking at these things?

The President. Well, we just take our time and do what I think is—handle the overall Soviet relationship in a prudent way. And I think we are doing that. And so, I can't put a timeframe on it for you, but I would concur that all of these things help.

Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to bring you back to Maureen's [Maureen Dowd, New York Times] question. As we understand, there's been some increased security for your family and for other officials. But are you concerned that this drug war is now going to enter the United States, that there has been an escalation, not merely a threat but a potential danger here?

The President. I don't think there has been, in a hard intelligence sense, an increase in the threat. People are concerned—they're concerned, obviously, in south Florida. They're concerned in other parts of the country as well. I would go back to when it was apparent that Libya was exporting state-sponsored terrorism perhaps more than they're now doing. And there was a concern then about the lives of Americans in our country. And so, I can't say I'm totally unconcerned, but I can't give you any hard evidence that should further alarm the American people in this regard.

Did I leave out something?

Q. Well, I don't know if you leave out something.

The President. I mean, did you leave out something? You weren't clear on the question, put it that way.

Q. Well, I suppose the logical follow-on is: Have additional specific steps been taken to ensure that it won't come into this country?

*The President.*I don't know of any additional specific steps along the border, but we have tried at every turn to step up our interdiction. And we are doing a better job now, I can tell you, than we were a year ago in coordinating intelligence, which would be probably the key area there. But not as a result of—I can't think of any—two or three specific things done—at least that have come to my attention, since the crackdown by President Barco, if that was the question.

Emigration of Soviet Jews

Q. After pressing the Soviet Union for so many years to allow unfettered Jewish emigration, do you think the United States in good conscience can set a limit on the number of Soviet Jews that are allowed to come here? And does the apparent decision to set some limit have anything to do with Israel's view that not enough of the Soviet Jews want to go there?

The President. Well, first, Israel does want as many as possible to go there. There's no question about that. But I think we can accommodate those certainly that have applied. And, yes, we do have to control our overall immigration policy. I mean, we had that at the time of the boat people. We have it in Brownsville, Texas. We have it in people coming from other countries, from all across South America wanting to come here. The British are facing this problem now in Hong Kong in a very serious way. And any country must set certain limits.

It speaks very well, I think, in terms of what's happening in the Soviet Union and, hopefully, in the way we're handling the Soviet account, that more and more people are being permitted to come here.

Q. But you don't feel any sort of moral imperative after the United States has pressed the Soviet Union so long to have an almost open immigration policy for Soviet Jews?

The President. Well, I'd like to have an open immigration policy for Vietnamese refugees, for those fleeing the tyranny in Nicaragua, but we can't do that. We have to have certain control of our own policy. I remember feeling this way at the time of the Mariel Boat Lift, and so, I know where my heart is. And I'm very proud that it's moved up from what—3,000 emigres in one year to now 50 or 70, Bob [Gates], somewhere in that range—and that's good. And I want to do whatever we can to encourage it. But P.S.: We have got to have an overall immigration policy that keeps the control of our demographics in our hands.

War on Drugs

Q. Mr. President, is there any progress to report on negotiations with Congress on the drug bill? And would you be willing to put more money into the drug war as a possible compromise?

The President. There may be a compromise in the Senate, and I hope there is. And I've been one who is chastised for too much compromise from time to time, but I'm not in a position that there will never be any compromise. I am in a posture of saying: We've allocated the right amount of resources; let's get on with doing what I've suggested, and then if there's some glaring holes in the program, fine.

But to jump out immediately and start yelling—not had I gotten off that television set than a voice comes on from the Democratic side talking about more money. And then you hear this hue and cry about raising people's taxes. We don't have to do that. We've allocated a proper amount of money. And do I wish there were more that would be readily available and painlessly? Absolutely, but we've not fit a program—a national drug strategy—fit it into what I think is a sound financial proposition. And therefore, I'd like to urge the Congress to get on with it.

The American people want action. They support strongly our national drug strategy. I haven't seen one single piece of evidence that they don't. And so, let's take a step. Instead of criticizing—every time you come out with a proposal, whether it's on clean air or something else, somebody wants to raise taxes and add more money to it.

Well, I can understand that reflex, but I think we ought to try now to move some of these things forward in the last days of this Congress. And there's several other—crime package and some of these other areas—that I think they can move fast on. I'm very pleased with Bill Reilly [Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency] telling me that the House is starting to mark up our environmental package. That's good. So, I don't want to be hypercritical, but I must say there's a certain frustration level when you come out with a sound program and two answers come out: Spend more, and raise taxes. And that I don't think we have to do to be sound in the environment or sound in education or sound in antinarcotics.

Use of U.S. Troops in the Drug War

Q. Can I follow up, Mr. President? Today Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney said U.S. troops should be used more in the drug war and that they would, in fact, be put in harm's way. Is that what you foresee?

The President. You know what I learned long ago? Don't answer from one sentence out of something that somebody said that I haven't seen. But I've stated my position on trying to support Colombia. But I just would get in real trouble if I commented—even though I'm sure you accurately reflected what he said, or tried to. [*Laughter*] But put it this way: He hasn't discussed it with me, and something of this nature—I'm sure he would.

Arms Control

Q. Mr. President, to the earlier questions on the meetings with Mr. Shevardnadze, you answered and you couched your responses in terms of responding or reacting to what he brings. Can you talk for a second about what you want them to react to? What is your agenda? What do you want to get out of those meetings?

The President. Well, we've got some of our agenda on the public table, as you know. The most pressing point, the conventional forces, that agreement—that would really be a wonderful step to see completed fairly soon. But there will be other issues that Secretary Baker will be raising with them—a wide array of them. They will be on their economy. They will be on the environment. They will be on—well, several others that—I touched on chemical. I don't know exactly how far along we're going to be by the time that meeting starts.

But we're not going to just react to his proposals. We're going to be very interested in them and welcome them, but we just simply cannot and will not keep reacting. We have interests in this hemisphere, where the Soviets continuing to send—or increased amounts of arms going into Nicaragua right now over last year. That's not very good. That's not a very kind and gentle approach to this hemisphere. And so, we're going to be raising other questions with them. But I think it will be a constructive meeting and hope there will be progress.

Strategic Defense Initiative

Q. Mr. President, Vice President Quayle has indicated in recent statements that the administration may be reevaluating or backing off on its commitment to SDI. What's going on with SDI?

The President. We're not backing off it. We submitted some figures up there, and lo and behold, they were cut, or trying to be cut. And so, we will stay with it. But I think what the Vice President was talking about was SDI as now constituted, opposed to the original broad, idealistic—wonderfully idealistic—proposal of an impenetrable shield. I think what Dan Quayle was doing was focusing it down more where the research would go more along the lines it is now, but with the shield proposal kind of set aside. I think that's what that was all about.

All right. Persistence pays off—not yours, his. [*Laughter*]

Emigration of Soviet Jews

Q. I wonder if you could go back to the question of Soviet Jewish emigration? It's understandable that nations must set limits and control their own emigration, but when we thought that there was a real need, the space was there. I wonder if you feel that the need is diminished? I wonder if you feel that there is no longer the threat to Jews in the Soviet Union?

The President. I'd have to say I think the climate is better, but I can't say there's no threat to employment, to—you know, sometimes when you file an application to leave the Soviet Union, you're automatically denied employment, sometimes your apartment, wherever it might be. So, I think things are improving, but I think as long as someone is held in a country against their will, because they can't get out, it is a matter of human concern. It is a matter of conscience that was summed up really in the Helsinki accords. And so, it's not just the Jews coming out of the Soviet Union. It's a very important category, but there are others around the world that are seeking refuge as well.

So, I think things are somewhat better there, but I don't think we can say: Look, you've totally lived up to your commitment for ingress and egress by permitting, what, 70,000 people to leave. I mean, I've heard figures as high as half a million wanting to leave the Soviet Union. So, we can't relax on that, but we do have to have an orderly immigration policy.

Thank you all for your understanding. May I ask if there's a question from a Montana—Frank [Frank Sesno, Cable News Network], you are not a Montana reporter. [*Laughter*]

Wilderness Areas

Q. Mr. President, you didn't mention anything about wilderness in your talk on environmental stewardship. The big issue in Montana and most of the other Western States is whether to add additional wilderness areas to the national—what's your position on that?

The President. First, let me give you a broad answer. We can accommodate sound environmental practice with some growth. And the Governor of this State feels that way. We did talk about it earlier on. We have made proposals for more wilderness to be set aside. And I can't help you with exactly what's happening in Montana on that, I'm sorry. But I'm one who campaigned on and still feels that you can have good, strong, sound environmental practice without saying there will be no growth whatsoever or no energy industry whatsoever. So, whether that helps or not—but I'm just not familiar with the numbers of acreage being requested here in this State.

Okay, thank you all very much.

Note: The President's 24th news conference began at 2:48 p.m. in the house of representatives chamber of the Montana statehouse. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Spokane, WA, where he remained overnight.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate on Trade With Hungary

September 18, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am writing to inform you of my intent to add Hungary to the list of beneficiary developing countries under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP).

The Trade and Tariff Act of 1984 first allowed Hungary to be considered for GSP benefits. We have carefully examined Hungary under the criteria identified in sections 501 and 502(b) and (c) (19 U.S.C. 2461;

2462(b) and (c)) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended. In light of these criteria, and particularly Hungary's ongoing political and economic reform, I have determined that it is appropriate to extend GSP benefits to Hungary.

This notice is submitted in accordance with section 502(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Nomination of Richard H. Melton To Be United States Ambassador to Brazil

September 18, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard H. Melton, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Federative Republic of Brazil. He would succeed Harry W. Shlaudeman.

Since 1988 Ambassador Melton has served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Prior to this, Ambassador Melton served as Ambassador to Nicaragua, 1988; Director of the Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs at the Department of State, 1985–1988; and deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Montevideo, Uruguay, 1982–1985. From 1979 to 1982, he was political officer at the U.S. Embassy in London, United Kingdom; and a political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal, 1975–1978. Ambassador Melton was a special assistant in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, 1973–1975, and an international relations officer, 1971–1973.

Ambassador Melton graduated from Cornell University (B.A., 1958) and the University of Wisconsin (M.A., 1971). He attended the National War College, 1978–1979. He served in the U.S. Army, 1958–1961. Ambassador Melton was born August 8, 1935, in Rockville, MD. He is married, has three children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Appointment of Christine D. Reed as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association

September 18, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Christine D. Reed as a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association (Homebuilding Industry Representative) for a term ending on the date of the annual meeting of the stockholders in 1990. She would succeed Vance C. Miller.

Mrs. Reed is currently the executive director of the Building Industry Association of Southern California for the Orange County region in Santa Ana. Prior to this, she was director of the California Department of Housing and Community Development, 1987–1989, and was the interim director, 1986–1987. From 1983 to 1986, Mrs. Reed was assistant secretary and then deputy secretary for the business, transportation, and housing agency in Sacramento, CA. She was deputy attorney general for the State of California at the California Department of Justice, 1981–1983, and assistant legal director for the California District Attorneys Association, 1980–1981.

Mrs. Reed graduated from San Diego State University (B.A., 1974) and Western State University College of Law (J.D., 1977). She was born July 28, 1952, in Frankfurt, Germany. She is married and resides in Corona del Mar, CA.

Remarks at the Washington Centennial Celebration in Spokane
September 19, 1989

The President. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Tom, thank you, Speaker Foley, for that very kind introduction. Please be seated—sorry about that. [*Laughter*] Oh, heavens, what a day! And thanks to the magnificent performances and performers on the Opera House steps over here. You added considerably to this. Thank you all very much.

Let me say at the very beginning that Washington State is very lucky to have a friend like Tom Foley in the Nation's Capital. He is a man of integrity, decency, fairplay, and—okay, he's a Democrat, but—[*laughter*]—he's a man I'm very proud and honored to work with. And you should be very fortunate to have him as your Congressman, just as I am to have him as the Nation's Speaker.

Mrs. Foley——

Audience member. Yea, mother! [*Laughter*]

The President. See, she brought the family. [*Laughter*] And my old friend, Joel Pritchard, the Lieutenant Governor. Thank you all for your warm welcome. My congratulations to cochairmen Ralph Monroe and Jean Gardner, Washington's first lady, on a great centennial. And Mayor pro tem Higgins, you've got a beautiful city here to be proud of. And then I'd like to just say hello all the way across the country to Senator Slade Gorton, thanking him for all his work on behalf of the people of this great State.

You know, back in 1889, when President Harrison sent a letter—telegram, rather, to the first Governor of Washington to tell him that Washington had become the 42d State, he sent the telegram collect. [*Laughter*] Well, that's one way to balance the budget. [*Laughter*]

It's a pleasure to be here at the dawn of a second century of statehood, here in the Evergreen State. I'm not going to give you, you can be pleased to know, the usual stump speech. And I may be going out on a limb here, but I think most of America thinks of you as the real Washington. Yours is a land of rich resources and resourceful people. Salmon, gold, timber in abundance brought us here, as the promise of the Pacific brought the railroads west. There has always been, and will always be, a sense that the future is being decided here in this gateway to the Pacific.

Here in Washington you're doing well, living in a State with exports that went up nearly 40 percent last year alone, leading the Nation in exports per capita, and cutting unemployment from 10 percent to 6 percent over the last 5 years, during a time of rapid population growth. And last month you held a Pacific summit that reminded America how crucial the interrelations between nations are for our future. Even now your able Governor is in Japan—Governor Gardner. Last Thursday he attended groundbreaking ceremonies for Washington Village, a housing development in Kobe, Japan, using Washington finished forest products and U.S. construction methods. And that means $10 million for the State of Washington and a great American export to Japan.

Washington has had a wonderful 100 years, and you deserve a great centennial celebration. But it's the future that I'm here to talk to you about today. I took this trip out West because I'm concerned—as I think we all are—about the future of the planet we share. You see, it won't be enough to restore our balance of trade if we throw off the balance of nature.

In South Dakota, I talked about the need to restore the balance of nature here at home and how each of us can begin by planting a single tree. In Montana, I talked about interdependence, how the actions we take and the pollutants we create have consequences that are being felt the world over. And today I'm asking all Americans to join in the renewed spirit of conservation, a new commitment to a more careful stewardship of the natural world. And at my side I'm glad to have such an able and sensible Environmental Protection Agency—EPA—Administrator, Bill Reilly, with me here today, a man in whom I have a great deal of confidence and trust.

You see, I think many of us are beginning to understand something that native Americans understood long before we got here. When it comes to preservation of our precious environment, there's a connection between the smallest individual action and widespread global consequences. No words convey that better than a legendary speech given in the 1800's by an Indian chief named Seattle. "The Earth does not belong to man," he said, "man belongs to the Earth. Whatever happens to the Earth happens to the sons of the Earth. The sky, the lands which appear changeless and eternal may change. Continue to foul the Earth and you will achieve an end to living and the mere beginning of survival. You must teach your children that the Earth is rich. Teach your children that to harm the Earth is to heap contempt upon its Creator."

Chief Seattle understood what it has taken us a century to learn. Our material prosperity and economic growth have served us well. But now, together, we must find new ways to apply the creativity of the marketplace in the service of the environment. Sound ecology and a strong economy can and, indeed, must coexist. I am convinced that we need not yield to the extremes. We must and will protect the environment, and we must and will protect the jobs of the working men and women of the State of Washington. There is no question in my mind: We can do both.

We have an opportunity to renew the environmental ethic in America and to reassert U.S. leadership on environmental challenges around the world. And that's an opportunity that we simply cannot afford to miss. In the 8 months since I was sworn in as President, we've moved fast and hard to make the environment a priority. We're seeking a worldwide ban by the year 2000 on CFC's [chlorofluorocarbons] which destroy the ozone layer. We've prohibited imports of ivory, and prices have dropped by 50 percent, making elephant poaching less profitable. And we're working for a policy that would ban the export of hazardous wastes unless we're sure they'll be disposed of safely. We've proposed tougher laws to eliminate medical waste on our beautiful beaches. And we want to expand dozens of forests and parks and refuges across America. We've announced a national goal of no net loss of wetlands. And we've laid out detailed proposals to stem acid rain, cut urban smog, clean up air toxics, and encourage the use of alternative fuels with a clean air bill that achieves 95 percent of the smog-causing VOC [volatile organic compounds] reductions sought by competing legislation at a cost of $6.5 billion less.

And that's just in 8 months. And as your President, I plan to stay involved, helping to protect our precious environment. As long as I remain President, I will do that. When it comes to clean air, we need action on the legislation that we've proposed—now. Every day that passes is another day that we are postponing progress on clean air. And we've brought people together and put a sound proposal on the table, and now it is up to the United States Congress to pass this clean air legislation and pass it this year.

But if we really hope to recover, restore, and preserve our natural heritage, that other Washington can't do it alone. And the answer can't simply be limited to new laws. It must be more fundamental. It lies in a shared sense of personal responsibility, a new environmental awareness on the part of all Americans. Through millions of individual decisions—simple, everyday, personal choices—we are determining the fate of the Earth. So, the conclusion is also simple: We're all responsible, and it's surprisingly easy to move from being part of the problem to being part of the solution.

So many of the big problems—coastal

water pollution, pesticides in ground water, urban smog, and municipal garbage—aren't simply caused by large power plants and refineries; and many can't be solved by national legislation alone. Millions of small, diverse sources contribute to these problems, including the everyday behavior of people at work and at home. And such overwhelming environmental challenges can be solved by individual determination that we can do better. Local communities; businesses, large and small; individual families—all can learn to generate less waste, recycle more of the waste that is generated. In fact, those that do have discovered that there are sound economic side-effects. Environmental protection makes economic sense.

The people of Washington State, in fact, have a history of showing the rest of the Nation the way. Back in the 1940's, J.P. Weyerhaeuser moved the lumber industry from simply harvesting forest resources towards comprehensive management of tree farms that could endure indefinitely. And after research into product development, Weyerhaeuser began introducing marketable products made from what was once treated as waste.

The 3M Corporation announced last spring that since starting their pollution prevention program in 1975, the company has saved $408 million and prevented 111,000 tons of air pollutants, 15,000 tons of water pollutants, and 388,000 tons of solid waste from being released into the environment. And they've done it by rewarding employees for coming up with good ideas.

In the city of Seattle, fees for waste disposal have been an incentive for businesses and households to reduce the amount of waste produced. And I understand that over the last several years, waste has been cut here by nearly a fourth.

So, the power of the marketplace can encourage conservation with spectacular results, results that need to be duplicated everywhere in America. I am delighted to be able to make these comments about your city in your city, so they'll be heard across the rest of the United States.

You know, 15 years ago, when Spokane invited the world over for a visit at 1974 Expo, it became the first World's Fair to put the focus—the world's focus, if you will—on the environment. It was a good beginning, and we've made progress since then. And perhaps nothing better symbolizes that than the surging river that pulses through Spokane, a river that first lured men here as a source of protection, transportation, and sustenance. Such damage was done to this river by the early part of this century that by 1938 the Spokane River was called a serious health hazard. And over the past few decades, you have restored and reclaimed this magnificent river. The damage has been reversed, totally turned around. Nature's balance has been restored, and the river had been reborn.

The ethic of native Americans like Chief Seattle must also be reborn on this continent. His was a religious understanding: that the whole Earth has a soul that can be destroyed by man. He saw the world as a spiritual place of precious but fragile beauty. Over a century ago, he said: "Hold in your mind the memory of the land as it was when you found it. And with all your strength, with all your mind, with all your heart, preserve it for your children and love it as God loves us all."

That is a challenge to us all. The American people—all people—need a fuller relationship with the world they live in, a better understanding of causes and effects. And if the Earth is an altar, we must make it an altar not of sacrifice but of celebration, a place where our commitment to restoring its natural beauty is felt in a thousand everyday decisions. You've made one of those decisions today by deciding to plant a centennial tree. May it grow, flourish, and symbolize the hope of a new century: that man will one day be reconciled to nature once again.

What a spectacular day in the State of Washington! Thank you for inviting me. God bless you, God bless this State, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in Riverfront Park. Following his remarks, he returned to Washington, DC. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Emergency Relief for the United States Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico

September 19, 1989

The President today expressed concern and sympathy for the death and destruction wreaked on the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico and throughout the Caribbean by Hurricane Hugo. The Federal Government stands ready to respond promptly and fully. A team from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) will be in the air this morning bound for the Virgin Islands, accompanied by Lt. Gov. Derek Hodge, Delegate Ron de Lugo, and officials of the Department of the Interior. Their initial mission will be to assess the damage and assist in reestablishing communications throughout the islands, which appear to have been devastated by this tremendous storm. Another FEMA team stands ready to travel to Puerto Rico as soon as a landing site can be located, and a FEMA representative is expected to meet with government officials in Puerto Rico today.

We anticipate receiving formal requests for assistance from Gov. Alexander Farrelly of the Virgin Islands and Gov. Rafael Hernández-Colón of Puerto Rico today and will review those requests immediately in an effort to expedite the appropriate Federal response. All necessary Federal resources will be quickly mobilized to help the people of the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico recover from this disaster.

Nomination of Catherine Ann Bertini To Be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

September 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Catherine Ann Bertini to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Food and Consumer Services. She would succeed John William Bode.

Since 1989 Mrs. Bertini has served as Acting Assistant Secretary for the Family Support Administration at the Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she served as Director of the Office of Family Assistance at the Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, DC, 1987–1989; commissioner of the Illinois Human Rights Commission, 1985–1987; and on the industry sector advisory committee on paper and paper products for the commerce and trade department in Illinois, 1985–1986. In addition, Mrs. Bertini has served as a commissioner on the Illinois State Scholarship Commission, 1980–1985, and confidential assistant in the office of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, 1971.

Mrs. Bertini received a bachelor's degree from State University of New York at Albany. She was born March 30, 1950, in Syracuse, NY. Mrs. Bertini is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Thomas E. Anfinson To Be a Deputy Under Secretary of Education

September 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas E. Anfinson to be Deputy Under Secretary for Management at the Department of Education in Washington, DC. He would succeed Patrick Pizzella.

Since 1986 Mr. Anfinson has served as Chairman of the Federal Prevailing Rate Advisory Committee at the Office of Personnel Management in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as special assistant to the Deputy Administrator for Management, Administration, and Budget for the Health Care Financing Administration at the Department of Health and Human Services, 1986; and as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary for the Employment and Training Administration and special assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor, 1985–1986. In addition, he served as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Public Housing at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1985; deputy treasurer for the Reagan-Bush 1984 Presidential reelection committee in Washington, DC, 1983–1985; Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary and Acting General Manager of the New Community Development Corporation at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1981–1983; and special assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary for Field Coordination at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1981–1983. Mr. Anfinson served as president of Anfinson Accountancy Corp. in Newport Beach, CA, 1977–1981; on the renegotiation board in Los Angeles, CA, 1972–1977; and national tax manager for the Toyota Motor Sales and Distributors, Inc., in Torrance, CA, 1971–1972.

Mr. Anfinson graduated from the University of Southern California at Los Angeles (B.S., 1964) and the Federal Executive Institute in 1987. He was born August 16, 1941, in Stockton, CA. Mr. Anfinson served in the U.S. Army Reserve, 1965–1970. He is married, has three children, and resides in Great Falls, VA.

Nomination of Christopher T. Cross To Be an Assistant Secretary of Education

September 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Christopher T. Cross to be Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement at the Department of Education. He would succeed Patricia Mayes Hines.

Since 1989 Mr. Cross has served as vice chairman of Macro Systems, Inc., in Silver Spring, MD. Prior to this, he served as a visiting fellow at the Center for Excellence in Government, 1988–1989; and as president, 1985–1988, and executive vice president, 1983–1985, of the University Research Corp. in Bethesda, MD. In addition, he has served as manager of Federal systems at Westinghouse Information Services and Westinghouse Learning Corp., 1980–1983; director of the Washington office operations and policy analysis at Abt. Associates, Inc., 1978–1980; Republican staff director and senior education consultant for the Committee on Education and Labor in the United States House of Representatives, 1972–1978; and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation (Education) in the Office of the Secretary at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970–1973.

Mr. Cross graduated from Whittier College (B.A., 1962) and California State University (M.A., 1970). He was born May 30, 1940, in Lakewood, OH. He is married, has three children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Deployment of Military and Law Enforcement Officers to the United States Virgin Islands

September 20, 1989

The President has authorized the deployment to the U.S. Virgin Islands of such Department of Defense forces as are necessary, including military police units, to help restore order in the aftermath of Hurricane Hugo. The President's decision was based on a thorough assessment of the situation by appropriate Federal authorities and followed a request this afternoon from Governor Farrelly of the U.S. Virgin Islands requesting Federal assistance.

In addition, the President has directed the Attorney General to deploy in excess of 100 U.S. marshals and FBI agents, who are scheduled to arrive in St. Croix early tomorrow morning. They have been ordered to take all necessary steps to protect Federal property and personnel in the Virgin Islands and to exercise all lawful authority necessary to enforce Federal law in the Virgin Islands.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Young American Medals for Bravery and Service

September 21, 1989

A thousand apologies for keeping this distinguished group. Please sit, sit, sit.

Let me just say first to the Attorney General, Director Morris and Director Sessions, David Runkel, and especially the medal winners, welcome to the White House. It will be my honor in just a moment to bestow the Young American Medal for Bravery and the Young American Medal for Service for 1987 and '88.

Emerson said that a hero is no braver than anyone else, only brave for 5 minutes longer. Two young people with us today know these minutes of bravery, minutes where terrible events seem to occur in slow motion, minutes facing death and challenging eternity.

One of the recipients of a Young American Medal for Bravery is 12-year-old Angela Marie Campanoli, and she attends the seventh grade at Aylen in Washington State—Aylen Junior. Angela, her mother Yvonne, her brother Bryan, and a friend were at the beach in Maui on October 5th, 1988. Three Japanese tourists—a man, his wife, and their little boy—were also at the same beach that same day. The Japanese child got caught in a current and started to panic. His parents, seeing this, dashed into the rough surf to rescue him. Others got to the child first. But the mother was dragged by a relentless current out to sea. Angela quickly dove in, swam to the woman, and held her head above water. Her brother, Bryan, was also right there. And together Bryan and Angela brought the woman back to shore, back to her family, back to her life.

We are also here to honor the late John Bankston of Dallas. On July 17, 1987, a church bus and a van carrying 43 people from a children's camp were swept into the currents of the Guadalupe River in Kerr

County, Texas. Pounding waves scattered the group, toppled the bus and the van. The youngsters who survived clung to branches and formed a human chain to cross the river. One of them was Jeff Bowman, who had a cast on his leg from a broken ankle. John carried Jeff on his back for 2 hours until they reached a tree. Jeff let go and grabbed a log that was floating downstream. John clung to the tree and was never seen again. He was 17 years old.

Rosie, John, we know that a parent's grief is a special hardship, but we hope that your grief is tempered now by pride—a pride in your hero, your son, John.

In California a different kind of tragedy almost occurred. On April 27, 1988, an armed student walked into the English class of San Gabriel High School. Seventy students suddenly became seventy hostages. One of them is with us today: Ruben Ortega. This young man threw his life into the balance, and because of his bravery his classmates are safe and well today.

When I was Ruben's age, Will Rogers said that being a hero is about the shortest lived profession on Earth. But Will Rogers' wry humor is belied by his own life: the man who lightened the worries of the Great Depression with laughter and good will. So, for some, bringing hope and even saving lives is not a matter of minutes. It's a matter of months and years of giving; it's a habit, a habit of the heart. And that is why we give the Young American Medal for Service.

Today we have with us Freddy Torres, of East Boston High School. At age 18, Freddy spent countless hours as a peer leader, inspiring hundreds of young people to stay away from drugs and learn about the dangers of AIDS. And Freddy went beyond the classroom, taking his message where it is needed the most—to the streets. It was out of class that Freddy persuaded young people, often dropouts, to enlist in drug and AIDS prevention programs.

I've said that from now on in America any definition of a successful life must include service to others. And by this definition, John Philip Donovan, of River Vale, New Jersey, is about as successful as you can be. Last year, 17, John served his community in many ways: as a leader of a Boy Scout troop with learning and other disabled scouts as members, as a fundraiser for Muscular Dystrophy, bringing in $6500 as a leader of Students Against Drunk Driving, and many other activities.

Sean Fox, Ethel, Washington, is another young American who cares enough to act. He organized a food bank for Toledo, Washington, involved his parents, mayor, school principal, and other community leaders in the drive. And because of Sean's work, the food bank serves more than 80 families in need.

Vicki Lynn Urick, of Alvin, Texas, has dedicated her efforts to cleaning up local beaches, restoring dunes along the Texas coast. She also started a nationwide aluminum can drive to restore the battleship *Texas*, and has been a leader in many other projects.

These services may not be as dramatic as pulling someone from the surf or subduing a gunman, but Freddy, John, Sean, and Vicki know something very profound: that it is in the daily accumulation of small acts of kindness that life can be improved—and often, that lives can be saved.

Let me offer one last thought: Sometimes we lose sight of the vast majority of young Americans who are doing their best to better this world. So, for those who worry about the future, perhaps they ought to take a look at these young Americans. You and I know that in the future, our country will be in good hands. I've never been more confident of that because it's going to be in hands like this.

And now, Attorney General, it is my honor to join you in helping pass out these medals. And thank you all for coming, and congratulations to everybody.

Note: The President spoke at 11:46 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh; Stanley E. Morris, Deputy Director of National Drug Control Policy; William S. Sessions, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and David R. Runkel, Assistant to the Attorney General for Public Affairs.

Nomination of David Jameison Smith for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as Chief Negotiator for Defense and Space

September 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate David Jameison Smith, of Virginia, to be accorded the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Chief Negotiator for Defense and Space. He would succeed Henry F. Cooper.

Since 1987 Mr. Smith has served as assistant to Senate minority leader Robert Dole. Prior to this, he served as a professional staff member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1985–1987; national security consultant to the national Republican senatorial committee and assistant to the campaign manager for Kolbe for Congress, 1984; and international negotiations staff officer for the Defense Intelligence Agency, 1980–1984. In addition, Mr. Smith has served as an intelligence officer for the Western Europe/NATO branch in the Defense Intelligence Agency, 1979.

Mr. Smith graduated from the University of Arizona (B.A., 1975), the University of London (M.S., 1976), and Harvard University (M.A., 1980). He was born November 10, 1953, in New York, NY. Mr. Smith has served in the U.S. Air Force Reserve since 1975. He is married, has one child, and resides in Annandale, VA.

Memorandum on the Civil Disorder in the United States Virgin Islands

September 21, 1989

Memorandum for the Attorney General and the Secretary of Transportation

Subject: Providing for the Restoration of Law and Order in the Virgin Islands

Pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, I have issued Proclamation No. 6023 of September 20, 1989, ordering persons engaged in domestic violence and disorder in the United States Virgin Islands to cease and desist. It is my understanding that the conditions described in that Proclamation continue, and that the persons engaging in such acts of violence have not dispersed. Therefore, by the authority vested in me as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, in addition to the measures I have directed by Executive Order No. 12690 of September 20, 1989, to be taken, I am hereby ordering that the following measures be taken to restore law and order in the United States Virgin Islands:

1. Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, members of the U.S. Marshals Service, and units and members of the U.S. Coast Guard will be used to suppress the violence described in the proclamation and to restore law and order in and about the Virgin Islands.

2. The Attorney General is authorized to use such agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and members of the U.S. Marshals Service as may be necessary to carry out the directive of paragraph 1 and to aid in the administration of justice in and about the Virgin Islands. In particular, the Attorney General is authorized to use such personnel in response to, or to prevent, violations of the orders contained in Proclamation No. 6023, including to arrest persons in violation of law.

3. The Secretary of Transportation is authorized to use such units or members of the U.S. Coast Guard as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of paragraph 1. To that end, he is authorized to call into the

active military service of the United States units or members of the U.S. Coast Guard, as authorized by law, to serve in an active duty status for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders. Units or members may be relieved subject to recall at the Secretary's discretion. In carrying out the provisions of this memorandum, the Secretary shall observe such law enforcement policies as the Attorney General may determine.

4. The Attorney General is authorized (a) to coordinate the law enforcement policies of all Federal agencies assisting in the suppression of violence and in the administration of justice in and about the Virgin Islands, and (b) to coordinate the law enforcement policies of all such agencies with those of territorial and local agencies similarly engaged.

5. The Secretary of Transportation is authorized to determine when U.S. Coast Guard forces shall be withdrawn from the disturbance area and when such personnel shall be released from active Federal service. Such determination shall be made in the light of the Attorney General's recommendations as to the ability of territorial and local authorities to resume full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the affected area.

6. The Attorney General and the Secretary of Transportation are authorized to delegate to subordinate officials of their respective Departments any of the authority conferred upon them by this memorandum.

GEORGE BUSH

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict

September 22, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95–384, I am submitting to you this bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question.

I am pleased to note that the negotiating process under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General is continuing. The last meeting between the parties was held in New York on June 28–29, at which time a communique was issued by the Secretary General noting his satisfaction and declaring that "the effort made by the two leaders since August 1988 had made it possible, as never before, to tackle the issues that must be resolved if a solution to the Cyprus problem is to be found." The communique also stated that an outline under preparation "would provide the basis for the negotiation of an overall agreement."

The Secretary General asked both leaders to continue the talks with his representative in Cyprus, and copies of a draft outline were provided to both communities' leaders in mid-July. As of mid-September, however, these talks have yet to reconvene because of controversy over the status and content of the draft outline. It is our objective to have the talks resume at an early date, and we are working directly with the Secretary General in this endeavor.

The Secretary General used his biannual report to the Security Council on U.N. operations in Cyprus for the period December 1, 1988, to May 31, 1989 (copy attached), to review the progress made in the latest communal negotiations. He also used the report to reiterate his concern about the mounting deficit faced by the U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), but recommended that its mandate be renewed for another 6 months. The U.N. Security Council on June 9 voted unanimously to extend UNFICYP's mandate through December 15, 1989.

On July 19, disturbances broke out in the Ayios Kassianos area of Nicosia during a demonstration by Greek Cypriots marking the anniversary of the events of July 1974. According to the United Nations some

1,000 Greek Cypriots forced their way into the U.N.-controlled buffer zone at Ayios Kassianos, in part by ramming a bus through a U.N. fence. The UNFICYP ultimately was able to contain most of the demonstrators. Before all could be contained, however, Turkish Cypriot security forces arrived on the scene and arrested some 100 persons. Those arrested were held in custody by Turkish Cypriot authorities and were released several days later. The apparent unwillingness of Greek Cypriot police to stop the demonstrators from entering the buffer zone and the Turkish Cypriot security authorities' arrest of some of them were both factors detrimental to intercommunal relations and the ongoing efforts to reach a settlement on the island.

From the outset of the disturbances, the United States worked actively in support of U.N. efforts to defuse the situation and to restore the *status quo ante.* We urged all concerned to act with restraint and to respond to U.N. appeals for the immediate release of those detained. We also stressed the need for both communities to cooperate with the United Nations in preventing the entry of unauthorized persons into the buffer zone.

In my meetings and conversations with then-Greek Prime Minister Papandreou, Turkish President Evren and Prime Minister Ozal, and Cypriot President Vassiliou, I have stressed our continued commitment to support the efforts of the Secretary General to resolve the Cyprus dispute.

Finally, I am pleased to inform you that in June Nelson C. Ledsky was appointed Special Cyprus Coordinator. Unlike his predecessor, M. James Wilkinson, who served with distinction in that position since 1986, Mr. Ledsky will devote all his time to Cyprus. Mr. Ledsky is a career Foreign Service Officer whose most recent assignment was as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for European and Soviet Affairs at the National Security Council.

Mr. Ledsky's appointment underlines our continued commitment to the search for a Cyprus settlement. He met with the Secretary General and the leaders of the two communities on the margins of their June 28–29 meetings in New York. During early August, Mr. Ledsky consulted key authorities in Ankara, Athens, Nicosia, and London. He urged that all support fully the U.N.'s efforts to continue the intercommunal talks, and, to that end, he has worked directly with the staff of the Secretary General during the first part of September in an effort to reschedule the talks.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Luncheon in East Brunswick, New Jersey

September 22, 1989

Thank you, Governor and Mrs. Kean and Congressman and Mrs. Courter—soon-to-be Governor Courter—and other superb Members of the congressional delegation. I hope they were introduced. But they're all friends—Dean Gallo and Marge Roukema and Chris Smith, Mattie Rinaldo, Jim Saxton. Delighted to be with them. We rode up together on Air Force One, and they got me all fired up about Jim and the "winnability" of this very, very important race that's going to be in the national spotlight.

I'm delighted to see Bo Sullivan, to whom I'm indebted for heading my campaign earlier, and Larry Bathgate, who continues to amaze me. He takes on the Nation and always never forgets his roots and remembers the State of New Jersey. Bo, tough and strong; Larry, persistent, dedicated—ideal people to train me for going head on head with Sam Donaldson [ABC News]. [*Laughter*] And as for Kathy Donovan, our new chairman—our State chairman, I wish her well, and all you Republican leaders that are with us today. Thank you for what you did to help our ticket carry this State and what I know you will do to guarantee that Jim Courter is our next Governor.

Let me again tell you, Jim, how pleased I am to be with you and your family. Barbara and I are just delighted to be here, albeit for a short period of time. It's good to be back in a State whose motto is "Liberty and Prosperity" and which in the last 8 years has had a Governor devoted to both liberty and prosperity. And if I could borrow a phrase: Under Tom Kean, liberty and prosperity have been perfect together.

It's a pleasure to return to this State that was very kind to me in 1988 to salute our Republican ticket across the board—its candidate, its ideas, its visions—and especially those of you whom I recognize out here who toil so long and hard at the grassroots level—the county chairman, the precinct workers, and everybody else. This State is organized, and that is going to be very good for Jim come November.

I've come to East Brunswick not just to say thank you but for an even more important reason. And this reason goes beyond party to the essence of this campaign. New Jersey's elections are among the most crucial in America. This election will decide whether New Jersey builds on what you began 8 years ago or whether it risks everything by returning to the past, and whether New Jersey has the inspired leadership it needs to win the war on drugs and crime or whether it reverts to failed social policies that blame everyone but the criminal. And this election will decide whether New Jersey continues to have the kind of leadership which balances a sound economy and a sound ecology—and it can be done, and Tom Kean shows me that I can do that for the country as well—or whether its leadership says no to higher taxes and yes to extending the prosperity of the last 8 years. And that's what this election is about; that's what it's going to decide. And it's that important, and it's that clear-cut. And today I make a prediction: This November, New Jersey will make the right decision, and Jim Courter will be our next Governor. They do not want to go back to the past.

And that means a vote for Republicans running for the general assembly—we have many of them here today, Republicans who will help ensure fair redistricting in the 1990's—and a vote for Republicans running at the local and county level as well. It means a vote for candidates who will take a tough approach to the criminal elements, and perhaps most of all, it means a vote for the man who can move your State into the coming decades stronger than ever. And of course, that is your next Governor, Jim Courter.

Jim's a long-time—[*applause*]—he's a long-time friend, and I wanted to come up here and on a very personal basis support him and the great party that's behind him and tell you of the high regard that we Bushes have for the Courters. I know you wanted to hear a few words from a prominent national figure who can really fire up a crowd and generate some excitement. Unfortunately, Schwarzenegger had to go back to Los Angeles, so they sent me. [*Laughter*]

Look, I am delighted, and believe me, too, when I say that the entire Republican ticket can help keep New Jersey proud, as the banner says. I believe that. How? By keeping a Republican Governor and a Republican general assembly—by keeping New Jersey Republican.

Let me quote one of New Jersey's favorite adopted sons, the noted philosopher, Montclair's Yogi Berra. Once Yogi ruminated, "You observe a lot by just watching." [*Laughter*] Well, we've observed a lot by watching the New Jersey Republicans over the years, and we've seen you fight—Tom Kean at the forefront—to clean up our environment, to clean up our schools. We've seen you fight the scourge of drugs and crime. We've seen you create—what did Tom say, three-quarters of a million new jobs in the last 8 years—three-quarters of a million new jobs. And school test scores going up twice the national rate. And we've seen you oppose those liberal Democrats who cherish new taxes like moths drawn to some kind of a candle. [*Laughter*]

And these Republican positions embody

the new New Jersey. Old values—the values are there, but it's new thinking and will reinforce the progress of the last 8 years—8 years of enlightened leadership, Republican leadership.

And yet Republicans know that a record is something not to stand upon but to build on. And our party's leadership into the nineties will reaffirm the renaissance that makes New Jersey's success story worth retelling.

First, a word about the environment, for here, as elsewhere, Republicans have helped build the new New Jersey. Republicans have pushed legislation to ban ocean dumping, made New Jersey a leader in recycling, launched the most aggressive toxic waste cleanup program in America. And I can tell you, as we formulated a new national program to strengthen the environment, we turned to Governor Tom Kean, to the record in this State, to show us the way. And I am determined to do for this country, with the help of the Congress, what Tom Kean has done and is doing, what Jim Courter will do for the environment in the State of New Jersey. We are in this together. And New Jersey has led the way nationally, and I am very, very grateful.

Next, education—for here, too, Republicans have moved forward, not backward. In 1983 Tom Kean unveiled a great idea called alternative certification, a concept allowing talented Americans to teach in the classroom. Today alternative certification is a flagship of the Federal plan that we introduced earlier this year. Tom Kean has, indeed, been the "education Governor," and Republicans, led by Jim Courter, can keep academic excellence a New Jersey byword. And we have to have a Governor in this State who is going to continue to build on that record of educational excellence. It is important to our nation as well as to your State.

I noticed that Jim Courter gently touched on the next subject: taxes. And here the difference between the old and new New Jerseys is especially clear. The new New Jersey knows that creating opportunity can help meet the needs of distressed locales from Camden to Paterson. And in particular, let me salute this State's magnificent support—leadership, if you will—for urban enterprise zones. The new New Jersey, a Republican New Jersey, knows that the decade's tax cuts help make prosperity a reality. For the more money people have to spend, the more that they themselves can do to help create jobs and growth and progress. And that is the new New Jersey.

And the old New Jersey was: If one tax didn't work, try another one. And in fact, the old New Jersey reminds me of a story about Mark Twain. In later life, Mark Twain suffered from arthritis. And whenever the papers reported that he'd had another attack, strangers would send him homemade remedies to spur his recovery. Well, Twain had a standard reply: "Dear sir, I try every remedy sent to me. I am now on number 87. Yours is 2,653. I am looking forward to its beneficial results." [*Laughter*]

Fellow Republicans, all those remedies didn't cause Mark Twain's recovery, and all the Democrat taxes didn't cause New Jersey's recovery. The new New Jersey knows that, and the old New Jersey doesn't know it. And I regret to report to you: Many of the Democrats in the United States don't—Congress—don't know that either. And I'm going to have to help teach them that, and I'm going to stay with what I told the American electorate that I'm going to do.

We've touched on the environment and education and taxes, but nowhere is that division really more clear—the new New Jersey and the old—than in the area of crime, drugs, and punishment. Republicans believe that when asked what kind of society Americans deserve our answer must be a nation in which people are safe and feel safe. And that's why we want to change the rules of the game dramatically—new solutions for a new New Jersey.

For instance, we are strong advocates of America's first national comprehensive strategy to end drug use, which I announced earlier this month. Republicans want tougher enforcement—more prisons, more courts, more prosecutors, and tougher sentences. Many like Jim Courter have spent ages, years, hours long in the Congress demanding them. And you know where drug dealers belong. Republicans say: in jail. You back more interdiction and treatment and our plan to stop use before it begins, through education and prevention, from grade school to graduate school.

Republicans like Jim Courter want to fight drugs on any and every front, and facing new problems in a new way by putting emphasis where the crisis is—right at the community level. The communities will decide the future of New Jersey. And with a Republican Governor and a Republican general assembly, that future will also include not just a war against drugs but a crusade against all crime: supporting tougher laws, giving our law enforcement officers more resources, declaring open warfare on the con artists and the hoods.

And I would like to see not only Jim Courter elected to do what he has said he wants to do in crime but I would like to see the United States Congress move forward on my crime package that has been languishing there in the Congress for a couple of months now. It is time in Washington for action, just as it is here in New Jersey.

Tom talked about Jim's background a little. It's a good one. It's a caring one—Peace Corps volunteer; legal aid to the poor; lawyer; author; prosecutor; Congressman; moral man; a family man; a man respected by his colleagues—in sum, a man you can trust. And look next at his record on the environment. I talked about Tom's some. As Congressman, he's helped renew and recover our national heritage. As Governor, he's going to go after those polluters. I believe we ought to put the polluters in prison, and I know Jim agrees with that. Or education—he's been a vocal advocate of this concept of alternative certification.

Or taxes—I've never had him come down yet to the White House and say, please raise taxes. [*Laughter*] Hasn't done it. Don't expect he's going to do it here in this State. He wants to cut the taxes so that people will be able to spend more. And I'm proud that he is supporting me on this capital gains cut. Let the Democrats say it's a tax for the rich. It is a tax adjustment that is going to help create jobs in America, and that's why I am going to continue to fight for it.

And on the opposition to drugs, his record is clear. He's strongly supported bills to coordinate law enforcement efforts, involved the military in combating drugs—magnificent record in combating crime. He served as the first assistant prosecutor in his home county of Warren, and he's seen the drug peddlers and users first-hand. And he knows the terrible toll that's caused by crime. And that's why he wants mandatory time for firearms offenses, and I support him in that. No deals—no deals with those criminals that use a gun. And unlike his opponent, he wants to amend New Jersey's Constitution so that the death penalty on the books will be strengthened and enforced and, as he said, become a much clearer deterrent for those that go out and kill our police officers and others—and the narcotic traffickers and all of that, those narcotic traffickers.

Let me ask you a question. You make the choice. Do you want a Democratic Governor and a Democratic general assembly who thinks that New Jersey's death penalty law is fine as it is? Or do you want a Republican Governor and a Republican general assembly who says that murderers and drug kingpins and cop killers should get exactly what they deserve? I believe that's what the people want—that last alternative.

And so, the failed policies, in sum, of the 1970's just aren't good enough—not for New Jersey, not for the United States of America. They're not good enough to tackle drugs or crime, or to protect the environment, or do better as a nation in education. They're not good enough for our kids because they won't keep New Jersey proud.

And Tom Kean knows that. And that's why he's becoming president of Drew University and why he's heading the advisory committee of the Points of Light Initiative Foundation: to bring community service to every corner of America. And I think Jim Courter knows that, too. He shares Tom's commitment and my commitment to this Points of Light concept. From now on in America, you shouldn't have definition of a successful life that doesn't include one American helping another, service to one's own fellow man.

Jim knows what's on New Jersey's mind and in its heart. And his goal is to use that heart to build a better life for all. And I guess the sum is: Do you think that we can achieve the goal? I believe we can, both here and across our country.

There's a change taking place in America. I'm optimistic about this doing something, making a real imprint across the country on eliminating the scourge of drugs. How can we do it? First, here—you get down to the political level. We can do it through a unified Republican Party working together to support our entire ticket and through the old values and new thinking embodied in Jim's campaign.

The future versus the past, policies that work versus policies that don't, a better future for our children or one of lost opportunity—and, yes, there's a lot at stake. And let me remind you election day is only 46 days away. So, let's raise our sights, roll up our sleeves, keep New Jersey proud by keeping it Republican, and together help our outstanding Jim Courter and a new Republican general assembly preserve and strengthen the new New Jersey.

Thank you for what you're doing. Redouble your efforts. And God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:18 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Bo Sullivan, chairman of the 1988 New Jersey Bush-Quayle campaign, and Lawrence E. Bathgate II, finance chairman of the Republican National Committee. Following his remarks, he traveled to Maine.

Informal Exchange With Reporters in Wells, Maine

September 22, 1989

Q. Mr. President, what do you have to say about the drug bust the DEA [Drug Enforcement Administration] engineered for your prop in the drug speech?

The President. I think it was great because it sent a message to the United States that even across from the White House they can sell drugs. And so, I don't know all the details of it, but I think it sends a powerful message to the American people. It was a legitimate drug bust, and I think to have that happen in the shadow of the——

Q. But was it a legitimate claim, sir? They had to lure him there. How legitimate was your claim that——

The President. Every time that some guy gets caught selling drugs, he pleads that somebody is luring him someplace.

Q. The Park Police said they had to bring him there, Mr. President.

The President. That's the argument of the criminal element. They say: Somebody is setting me up; I shouldn't have been doing this. This is probably what he'll argue to get off. I want to crack down on—that's my answer to the question.

Q. It's a statement of the Park Police.

The President. What?

Q. It's a statement of the Park Police.

The President. Said what?

Q. Said that there is usually no problem with that there and that they had to bring the man there in order to buy the material from him.

The President. Yes, but the man went there and sold drugs in front of the White House, didn't he? That was the bottom line. That's what the man did. And he was arrested for it and—I hope he's arrested for it—I don't know. See, I can't feel sorry for this fellow.

Q. I don't think that's what the question is about.

The President. Well, what is the question about?

Q. I think the question seems to be more one of were the American people manipulated into thinking a condition existed that didn't really?

The President. What do you mean, it didn't really? The guy was arrested, or grabbed, for selling drugs in front of the White House. It didn't exist? It didn't happen?

Q. The Park Police people say that they had to bring him there in order to make the buy in order to fulfill the requirements for your speech.

The President. Well, that's what you do whenever you make a bust: You bring somebody someplace.

Q. They say they did it for you.

The President. And it happened the guy came right in front of the White House. So, I don't understand your—I mean, has somebody got some advocates here for this drug guy?

Q. They say they did it to accommodate your speech, sir, not that it happens all the time; that they did it just to fulfill the prophecy in your speech.

The President. The fact is the guy was arrested, or busted, in front of the White House. Doesn't matter—I don't care how it got there. It will probably happen again, unfortunately, but we're going to see that it doesn't. We're trying to make these neighborhoods, including good neighborhoods, free of drugs. And that's what the American people want.

Q. The question is, it never would have happened if you weren't making a speech. That's the point.

The President. They said nobody's ever sold drugs in front of the White House?

Q. They say that is not a heavy drug area.

Q. Lafayette Park has no problem—a little marijuana from time to time, according to the Park Police.

The President. The message that I get out of it is: A man was busted in front of the White House. And I cannot feel sorry for him. I'm sorry. They ought not to be peddling these insidious drugs that ruin the children of this country. And I don't care where it is—I'm glad that the DEA and everybody else is going after them with a renewed vigor.

Q. Did you ask for a bag of crack for the speech?

The President. I said I'd like to have something from that vicinity to show that it can happen anywhere. Absolutely. And that's what they gave me, and they told me where they caught this guy.

Q. Did they tell you what they'd have to do to procure it?

The President. No.

Q. Well, apparently, sir, he wasn't busted. Only the buy was made there, and it provided a convenient line for the speech.

The President. Well, I understand there's an ongoing action about this, too. So, I hope that they do more than get some of the people that are selling it to him.

Q. You don't think you conveyed the wrong impression in your speech, that you gave the impression there was a serious problem in Lafayette Park?

The President. I don't think any neighborhood is free from selling drugs. I don't think any neighborhood is free from it today. And this proved that the White House is not—that Lafayette Park—that's actually what it proved. I mean, the man was caught selling drugs in front of the White House. I think it can happen in any neighborhood, and I think that's what it dramatized. Don't you, Marlin?

Mr. Fitzwater. Yes, sir, Mr. President.

Note: The President spoke in the afternoon at Morse Tree Farm. In his remarks, he referred to Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Catholic Lawyers Guild in Boston, Massachusetts

September 23, 1989

Thank you all for that very warm reception. Barbara and I are just delighted to be with you. First, thank you, Judge Nolan. It's got to be the classic introduction. [*Laughter*] And I can't tell you how much I appreciate it. It gets me—I don't have to finish that high-calorie dessert. [*Laughter*] Thank you so much, sir. And I'm delighted to see Governor Mike Dukakis here today. Mike, thank you very much for being with us. Thank you very much.

And we have many other distinguished

guests: Chief Justice Liacos of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. I understand the attorney general is with us—Attorney General Shannon. And then of course my—I'll never convert him—but your senate president, Billy Bulger, over here.

I'm going to get in real trouble on this, but there is a certain nostalgia in the air. I understand that Police Commissioner Roche is with us somewhere out there. And former Chief Justice Hennessy and the former Mayor Collins. And then my friend, Ed King, the former Governor of this State, is here someplace. There he is.

We'll cut it off there except to say again to all of you our sincere thanks. Barbara and I are especially pleased to be with our friend, the spiritual leader of the diocese, Cardinal Law, a great servant of God.

For those of you way back in the back of this magnificent ballroom, I'll try to speak up. Cardinal Law warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad. [*Laughter*]

We've enjoyed visits by Cardinal Law to both Kennebunkport—down the road here, to our house—and the White House in recent months, and we're happy—very happy—to accept when he conveyed your kind invitation to this very, very special luncheon. I told my staff to set it up for any Saturday this fall, so long as Holy Cross wasn't playing B.C. [*Laughter*] And one aide noticed that "Red Mass" was on the trip schedule. He pulled out a map and said, "Is that anywhere near Boston?" [*Laughter*]

And lastly, we're pleased that Governor Sununu is with us today. Like many young Catholics, as a boy John dreamed of one day becoming Pope. [*Laughter*] It was only after having eight kids that we got him to settle for Chief of Staff. [*Laughter*] And I'm glad it worked out that way.

Yesterday, the first day of autumn—and it's the season of harvest, the season of change. It's the back-to-school and new beginnings. And it is with great respect and reverence that I come to you this day, the day of the red Mass, a stirring and deeply spiritual tradition. Today and tomorrow, men and women of the bar will join in solemn prayer across the country—our country—and around the world, gathering wherever civilization has been graced with the twin blessings of rule of law and faith in God. And the ancient roots of the red Mass are so intertwined with the earliest days of the law that its precise origins are, quite literally, lost in time.

Some say that this beautiful and inspiring ritual was first observed in 13th century Rome. Others say it began in King Edward's London, beneath the Gothic arches of the Inns of the Court, and still others support the theory that it began in Paris. Wherever the red Mass was first observed, we can be sure of one thing: A tradition that spans seven centuries was started when one man with an idea—one lawyer or one priest—stepped forward to act with conviction. The red Mass is a celebration and a renewal, a reminder to every lawyer and judge—Catholic or Jew or Protestant or Moslem—that yours is a profession dedicated not merely to practical results or material progress but to a higher duty and, indeed, to the public good.

Many years ago, one of my predecessors, a man trained and accomplished in the same profession as yourselves, found himself facing a crisis of conviction. Many Americans had come to doubt the very foundations upon which this nation was laid. And it was widely suggested that the early success of the United States was an accident of natural wealth. People said that the sophisticated problems of modern times required a rethinking of the democratic institutions of our nation's youth.

The President was burdened by a troubling question: Do the founders of our nation have anything to say to the present day, or is it necessary to start over on a new basis? The man was Thomas Jefferson, and the occasion, his Inaugural Address. And the response he made to that crisis is as forceful today as it was in his own age, for Jefferson understood that the essence of America lies not in shared real estate but in shared values, not in a common ancestry but in a common vision.

So, he spoke of the rights of responsibilities of free citizens. "Every difference of opinion," he warned, "is not a difference of principle." And he singled out one such unyielding principle as fundamental to our continued life as a nation: "equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political."

And the challenge that Thomas Jefferson delivered to his fellow citizens—I repeat it today; I deliver it to you this afternoon. And so, I challenge you, as Catholic lawyers, not to give in to the dismay of those today who in error or alarm have wandered from the basic convictions to which our nation is pledged. I challenge you to rekindle and foster a love of justice—American justice—a justice that knows no boundaries of race and sex, income or age.

We're all born with certain talents or abilities, and part of growing up Catholic in America is being reminded of each person's obligations to use the gifts that God gave them. Perhaps some of you saw this amazing Notre Dame sophomore last Saturday: the "Rocket"—Raghib "Rocket" Ismail—not once but twice returning kickoffs for record-breaking touchdowns—the best use of speed since Chuck Yeager broke the sound barrier.

Well, as lawyers, as advocates, part of your task is to use your talents—to speak for those unable to speak for themselves. I challenge you to rearticulate those principles that are deeper than our differences—the principles of equal and exact justice—and that vision of free and responsible citizenship which forms our common heritage.

Here I may well be preaching to the converted. None of the judges I've spoken to ever complained of difficulty in getting a group of Boston lawyers to speak their minds. [*Laughter*] But communication, advocacy—everyone here is uniquely suited for the task. By virtue of your profession and your faith, you are alive to the fact that if we are indeed "one nation, under God," then our responsibilities do not end with simply obeying the law. We must actively work to extend peace, liberty, and safety to all our fellow citizens. As Saint Augustine said: "While law makes us obedient to justice, God makes us agents of justice, doers of justice, creators of justice." I challenge you, as men and women of faith, to give voice to this justice. Do it proudly, with the courage of conviction. And carry justice to all of our citizens, especially to those who know it least.

We must devote special attention to the problems of those on the margins, those lacking adequate food or shelter, those addicted or mentally ill, those whose neighborhoods have been decimated by crime. And we must remember the unremembered, protect the unprotected, stand up for those who live in a world of pain—the hungry and the homeless, the haunted and the hurting. It's not enough to give them justice. We must also give them hope. And part of this effort belongs in the courtroom, where prosecutors and judges fight to preserve justice and where private attorneys perform untold good through pro bono efforts.

Consider, for example, Operation Uplift, begun by lawyers in Minneapolis and now spreading across the country, its premise a simple one: When an attorney represents a client pro bono, the client is asked to do volunteer work in the neighborhood or community, pledging 1 hour of service for every hour the attorney spends working on the case. It costs nothing and doubles the good done by pro bono efforts.

But ultimately, to succeed, this effort can't end with the working day. The grassroots movement that we've called a Thousand Points of Light must reach out to America's hurting where they are, in the classroom as well as the courtroom, and in church basements, street corners and lonely apartments. And the bottom line is this: From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include service to others.

This room—especially this room—is rich with shining examples of good men and women who have devoted their lives to service—in private, in public, in the pulpit. Make community service central to your life and work. And somewhere in your own community there is an illiterate man yearning for the gift most of you have enjoyed since childhood: the ability to read. Somewhere in your own community there's a homeless family that needs food and clothing and shelter. And somewhere in your own community there is a scared little kid tempted to buy crack or join a gang, a kid who needs the love and guidance of a Big

Brother. There are countless unmet needs, countless ways in which you can make a difference for the better.

For you who are senior partners, I urge you to consider community service by your associates in hiring and promoting decisions. And at the end of the day, let it be said about you that—more than your record in court or the hours you've billed—this was the way in which you touched the life of someone in need.

And finally, with particular concern, we challenge you to even greater efforts towards the protection of human life. Use your talents, your energy, and your professional resources to reaffirm the right to life as the most fundamental freedom.

The Jeffersonian vision of justice—of peace, liberty, and safety for all—has permeated our American understanding of rights, of responsibilities, of life itself. It is evident in one of our symbols, the American flag, but I want to look at something even more commonplace than the flag—a single dime. There are three emblems on the back of the dime: an olive branch, a torch, and the limb of an oak. The olive branch symbolizes our longing for peace, our willingness to live by righteousness, not simply by military might. Next to the olive branch is a torch, the lamp of liberty. And beside the torch lies the oak, the symbol of safety, security, and of strength which guarantees them. And finally, in the midst of the three reads the motto "E Pluribus Unum." "From the many, one." We are a diverse people with many backgrounds, many challenges, many hopes. And so, I call upon you today, the Guild of Catholic Lawyers, to give voice to the consensus, the oneness of values which lives beneath the diversity. I call upon you, as agents and creators of justice, to help us bring about peace, liberty, and the safety we seek for every human being.

Thank you, Your Eminence, for inviting me here today. God bless you all, and God bless the United States. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:48 p.m. in the ballroom at the Park Plaza Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Joseph R. Nolan, president of the guild. Following his remarks, he returned to Kennebunkport, ME, for the weekend. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Statement on the Death of Irving Berlin

September 23, 1989

I was saddened to hear of the death of Irving Berlin. Very few composers have come to touch the soul of a nation, reflecting its spirit and traditions. Mr. Berlin ranks among such composers, having become a living legend in his own lifetime. His love of country and fellow man, so vividly demonstrated in his songs, were characteristics which we all admired and which will be part of his legacy. His songs, such as "God Bless America" and "White Christmas," have become woven into the very fabric of American society, touching the lives of generations of Americans. Barbara and I extend our sympathies to his family and join the American people in mourning the loss of this great American.

Statement on the Summit Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

September 23, 1989

I look forward to meeting with President Gorbachev. The state of U.S.-Soviet relations is good, and I have enjoyed a positive working relationship with Mr. Gorbachev. Our meeting will afford an opportunity to reaffirm our mutual commitment to moving the U.S.-Soviet relationship forward, as underscored by the progress at the Wyoming ministerial. I commend the efforts of Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. I envision a broad discussion of the full agenda that the two sides have established: human rights, bilateral relations, arms control, regional issues, and transnational issues.

Remarks Announcing the Summit Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters

September 23, 1989

The President. General Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs] and I just talked to Secretary Baker, and I'm very pleased that we've reached agreement with the Soviets on several questions, only one of which I am prepared to mention here now. But in a few minutes, Mr. Shevardnadze will have a press conference, followed promptly by Secretary Baker's press conference, at which it will be announced—and they will discuss the details—that we will be having a summit, that I will be meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in late spring or early summer. The agreement is set, and I'm very pleased. And I'll leave further comment on what's been accomplished in Wyoming to our Secretary of State.

Q. Where is the summit going to be, Mr. President?

The President. Well, undoubtedly, it will be in the United States.

Q. Has that been fixed in those talks, or is——

The President. I'm not sure that that will be part of the announcement—I didn't discuss it. But it is just assumed—I'm assuming it will be there.

Arms Control

Q. And did they nail down the accords on nuclear testing and chemical weapons?

The President. No, but I'd prefer to leave that to the Secretary and Mr. Shevardnadze. But I'm very pleased overall. I think you'll see why when they make their announcements there.

Q. What accomplishment do you expect out of the summit? What will be the purpose of it, then?

The President. Well, a wide array of subjects, and we will be continuing to work on the arms control agenda. It's not my view that summits must have arms control agreements, but we're going to be working with full faith, going forward in every way to achieve further arms reductions. That's been a goal of mine for a long time, and I think it's a goal of Mr. Gorbachev's. And so, I would say that there's a chance for agreements of that nature, but there will be plenty of other subjects to discuss in addition to arms control.

Q. Why the late spring to early summer timetable? Could it not be sooner?

The President. Well, you might make a case that it could be sooner, but this was the agreed timetable, and it's agreeable to us, and——

Q. Did you want to give more time to the conventional weapons negotiations to go forward or——

The President. Well, it gives us time to move forward on a lot of fronts, is the way I see it. And it's not under the time gun, and yet, the summit being set—I think it will be useful on both sides to pushing both bureaucracies forward, both decision-making teams forward to achieve results. I think that was why the general agreement on time.

Anyway, it's good news, and I'm very pleased with what the Secretary has been able to accomplish out there. I don't know whether General Scowcroft would have more on all this later, but I know he's been in close touch with the Secretary, Bob Gates [Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs], out there, and will continue to be.

Q. Will you now work this into your speech to the U.N. General Assembly?

The President. Well, we may—it's one of the things that you foresaw in your question a minute ago, but yes, we might touch on it. I think around the world, people will be pleased that there is this announcement, and there may be other things that will come out of the Wyoming meeting that we can talk about in New York.

Summit Location

Q. Would you like to see this summit take place someplace other than Washington? You'd like to see it out in the country, wouldn't you?

The President. No, I think probably Washington would be proper for this one, although I don't think they've discussed that or agreed on——

Mr. Scowcroft. No, sir. It's just the ordinary run of things; it's your turn.

Q. But, General, there is a commitment by the Soviets to have the summit in the U.S.?

Mr. Scowcroft. Oh, I think so. It's assumed.

The President. Yes. That was discussed, as a matter of fact, in the Oval Office and was almost a given. But I just have to hedge a little because I don't know whether that's in the announcement by the Foreign Secretary.

Q. Do you think it would precede or follow the economic summit?

The President. Well, we haven't set a date. We're very open as to whether that economic summit should be in the spring of 1990 or into the fall of 1990. The last one, as you know, was—the one just past—in the summer. But I think our allies seem to be very flexible, and I now must get in touch with them fairly soon to determine what their desires are. From the U.S. side, we can be very flexible on that.

Q. And it might be as late as the fall?

The President. I would think it could be. They've had several in the fall, I think. In other words, there is no set month or period, season, in which to have these.

Drug War in Colombia

Q. On the drug front, don't you think that Mrs. de Greiff's resignation in Colombia means that the drug lords are not—that they seem to have the upper hand, they're not being beaten back at all?

The President. Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press], I don't think so, because of what I've been reading today coming out of Colombia and, obviously, from what she herself said. But that's their business; that's the internal affair of Colombia. But I see no reason that that single resignation will signal or lead to a lessening in resolve on the part of President Barco. So I don't worry about that.

Q. But she might have been threatened out of office.

The President. Well, I think that was the original fear, but I don't know the internals of that at all. But I think that the commitment of the Colombian Government is such that this resignation by itself should not be interpreted as a signal that they're going to lighten up in some way.

Okay. Thank you all very much. Now for the river.

Q. What?

The President. A little fishing down there. Come on. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. at the Cape Arundel Golf Course in Kennebunkport, ME. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks to the Staff of the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York, New York

September 25, 1989

Thank you all so much, and thank you, Jim. First, I should say I think our Secretary and his distinguished team did an outstanding job out there in Wyoming. I hope, in a sense, what happened there will make your work easier during this session of the General Assembly. But in any event, I think it sent a good, positive signal around the world, and we're very grateful to him, and Susan, too, who was out there as well in Wyoming for this unique diplomatic effort. The Secretary introduced the fishing because he caught fish and Mr. Shevardnadze didn't. [*Laughter*] It was a vicious assault on the Soviet Union.

But I want to thank the Pickerings. If you want to get a job done, you send the best. And Tom has served as perhaps our most senior Foreign Service officer, and it was thus for me a great privilege, really, to nominate him here. The fact that he was—willingness to come to New York and take on this most important diplomatic assignment that we have I think sends a good signal to the United Nations as to the importance we place on it, and I think it sends a good signal to the Foreign Service. I hope it does because I have great respect for the Foreign Service. But all I know is, we've got a class act up here in both Pickerings, and I'm delighted that we're here with them today.

Barbara asked me to see how many would confess to being old enough to have been here in 1971 and '72. There's the little cadre of old folks over here, and they don't look so old. Wait a minute. [*Laughter*] Right out here. There's a few.

But I don't want to get too nostalgic, but my first introduction to the formality of diplomacy, as one who had a Nash Rambler when he came here and then was driving around in a great big Cadillac, was when we came out of one of these crowded receptions—you know, where the traffic is held and you go around the block and everything. And I'm always a little restless and want to get on to the next thing. And some may remember Jerry Aprile—well, Jerry would stand on the corner. All the other drivers would be standing out there, you know, and Jerry would be in the corner and go—[*the President whistled*]—[*laughter*]—down here, and Barbara and I loved the guy and—sped things up terrifically.

But look, I know that it's not easy serving in New York. I know the difficulties of housing and all of these things, but I am grateful to all of you. Tom tells me we've got an outstanding mission here. I'm going to go over there today and express the support I feel in my heart for the efforts of the United Nations. And I hope, in a sense, that that might not be necessary, but I hope it's helpful to your very important work, whether it's in the Economic and Social Council, or whether it's in the Political Office here, or whether it's in—whatever it is, whatever side of the equation. Because I think the U.N. is in a very interesting phase here where it's moving much more effectively in the peacekeeping field, as well as continuing its longstanding efforts—and productive efforts, I'd say—in economic and social side.

So, keep up the good work. This gives us a chance to come back and say thank you very, very much for what you did way back there, this handful of sturdy souls who remain, and say to the rest that have come here since we left: You're doing a first-class job, and your country is proud of you.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:55 a.m. at the U.S. Mission. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of State James A. Baker III and his wife, Susan; U.S. Representative to the United Nations Thomas R. Pickering and his wife, Alice; and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

Address to the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York

September 25, 1989

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, and distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly. I would like to congratulate Joseph Garba of Nigeria, a distinguished diplomat, on his election as President of this Session of the General Assembly, and I wish him success in his presidency.

I feel a great personal pleasure on this occasion, for this is a homecoming for Barbara and me. The memories of my time here in 1971 and 1972 are still with me today—the human moments, the humorous moments that are part of even the highest undertaking.

With your permission, let me share one story from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was the Permanent Representative of the United States. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting and all 45 minutes were filled by the first speaker to take the floor. And when I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now, for his benefit, I will start my speech all over again from the beginning." [*Laughter*] That's a true story. And at that moment, differences of alliance, ideology, didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around that table from every member present, and then the laughter that followed, united us all.

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing—again, a personal privilege—the current Permanent Representatives with whom I served: Ambassador Dugersuren [Mongolia], Roberto Martinez Ordonez [Honduras], Blaise Rabetafika [Madagascar], Permanent Observer John Dube [Monaco]. And it's wonderful to look around and see so many familiar faces: foreign ministers, members of the Secretariat, delegates. And, of course, Mr. Secretary-General, you were then the Permanent Representative for your country when we served together. Under Secretary Abby Farah, you were a Permanent Representative back then, too. Ambassador Aguilar [Venezuela] was then here and is now back. And off we go. And it's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall, and I apologize if I have forgotten any of you old enough to have served in 1971 and 1972.

But the United Nations was established 44 years ago upon the ashes of war and amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the United Nations is not perfect. It's not a panacea for world's problems. But it is a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with consensus, and it must remain a forum for peace. The U.N. is moving closer to that ideal, and it has the support of the United States of America.

In recent years, certainly since my time here, the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a welcome shift from polemics to peacekeeping. U.N. peacekeeping forces are on duty right now, and over the years more than 700 peacekeepers have given their lives in service to the United Nations. Today I want to remember one of those soldiers of peace—an American, on a mission of peace under the United Nations flag—on a mission really for all the world. A man of unquestioned bravery, unswerving dedication to the United Nations ideal: Lieutenant Colonel William Richard Higgins. And I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace and call on those responsible to have the decency to return his remains to his family. And let us all right now, right here, rededicate ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

The founders of this historic institution believed that it was here that the nations of the world might come to agree that law, not force, shall govern. And the United Nations can play a fundamental role in the central issue of our time. For today, there's an idea at work around the globe, an idea of undeniable force, and that is freedom.

Freedom's advance is evident everywhere: in central Europe, in Hungary, where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy, where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the west has been torn down—torn down—replaced by a new hope for the future, a new hope in freedom. We see freedom at work in Poland, where in deference to the will of the people the Communist Party has relinquished its monopoly on power; and, indeed, in the Soviet Union, where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out or to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's march is not confined to a single continent or to the developed world alone. We see the rise of freedom in Latin America where, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy. We see it on the continent of Africa where more and more nations see, in the system of free enterprise, salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control. East and west, north and south, on every continent, we can see the outlines of a new world of freedom.

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see is not yet universal. Some regimes still stand against the tide. Some rulers still deny the right of the people to govern themselves. But now the power of prejudice and despotism is challenged. Never before have these regimes stood so isolated and alone, so out of step with the steady advance of freedom. Today we are witnessing an ideological collapse: the demise of the totalitarian idea of the omniscient, all-powerful state. There are many reasons for this collapse, but in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today. Advocates of the totalitarian idea saw its triumph written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom that was written in the human heart.

Two hundred years ago today, the United States, our Congress, proposed the Bill of Rights—fundamental freedoms belonging to every individual, rights no government can deny. Those same rights have been recognized in this congress of nations in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." From where we stand, on the threshold of this new world of freedom, the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the state, the 21st century must be an era of emancipation, the age of the individual.

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of freedom's march. There will come a day when freedom is seen the world over to be a universal birthright of every man and woman, of every race and walk of life. Even under the worst circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive—a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive. Today that dream is no longer distant. For the first time, for millions around the world, a new world of freedom is within reach. Today is freedom's moment.

You see, the possibility now exists for the creation of a true community of nations built on shared interests and ideals—a true community, a world where free governments and free markets meet the rising desire of the people to control their own destiny, to live in dignity, and to exercise freely their fundamental human rights. It is time that we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere. Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom, encourage its advance, and face our most urgent challenges, the global challenges of the 21st century: economic health, environmental well-being, the great questions of war and peace.

First, global economic growth. During this decade a number of developing nations have moved into the ranks of the world's most advanced economies, all of them—each and every one—powered by the engine of free enterprise.

In the decade ahead, others can join their ranks. But for many nations, barriers stand in the way. In the case of some countries, these are obstacles of their own making—unneeded restrictions and regulations that act as dead weights on their own economies and obstacles to foreign trade. But other barriers to growth exist, and those, too, require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that makes growth all but impossible. The nations of the world deserve better opportunity to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fate and build better lives for their own people. The approach the U.S. has put forward—the Brady Plan—will help these nations reduce that debt and, at the same time, encourage the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just 2 days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and I'll discuss there in more detail the steps that our nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now the new world of freedom is not a world where a few nations live in comfort while others live in want.

The power of commerce is a force for progress. Open markets are the key to continued growth in the developing world. Today the United States buys over one-half of the manufactured exports that all developing nations combined sell to the industrialized world. It's time for the other advanced economies to follow suit, to create expanded opportunities for trade. I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that many nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They are a harvest that everyone can share.

Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become international problems. We must develop an international approach to urgent environmental issues, one that seeks common solutions to common problems. The United Nations is already at work on the question of global warming, in the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

And I will tell you now the United States will do its part. We have committed ourselves to the worldwide phaseout of all chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000. We've proposed amending our own Clean Air Act to ensure clean air for our citizens within a single generation. We've banned the import of ivory to protect the elephant and rhinoceros from the human predators who exterminate them for profit. And we've begun to explore ways to work with other nations, with the major industrialized democracies and in Poland and in Hungary, to make common cause for the sake of our environment. The environment belongs to all of us. In this new world of freedom, the world's citizens must enjoy this common trust for generations to come.

Global economic growth, the stewardship of our planet—both are critical issues. But as always, questions of war and peace must be paramount to the United Nations.

We must move forward to limit and eliminate weapons of mass destruction. Five years ago, at the United Nations Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, I presented a United States draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons. Since then, progress has been made; but time is running out. The threat is growing. More than 20 nations now possess chemical weapons or the capability to produce them, and these horrible weapons are now finding their way into regional conflicts. This is simply unacceptable. For the sake of mankind, we must halt and reverse this threat.

Today I want to announce steps that the United States is ready to take, steps to rid the world of these truly terrible weapons, towards a treaty that will ban—eliminate—all chemical weapons from the Earth 10 years from the day it is signed. This initiative contains three major elements.

First, in the first 8 years of a chemical weapons treaty, the U.S. is ready to destroy nearly all—98 percent—of our chemical weapons stockpile, provided the Soviet Union joins the ban. And I think they will. Second, we are ready to destroy all of our chemical weapons—100 percent, every one—within 10 years, once all nations capable of building chemical weapons sign that total ban treaty. And third, the United States is ready to begin now. We will eliminate more than 80 percent of our stockpile, even as we work to complete a treaty, if the Soviet Union joins us in cutting chemical weapons to an equal level and we agree on the conditions, including inspections, under which stockpiles are destroyed. We know that monitoring a total ban on chemical weapons will be a challenge. But the knowledge we've gained from our recent arms control experience and our accelerating research in this area makes me believe that we can achieve the level of verification that gives us confidence to go forward with the ban.

The world has lived too long in the shadow of chemical warfare. So, let us act together beginning today to rid the Earth of this scourge.

We are serious about achieving conventional arms reductions as well. And that's why we tabled new proposals just last Thursday at the conventional forces in Europe negotiations in Vienna, proposals that demonstrate our commitment to act rapidly to ease military tensions in Europe and move the nations of that continent one step closer to their common destiny: a Europe whole and free.

And the United States is convinced that open and innovative measures can move disarmament forward and also ease international tensions. And that's the idea behind the open skies proposal about which the Soviets have now expressed a positive attitude. It's the idea behind the open lands proposal permitting, for the first time ever, free travel for all Soviet and American diplomats throughout each other's countries. Openness is the enemy of mistrust, and every step towards a more open world is a step toward the new world we seek.

Let me make this comment on our meetings with the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Shevardnadze, over the past few days. I am very pleased by the progress made. The Soviet Union removed a number of obstacles to progress on conventional and strategic arms reductions. We reached agreements in principle on issues from verification to nuclear testing. And, of course, we agreed to a summit in the spring or early summer of 1990, and I look forward to meeting Mr. Gorbachev there.

Each of these achievements is important in its own right, but they are more important still as signs of a new attitude that prevails between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Serious differences remain. We know that. But the willingness to deal constructively and candidly with those differences is news that we, and indeed the world, must welcome.

We have not entered into an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing, but they've not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: regimes armed with old and unappeasable animosities and modern weapons of mass destruction. This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you right here in this hall. Mr. Secretary General, with great respect, you have made it your own. The United Nations can be a mediator, a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions. For the sake of peace, the U.N. must redouble its support for the peace efforts now underway in regions of conflict all over the world. And let me assure you the United States is determined to take an active role in settling regional conflicts. Sometimes our role in regional disputes is and will be highly public. And sometimes, like many of you, we work quietly behind the scenes. But always, we are working for positive change and lasting peace.

Our world faces other, less conventional threats no less dangerous to international peace and stability. Illegal drugs are a menace to social order and a source of human misery wherever they gain a foothold. The nations who suffer this scourge must join forces in the fight—and we are. And let me salute the commitment and extraordinary courage of one country in particular, Colombia, where we are working with the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, to put the drug cartels out of business, bring the drug lords to justice.

And finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation and the United Nations must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage-taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values that a civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end, no matter how just that end, can sanctify.

Whatever the challenge, freedom greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time for hope for all of the world because freedom, once set in motion, takes on a momentum of its own. As I said the day I assumed the Presidency of our country: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government, democracy, is best. And I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time, the unassailable fact that still stands at the end of a century of great struggle, of human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy, but because democracy makes room for all our differences. In democracy, diversity finds its common home. At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect—for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity, for human rights. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights and a chance to prosper in peace.

When I began today, I spoke to you about peacekeeping. I want to speak to you now about peacemaking. We must bring peace to the people who have never known its blessings. There's a painting that hangs on the wall of my office in the White House, and it pictures President Abraham Lincoln and his generals meeting near the end of a war that remains the bloodiest in the history of my country. Outside at that moment a battle rages, in this picture. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow—a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. That painting is called The Peacemakers. For me, it is a constant reminder that our struggle, the struggle for peace, is a struggle blessed by hope.

I do remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as Representatives. Yes, I remember the almost endless speeches—and I don't want this to be one of them—[*laughter*]—the Security Council sessions, the receptions, those long receiving lines, the formal meetings of this Assembly and the informal discussions in the delegates lounge over here. And I remember something more, something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations, the quiet conviction that we could make the world more peaceful, more free. What we sought then—all of us—now lies within our reach.

I ask each of you here in this hall: Can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek? I believe we can. I know we must.

My solemn wish today is that here among the United Nations that spirit will take hold and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own. Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless the work of the United Nations. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations.

Appointment of Robert J. Portman as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs

September 25, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Robert J. Portman as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs. He would succeed Gordon Wheeler.

Since 1989 Mr. Portman has served as Associate Counsel to the President. Prior to this, he served as an attorney in the law firm of Graydon, Head and Ritchey in Cincinnati, OH, 1986–1989; and an attorney with the law firm of Patton, Boggs and Blow in Washington, DC, 1984–1986. In addition, he has served as public affairs officer and research associate on the Congressional/Presidential Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy in Washington, DC, 1979–1981, and he has worked for Representative Bill Gradison (R–OH).

Mr. Portman graduated from Dartmouth College (B.A., 1979) and the University of Michigan Law School (J.D., 1984). He was born December 19, 1955, in Cincinnati, OH. Mr. Portman is married and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Appointment of Constance Bastine Harriman as a Member of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission

September 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Constance Bastine Harriman as a Commissioner of the United States Section of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission. She would succeed Becky Norton Dunlop.

Since 1989 Ms. Harriman has served as Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife and Parks at the Department of the Interior in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she served as an associate for litigation with the law firm of Steptoe and Johnson in Washington, DC, 1987–1989; Associate Solicitor for Energy and Resources at the Department of the Interior, 1986–1987; Special Assistant to the Solicitor at the Department of the Interior, 1985–1986; associate with the law firm of Sheppard, Mullin, Richter and Hampton, 1980–1985; and an attorney adviser at the Department of Justice in the Office of Legal Policy, 1982.

Ms. Harriman graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1970; M.A., 1973) and the University of California, Los Angeles (J.D., 1980). She resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Edwin G. Foulke, Jr., To Be a Member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, and Designation as Chairman

September 26, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edwin G. Foulke, Jr., to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for the term expiring April 27, 1995. He would succeed Elliot Ross Buckley. Upon confirmation he will be designated Chairman.

Since 1985 Mr. Foulke has served as an attorney with the law firm of Constangy, Brooks and Smith in Columbia, SC. Prior to this, he served as an attorney with the law firm of Rainey, Britton, Gibbes and Clarkson in Greenville, SC, 1983–1985; and attorney with the law firm of Thompson, Mann and Hutson in Greenville, SC, 1978–1983.

Mr. Foulke graduated from North Carolina State University (B.A., 1974) and Loyola University School of Law (J.D., 1978). He was born October 30, 1952, in Sellersville, PA. He resides in Columbia, SC.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters During a Meeting With Small Business Leaders

September 26, 1989

The President. As we meet with these small business owners and representatives of small business owners, it gives me an opportunity to make another appeal for the capital gains differential. It is not, as these folks know, a tax break for the rich. It is a job-creating tax measure that will put more Americans to work. And so, I think we have to stand up to the understandable political rhetoric on the other side, rhetoric that we heard all last year and are now hearing once again, and fight for this principle that will be good for the American people.

And when I look back at some of the statistics—that in 1987 over 14 million people reported capital gain and 70 percent of the tax returns with long-term gains had incomes of less than $50,000. So, this argument that we hear from the political opponents that this is a tax break for the rich—they simply are wrong about it. The American people had a chance to hear this debate in last year's political process, and now I'm trying to follow through and do what I said I would do. It's a tough fight, but I obviously would welcome all of your support, which I hope I have.

Q. You certainly have ours.

The President. But in fairness now, we can take a quick question and then I'll have to go to work here.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. What do you think the outcome is going to be at this point? They're going to vote the rule today.

The President. I don't know, but it's close, very close. I think some had predicted it would never get this far, given the political breakdown up there. But I'm confident that we do have a strong bipartisan support, and I'm hopeful that we will prevail.

Q. Are you suggesting you might get both the capital gains tax cut and an IRA cut—both?

The President. I don't see how we can do that. I have to have some final—I have to be the final arbiter, I think, on the overall budget. And that is unacceptable to me as President.

Chemical Weapons

Q. Did you get everything you wanted from Mr. Shevardnadze today at the Soviet—or at the United Nations on chemical weapons?

The President. Well, you never get everything you want, but I'm very pleased with the way things are going. The reaction from the Soviets to our proposals yesterday has been positive, and so now the goal is to get moving and try to work out these agreements. But we got some good common ground, Terry [Terry Hunt, Associated Press], that I don't think we had before the Foreign Minister came here. I know he's accurately reflecting Mr. Gorbachev's view.

Education Summit

Q. Mr. President, this being the eve of your education summit, do you care to make a comment on what you hope to gain of substance at the 2-day meeting—how you expect to improve America's schools?

The President. Well, I think that we're going to come together with the Governors on major objectives for this country in terms of education—something that's never been done before. And I know what my agenda is and what I believe in, but I'm going down there to listen and to work with the Governors, not try to impose an agenda from here. But I want to see us come up with some suggestions that will dramatically change things.

I was just reminded by a group of business leaders that on a per capita basis we spend far more than Germany or far more than Japan, and yet we're not achieving the way they are. So we've got to see what it is that we're doing wrong, how can we be more accountable. And it's in those areas of goals—national goals, but coming up through the Governors—that I think we can make a real contribution here.

Q. How would goals make a difference? If

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you did have goals, how would that make a difference in the classroom?

The President. Well, if we all agree on them, if we can get the Nation to agree on them, then the President can push from here. But the beauty of having the Governors is, they're the ones that are on the cutting edge. And we want them to go back actively engaged in working for excellence. And besides that, I think there will be an interesting exchange of ideas—one Governor saying to another, "Here's what's worked in my State." And to the degree the Federal Government does have a role in many of these educational programs, we will be listening intently, and our people will be saying what we think works and what doesn't. It's a good way to do it. It's a good way to have it, at this Governor's level.

Capital Gains Taxes

One more capital gains question?

Q. Dick Darman [Director, Office of Management and Budget] said yesterday that the Democrats want to shut down the government in order to force you to raise taxes, rather than go along with this capital gains. Are you willing to see an extensive sequestration and a——

The President. I don't want that, but I'm not ruling out anything. I mean, we know what the law is, and the President has to abide by the law. But if they would go forward and do what we've suggested, why, we could avoid sequestration. But I'm not ruling it out. Can't rule it out. It's the law of the land. And I've got certain convictions. I was elected to do certain things, and I'm going to keep on trying to do them. And a President has to use the tools at his disposal to accomplish the ends for which he was elected, and I plan to do exactly that.

Note: The President spoke at 2:07 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Campaign Finance Reform Legislation

September 26, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit for your consideration and enactment the "Comprehensive Campaign Finance Reform Act of 1989." This legislative proposal would implement the reforms I announced earlier this summer. It represents comprehensive campaign finance reform legislation designed to reduce substantially the power of special economic interests while enhancing the role of individuals and political parties. The proposal also restores competition to congressional elections by reducing the advantages of incumbency.

I look forward to working with the Congress on those critical issues.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
September 26, 1989.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed Campaign Finance Reform Legislation

September 26, 1989

Today the President transmitted to Congress comprehensive campaign finance reform legislation designed to lessen the power of special economic interests and restore competition to American congressional elections. This legislative proposal implements the reforms already announced by the President.

While curtailing the influence of special economic interests, the proposal enhances the roles of individuals and the political parties in the electoral process. It is also designed to reform a system which has led to a "permanent Congress." In the 1980's, House incumbents have had a 97.7 percent reelection rate and Senate incumbents an 85 percent reelection rate. Below is an outline of the major proposals:

- Elimination of political action committees (PAC's) supported by corporations, unions, or trade associations, and a prohibition on any such entities paying for the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PAC.
- Reforms to address the problem of the "permanent Congress" by reducing the unwarranted advantages of incumbency. Specifically, the proposal would prohibit the personal use of excess campaign funds, drastically reduce congressional franked mailings, ban the rollover of campaign funds from one election cycle to the next, and legislate fair neutral criteria for the redistricting that will follow the 1990 census.
- A strengthening of political parties by increasing the amounts they can spend on behalf of congressional candidates. This source of funds would permit legislators to spend less time fundraising, would ensure that challengers have greater resources with which to challenge incumbents, and would further limit the role of special economic interests in elections.
- Full disclosure of all "soft money" spent by the political parties and all labor unions, corporations, and trade associations to influence a Federal election.

Letter to the Members of the House of Representatives on Proposed Capital Gains Tax Legislation

September 26, 1989

Dear __________:

The House of Representatives will soon have the opportunity to vote on legislation that will ensure continued economic prosperity and provide powerful incentives for investment and jobs.

I firmly believe a capital gains reduction is the right policy for all Americans. This is an opportunity to restore an incentive for saving and investment, to create new jobs and build a better future. All Americans will benefit.

Middle-income Americans who invest wisely, farmers selling off a piece of the family farm, the elderly widow who is living off the assets she and her husband struggled to accumulate, the couple who planned ahead and saved so their children could go to college, the small business entrepreneur who sank his savings in an idea he alone believed would work—these are not wealthy Americans. Over 70 percent of the taxpayers who report capital gains have other income less than $50,000.

In this intensely competitive world, almost all major industrial nations tax capital gains lightly or not at all. This is important to the American factory worker whose job may be on the line unless his company can bring down its capital costs.

Reestablishing a capital gains differential, which was part of our tax laws for over six decades, provides the needed incentives for those willing to take a risk on new products and research that are the result of American ingenuity.

Reducing the capital gains tax means Americans who have capital gains at some time in their lives—about half of our population—will be able to keep more of their savings to invest for the future.

You will be offered an alternative to the Jenkins-Archer capital gains proposal. No matter how you dress it up, that alternative is a tax increase—plain and simple. That's no alternative, and my response will be equally plain and simple—veto.

The timing for this vote is excellent. The Nation is enjoying its 82nd consecutive month of economic expansion—the longest in peacetime history. Support for a capital gains differential is a vote to continue that prosperity, and I ask for your support when the Jenkins-Archer proposal comes to a vote.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to each Member of the House of Representatives.

Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group

September 27, 1989

Thank you all very much. Thank you. And thanks especially to my good friend, our Secretary of the Treasury, Nick Brady. And thank you, Nick, for your outstanding economic leadership.

Chairman Lee and President Conable, Mr. Camdessus, it really is a pleasure for me to be here and to welcome you all to Washington, DC. And it's a special privilege for me to be here in the company of my old friend, former Congressman, now President Barber Conable. We in the United States are keenly aware of these annual gatherings, the importance of them—you drive the work of all of us in maintaining a strong international economic and financial system.

And this is my first opportunity to speak to you as President of the United States. But I've followed the activities of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank throughout my years of public service. And I have visited many of your homelands and seen firsthand the problems created by inadequate growth and development, problems that your two distinguished institutions are working hard to solve.

We've witnessed a dramatic shift over the past few years in the debate over how to achieve sustained growth and development. All across the world, there's been an almost simultaneous rediscovery of the power created when individuals are given the freedom to act in their own best interests. True, we're here today mainly to discuss economic freedom. But make no mistake: In the end, both economic freedom and political freedom are essential and inseparable companions on the road to national prosperity. The jury is no longer out. Look at the two economic systems and see who has prospered and who has struggled. Let's put an end to this economic experiment—because history has decided.

It is not climate, natural resources, or cultural traditions that make the difference. I said it in my own Inaugural Address: "We know what works: Freedom works. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

In Latin America, in Africa, Mexico, courageous leaders are turning away from state control of their economies. Economic restructuring and deregulation are opening the door to private initiative. And already they're seeing results. Even more stunning is the transformation in thinking in the Communist countries—in both the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. During my recent travels in Poland and Hungary, I was impressed by the people but also impressed by the almost universal acceptance of the free market as the best hope—indeed, the only hope—for reversing the economic fortunes of these two proud countries. And we will welcome the efforts of the Soviet Union to liberalize and decentralize their economy. I have said many times—and I want to repeat it here today—that I want to see *perestroika* succeed. A more open and humane Soviet Union can only be in the best interest of the West. And as we see the evidence of that reform, we can match it with steps of our own.

The rediscovery of these basic truths in the East has been matched by a recommitment to them in the West. Today the members of the European Community are dedicated to eliminating internal barriers to economic activity by the end of 1992. And Europe's leaders assure me that this will not be at the cost of new external barriers to trade with the EC.

The Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto has helped us understand a worldwide economic phenomenon. By walking the streets of Lima, not analyzing official statistics, he found that the poor of Latin America—who have never read Jefferson or Adam Smith—ran their affairs democratically, outside the formal economy, organizing their private, parallel economy in a free and unregulated manner. De Soto's great contribution has been to point out what, in retrospect, may seem obvious: People everywhere want the same things. And when left alone by government, people everywhere organize their lives in remarkably similar ways. De Soto's prescription offers a clear and promising alternative to economic stagnation in Latin America and other parts of the world. Governments must bring the "informal" workers into the regular economy and then get out of the way and let individual enterprise flourish.

We each must do our part. And yes, the industrial countries have a special responsibility. We must coordinate economic policies to help provide sustained growth with low inflation, reduced trade imbalances, and greater stability in exchange markets. We in the United States are working especially hard to reduce our own Federal budget deficit and to increase our national savings rate. All our nations have a responsibility to ensure a fair and open trading system. And we have a tremendous opportunity to advance that cause now by making success of this all-important Uruguay round of trade negotiations, making the political commitments necessary to ensure a success. Look, they will not be easy, but we must strengthen the GATT and allow our markets to open in a mutual, step-by-step fashion.

As we seek to extend and expand growth in the world economy, the debt problems faced by developing countries are central to the agendas of the IMF and the World Bank. Over the past year, the international community's strengthened approach to these problems has truly provided new hope for the debtor nations. America's Secretary of the Treasury, Nick Brady, has helped direct the focus on debt reduction as a complement to continued new lending—bringing developing nations and commercial banks back to where they belong, back to the negotiating table. Quick action by both the IMF and the World Bank has given this new strategy vital support. By making clear the terms under which they will support the reduction of debt burdens and by working with countries to develop the necessary economic reform programs, these institutions have made it possible to reduce debt burdens and provide a solid foundation for growth.

Thanks to these initiatives, Mexico reached an agreement with its creditor banks enabling Mexico to make enormous progress in reducing its debt burden. It also helped restore—almost instantly—restore confidence in the Mexican economy. And it's already resulted in a return of capital and new foreign investment. This agreement underscores the benefits other debtor countries stand to realize from this approach. Mexico's savings from this package will free resources for productive use in the economy, leading to increased investment, leading to improved growth. What Mexico has done is not a miracle. It's a product of hard work and sustained commitment.

The strengthened debt strategy is flexible enough to address the unique needs of each country, but the strategy will not work without sound economic policies in the debtor countries. Inefficient, unrealistic, growth-stifling policies simply must go. Benefits are available to a broad range of other countries that pursue economic reforms. Several are now actively engaged, I'm told, with the IMF and World Bank, and with the banking community itself. Commercial banks have a special role in making this process work, and they must follow through on efforts made with Mexico and the Philippines and broaden their efforts with other countries.

We encourage these steps not as self-sacrifice but self-interest. True, success not only will help the debtor nations. But it will also strengthen the banks, by putting their own portfolios on a sounder basis. One of the lessons of the 1980's, especially the debt crisis, is that we're all in this together. And when we cooperate, we all come out winners. The IMF and the World Bank are at the crossroads of our cooperative efforts. The IMF must continue to foster the sound economic policies necessary for sustained growth. As part of that responsibility, the Fund has assumed an important and very welcome role in the strengthened debt strategy.

The United States recognizes that the IMF must have adequate resources to fulfill its critical role. And we will continue to work with other members in the hope of reaching a decision on the quota question—on quotas by the end of the year. The United States has always supported the IMF, and we will continue to do so. We'll all look to the World Bank to help build the foundation for a future global prosperity that reaches all peoples. Its efforts to promote structural reform and development are absolutely crucial to resolving debt problems. The Bank's decisions to take on new responsibilities on the debt front are very welcome. Also, to address the significant problems of the poorest countries, the International Development Association, IDA, was established and will continue to have the support of the United States.

We have also learned, as I emphasized Monday at the United Nations and last summer at the Paris summit, that environmental destruction knows no borders. To make growth truly sustainable, we must weigh environmental considerations more heavily as we make economic decisions. And we must also find ways to strengthen our environmental and development efforts through innovative thinking, such as the "debt for nature transactions." Over the years, as we've come to understand the effect of environmental destruction on the long-term growth of developing countries, the World Bank has increased the priority it assigns to environmental concerns. We applaud those efforts, but there is more to be done. We need to work more cooperatively to develop constructive solutions to global warming, including measures to promote energy efficiency and conservation and greater protection of forest resources.

In addressing the challenges of the 1980's, we have come to a deeper understanding of the importance of cooperating as a community of nations to address common problems. I can think of no better current example than the need to work together to deal with international drug trafficking and money laundering. It is a worldwide problem. Drug money undermines honest businesses, corrupts political institutions, and even threatens the security of nations. To conceal their obscene profits, drug barons must wash their money by cycling it through financial institutions and illegitimate shell corporations. The United States renews its call upon all countries to ratify the United Nations Vienna Convention and make money laundering a criminal and extraditable offense. We need tough measures to crack down and track down and confiscate the profits of drug-related crime.

I am encouraged by the G-7 [Group of Seven] democracies interested in this coordinated response to the money laundering menace. But I urge everyone to join with us to explore new ways to stop money laundering in its tracks.

And there may be no greater opportunity before us—all of us—today than the challenge of Poland and then, on the broader landscape, Eastern Europe—the entire Eastern Europe, where countries are in the throes of dramatic political and economic change. The United States and its international partners have already undertaken new initiatives toward Poland. But now, in the light of clearly growing needs, the recent accession of a Solidarity-led government, and our self-evident stake in its success, we must do more. We understand the Polish Government has under consideration a bold plan for economic recovery. And I call on the IMF and the World Bank to work rapidly with Poland to develop such a program and ensure its successful implementation. For its part, the United States intends to be out in front of this effort, to take advantage of this historic development and to ensure its success.

Today our mutual efforts to improve global growth, to ease the burdens of developing countries—their indebtedness—and to open markets for trade have demonstrated anew that progress is best achieved by facing pressing issues together. This is a lesson that we must carry with us into the 1990's if we are to pass on to future generations a global economy that is strong and resilient and able to provide for the aspirations of the citizens of all our countries. Thank you very much for your hard work. Thank you for your service. Thank you for your commitment. God bless you and the nations that you represent. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:32 a.m. in the ballroom at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Kyu Sung Lee and Barber B. Conable, Chairman of the Board of Governors and President, respectively, of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; and International Monetary Fund Managing Director Michel Camdessus.

Remarks on the Education Summit and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters

September 27, 1989

The President. Let me just say at the beginning—make a couple of comments on the summit, and then I'll be glad to take your questions. We've designed the format of the summit to encourage a candid and very free-flowing discussion. There's a lot of ideas that need to be exchanged, not only the Governors to the White House but vice versa, and between the Governors. So we've set it in a way that we will have a lot of interchange.

I think we're going to establish the fact that we need measurable national goals. And this, I am told, most of the Governors agree on. They think they need time to finalize what these goals are, but this will be a rather significant step if there's agreement on that—we think we're going to get agreement on it. It will result in continued activities after the summit, consulting with the educators and business community, parents, all those elements in our society which have a significant stake in our educational system. And I think it's going to—I think the process—what we hope is that it produces a strong consensus for achieving these national goals.

I expect that we're going to find much agreement on the need both for greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds—I remember at the last Governors' meeting, "Please do not mandate what we do." And at the same time, greater accountability—I think there's a strong recognition amongst the Governors that we need accountability for achieving results relating to the goals.

I'm hopeful that we're going to come out of the summit with a commitment to restructure and to make those fundamental changes that are needed if we're going to improve educational performance. And as I said before, doing more of the same is unlikely to accomplish what we need. And so, the more we've talked to the Governors—that I have and Roger Porter [Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy] and others on the staff have—the more convinced I am that they support this view.

So, these are the broad objectives. I'm looking forward to it. I think it's the third time that a summit has been convened with Governors. I told a group the other day that I learned back a year or 2 years ago the importance of having the Governors involved because they, indeed, are the ones that—responsible for the State budgets and come up with so many of the new ideas. So I'm looking forward to this one.

Arms Control and Nuclear Testing

Q. Mr. President, speaking of summits, [Soviet Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze has said that a START treaty is very possible by the time of your summit with Gorbachev in spring or early summer. Do you agree with that assessment?

The President. Yes, I do. And I think the setting of a summit perhaps will serve as a catalyst for moving forward, but it's not a given, it's not absolutely certain that that's what's going to happen. But I would agree that we have a good likelihood that might happen.

Q. How about the——

The President. I don't want to set it up so that if we don't have every "t" crossed and "i" dotted, that the summit next spring or summer is considered a failure. But, yes, I'd have to agree with him.

Q. And how about a moratorium on nuclear testing? Would you go for that?

The President. Well, as long as we are dependent for a deterrence based on nuclear weapons, I would have difficulty eliminating all testing. We've made some progress on PNET, on Threshold Test Ban Treaty, but it's important that these weapons be safe, it's important they be sound. And so, we're perfectly prepared to discuss that, but I think we do have some differences on it if that is Mr. Gorbachev's position.

Head Start Program

Q. Mr. President, a question on the education summit. You've said repeatedly that more money is not the answer to America's school problems. But what about Head Start? Currently, there's only enough space for one out of five eligible poor children. Will you make a commitment to expand that program so that all disadvantaged children can participate in Head Start in the 1990's?

The President. We increased funding for Head Start, but we'll be talking about that at the summit. And I'm anxious to hear what the—get from the Governors, not some statistic floating around up here but from the Governors—what they say.

We had a group of businessmen in here yesterday and then educators a few days ago, and there was, Terry [Terry Hunt, Associated Press], there was a feeling that those early, early days in a kid's life, those formative days, are very, very important, and that does mean pre-regular-school schooling of some sort. We're openminded on the question. We're living within constrained resources. But this is a question I'm going to be asking the Governors what they think. What are they doing in the States in this pre-K, pre-kindergarten level? And how do we work with them? So, I'm not—don't have a closed mind, but I'm not going in there accepting some figure by an organization here in Washington that commits me to a budget number.

Q. Well, those groups you mentioned, educators and the businessmen—they both are advocating a big expansion in Head Start so that all the children——

The President. Oddly enough, they didn't there—well, they advocated an expansion and more people attending. I was interested that they felt this is something that ought to be discussed at the summit and the determination of how it's resolved be done there. And we'll try, we'll try. I'm not going down there saying we're going to, you know, quintuple spending when they've got these big fights going on right now that—for me to live within the law of this land in terms of the budget.

Assistance for Poland

Q. Mr. President, in your speech to the IMF today, you said that the United States and its allies must do more to encourage reforms in Poland. Were you signaling by that additional unilateral U.S. assistance to Poland?

The President. Well, we've stepped up on Poland, as you know, but I think the key thing now is the Poles themselves are working on a reform package. And we've had people over there—Bob Mosbacher was there, we've had some OPIC people there, there's been some private missions there—[former Reagan Chief of Staff] Howard Baker and [former Vice President] Mondale went over there. And I want to work with them in every way we can, but I think it's important that we see what their plan is of economic reform.

Q. Well, their Finance Minister has talked about the need for an immediate $1 billion loan. Is that possible?

The President. Well, the EC is working on their side. We've been helpful on ours. And so we'll see what final figures are arrived at. But we had a long meeting with the Polish Foreign Minister, and I'm not saying he wouldn't welcome more money, but he made this point to me very clearly—a very interesting, very bright man—about the need for reform. So, let's move apace, let's see what it is that is required in terms of reform, and then we'll try to do everything we can. We are committed to the success of democracy in Poland and certainly in Hungary.

Capital Gains and Tax Reform

Q. Mr. President, are you at all concerned, sir, that if you prevail or even if the Democratic alternative prevails on capital gains, that it will open the floodgates to a familiar situation, which is the annual drilling of new loopholes in the Tax Code by Congress, sometimes with the aid of the administration and sometimes not? What are you going to do to preserve what remains of the integrity of the tax reform law that was passed just a couple of years ago if this initiative of yours succeeds?

The President. I supported the tax reform law, but in last year's campaign there were one or two areas where I felt that we needed to use the tax system to achieve various ends. It became very clear that capital gains was, in my view, a job-creating—capital gains differential was a job-creating mechanism. That issue has been distorted by those who try to maintain that it's a tax for the rich. They are wrong about that. It will help create jobs. It will help in savings. And I'll tell you another thing: A vote against our capital gains position tomorrow will be a vote for a tax increase. And I have great difficulty with that, and I have not changed my thinking on that.

Q. What about the prospect, though, sir, that if this does pass, or even if the alternative passes, that the door has now been opened on a Tax Code that had been—from which these preferences had been removed, to more of them?

The President. I have confidence that [House Ways and Means Committee] Chairman Rostenkowski, with the help of the administration, would be able to resist an all-out assault on the tax reform bill.

Arms Control

Q. Mr. President, you talked about a new attitude at the United Nations in your relations with the Soviet Union. How does that play out, sir, in connection with arms control negotiations and a resolution of regional conflicts?

The President. Well, in some arms control negotiations, obviously, we're in a multilateral forum. The Vienna talks is one good example. In terms of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, there is today, as there has been in the last 40 years, keen interest in the United Nations on this question. But the way it will play out is at the U.N. itself—I think there is far less hostile rhetoric, far fewer polemical speeches at the U.N. where people have been made to choose sides. And so, it's a much more productive environment in which to discuss their role in arms control—and I think of the U.N. Conference and things that go on—but also to discuss a lot of other issues.

But I don't see a new role for the United Nations in hammering out a START treaty, helping hammer out a START treaty between the United States and the Soviets, or having a role in the—as we try to go forward in chemical weapons with the Soviets in terms of what I called for on the Soviet side and the U.S. side. But there will be a role, could well be a role in trying to get other countries that possess chemical weapons, for example, to get rid of them, or certainly to stop proliferation. The U.N. has a vital role.

Did I get your question?

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. No, sir. I meant how the new attitude would help or whatever in the arms control talks themselves between the United States and the Soviet Union. And also whether they would help in resolving some of the regional conflicts that separate us, like Nicaragua and Afghanistan. Is there more trust—

The President. The U.N. might help on

that?

Q. No, sir—how the new attitude——

The President. Oh, excuse me——

Q. ——the Soviet relations——

The President. I got the U.N. question mixed into your question. Look, I think that the spirit that prevailed in Wyoming is just one more manifestation that we don't have a disconnect with Mr. Gorbachev on Soviet-U.S. relations. And that spirit obviously makes it much easier to discuss contentious regional issues or arms control issues.

There have been times, and I think everybody—you all know—when it was very difficult even to bring subjects up without getting a rhetorical diatribe on the question. And now you can talk about any subject very openly. And I think that is a very constructive development, and I would thank the Soviet leaders who are dialoguing with us in that manner. That isn't to say we don't have a few contentious subjects in which we have differences and will probably have strong differences for a long time. That's why I want to have a prudent defense policy. I don't want to do something naive or silly in defense just because we are working more closely with the Soviets today.

We're not building our foreign policy on the success of any one individual or the failure of any one individual. We're building it on what is the best for the free world and the United States, and then we're striving mightily to make the Soviets understand that and to bring them along in constructive negotiation. And I am pleased. I was criticized—it wasn't so many days ago—for timidity. I think the team I have here knows what it's doing, and I'm very proud of them all. And they work together, and we don't have to necessarily advertise every step that we're taking. And I think now the American people see that—well, I hope they do.

Q. Well, you speak with two voices here, though. Cheney [Secretary of Defense] talks about it being dangerous and fallacious to play ball with the Soviets, and you are saying we want to see us succeed. You know, there is a dichotomy there.

The President. We speak with one voice. Cheney's voice is loud and clear. And he's saying: Don't do something dumb. Don't make the mistake of unilaterally disarming—knocking out significant strategic modernization programs at the very minute that the Soviet Union is going forward on the modernization front. And that's good advice for the President of the United States, and believe me, it is needed and good advice for the Congress of the United States.

So, I take that into consideration. And we're trying to have a strong defense program that is prudent and realistic and not based on some euphoric hope that there are no differences between these countries.

But back to the question. When you have a civil climate you can discuss things much more easily with the Soviets today.

Chemical Weapons

Q. Mr. President, are you willing to do away with chemical weapons if the Soviet Union goes along with that, just like they proposed yesterday, even as you negotiate an international treaty?

The President. No, absolutely not.

Q. Why do we need——

The President. I said what we're willing to do. We need a certain sense of deterrence, and we need to have some leverage to get a lot of other proliferating countries to do what I think the world cries out for—enter into an agreement to ban them all. It was like the argument on the INF. Do you remember a few years ago—on INF weapons? People were saying: Don't deploy; that will disrupt all negotiations. We went forward, we deployed, and then we got an agreement to eliminate them all. It's the same theory involved there.

Q. But, surely, there are other weapons that would act as a deterrent other than chemical weapons to those countries.

The President. Well, let's sell that idea to these other countries, and I think you're onto something. But I'm not going to do something unilaterally on that. I've already said what we're going to do, and we're prepared to sit down and talk to the Soviets about it. But I think in the final analysis that—we're pretty close to agreement on the principles that I enunciated the other day. And the fact that they come back—I view that as very positive. I don't view that as one-upmanship of some sort in arms control. I think it's a very positive manifestation of what I'm talking about, about a more civil climate here.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. Mr. President, on the capital gains, if I could return for a minute, you've repeatedly cited John Kennedy's support for a cut in the capital gains tax. But another thing that he wanted to do was to close the loophole which allowed gains at death to go untaxed. Do you feel that as this has come up as an issue that it's fair to have that continue?

The President. I haven't even thought about that, I'll be honest with you.

Q. It would raise $5 billion a year.

The President. I hadn't thought about it. And we're talking here about not dismantling tax reform or going into an opening of every tax provision. Maybe my sense of history isn't as acute as it should be, but I just don't remember that as far as the Kennedy program. I'm not questioning it, I just don't know.

There are a lot of other revenue-raisers people will be proposing. But I think we've got an overall tax reform plan. There are some exceptions that I've proposed, and I would leave that one to the Congress right now. But I'd have to look very carefully before I could say I could support it.

Andean Drug Summit

Q. The meeting with President Barco [Colombia] tomorrow, sir. Are you going to be setting a drug summit?

The President. Oh, I don't know—Brent [Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs]—whether we've—where is the General—or, Bob [Robert Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs]—whether we've talked about at this meeting setting a drug summit. I've already talked to Barco about a high-level drug meeting with the Presidents of various countries. But whether we'll set it tomorrow there, I just—I have not discussed it with him personally. And I've had—talked to him yesterday, or talked to him the day before. But I'll be very interested in his view on it and how that could affect—the timing of which, how that could help on this fight.

Q. Do you have a view of when and where it should be, and which countries it should include, sir?

The President. No, we don't. And again, I'm anxious to get his views. I expect the subject will come up because we've given—I believe we've given support to it. I know I feel that it would be a constructive thing. But we're a little—we haven't really set the exact timing of it.

I'll tell you, in Costa Rica I will be meeting with many of the leaders from South America and the Caribbean. And I think that might be a time when we could get a lot of other views as to timing, who should attend, and—but it's not set.

President's Security

Q. Mr. President, there's a report in Newsday today that the drug lords are threatening to kidnap one of your children if they're not granted amnesty——

The President. If what?

Q. If they're not granted amnesty, if the drug lords aren't granted amnesty. Earlier, you said—when this question arose, you said you didn't have any information on that——

The President. Yes. I hadn't.

Q. Do you have any information about what Newsday says is this threat?

The President. I do not. And I have a feeling that that matter is of enough interest to me that it would have been brought to my attention. And I don't mean to be complacent, but I have confidence in our intelligence community. I have confidence in the international cooperation on intelligence—sometimes I wish it were more. And I have confidence in the Secret Service and their ability to do their job. So, I don't live in fear of anything like this, but, Terry, I've not heard that, and I feel confident I would have if there had been some—what I would call hard intelligence. I can't do my job if I get deterred by rumors or—I think I'd know that if there was something serious——

Q. But you have increased security, and your children now all have it, when they had declined it.

The President. Yes. Varying degrees. And I don't discuss it because I think one of the contradictions in an open society is, I can understand everybody's interest in knowing every detail, but I can also understand the security system's desire that every detail not be known. I think security is better in that way. But that, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]—to the degree security has been stepped up in accordance with the law and the Bush kids, it is not because of a specific, hard piece of intelligence, hard threat. And I'm confident of that. My problem is, would I tell you if I weren't? But I am confident of that. And I'm confident that I gave you the right answer because I think I would have known that.

Q. You may be the last to know. I'm teasing.

The President. Well, no, but I can see why somebody would want to——

Q. Save you from fears.

The President. Well, but we have a close family and people are—they don't like it when families get—you know, have some threat. But it's not—I want to just assure people that there isn't—we are not living under that kind of a threat.

Thank you all. Any more questions on education? [*Laughter*]

Chicago Cubs

Q. What about the Cubs, Mr. President? The Chicago Cubs?

The President. Oh, the Cubs?

Q. Yes. Is it their turn?

The President. It's fantastic. The debate over lights at Wrigley Field have given way to euphoria over winning. That's my comment. You heard it right here in the Oval Office first.

Q. So you think the lights did it?

The President. What I'm trying to do is figure out how to get to a game. Either American League or National League playoff or a World Series game.

Q. Are you committed to going to at least one, Mr. President?

The President. Not committed, but trying hard to figure it out.

Q. You have to take [former Reagan Press Secretary] Jim Brady with you.

The President. Oh, to go see a Cubs game.

Q. Who is going to win that American League East race?

The President. Well, I've given up on the Rangers. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 10:35 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Nomination of Bruce L. Gardner To Be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

September 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Bruce L. Gardner to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture (Economics). He would succeed Ewen Wilson.

Since 1981 Dr. Gardner has served as a professor in the department of agriculture and resource economics at the University of Maryland. Prior to this, he was a visiting fellow at the Center for the Study of the Economy and the State at the University of Chicago, 1980–1981, and a professor of agricultural economics at Texas A&M University, 1977–1980.

Dr. Gardner graduated from the University of Illinois (B.S., 1964) and the University of Chicago (Ph.D., 1968). He was born August 31, 1942, in Woodstock, IL. Dr. Gardner is married, has two children, and currently resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of E. Donald Elliott To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

September 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate E. Donald Elliott to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (General Counsel). He would succeed Lawrence J. Jensen.

Since 1984 Mr. Elliott has served as a professor of law at Yale Law School in New Haven, CT. Prior to this, he was an associate professor at Yale Law School, 1981–1984. Mr. Elliott also served as a visiting professor of law at Georgetown University, 1986–1987.

Mr. Elliott graduated from Yale College (B.A., 1970) and Yale Law School (J.D., 1974). He was born April 4, 1948, in Chicago, IL. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in New Haven, CT.

Nomination of Barbara Everitt Bryant To Be Director of the Bureau of the Census

September 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Barbara Everitt Bryant to be Director of the Census at the Department of Commerce. She would succeed John G. Keane.

Since 1977 Dr. Bryant has served as senior vice president of Market Opinion Research in Detroit, MI. Prior to this, she served at Market Opinion Research as vice president for social research, 1971–1977, and as a senior analyst, 1970.

Dr. Bryant graduated from Cornell University (A.B., 1947) and Michigan State University (M.A., 1967; Ph.D., 1970). She was born January 5, 1926, in Ann Arbor, MI. Dr. Bryant is married, has three children, and currently resides in Ann Arbor, MI.

Continuation of James Bert Thomas, Jr., as Inspector General of the Department of Education

September 27, 1989

The President today announced that James Bert Thomas, Jr., will continue to serve as Inspector General for the Department of Education.

Since 1980 Mr. Thomas has served as the Inspector General for the Department of Education. Prior to this, he served as the Director of the Bureau of Accounts at the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1977–1980; Inspector General at the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1975–1977; and Assistant Director of the Bureau of Accounts at the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1972–1975.

Mr. Thomas graduated from Florida State University (B.S., 1957). He was born March 16, 1935, in Tallahassee, FL. He is married, has three children, and currently resides in McLean, VA.

Nomination of Bernard E. DeLury To Be Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service

September 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Bernard E. DeLury to be Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director. He would succeed Kay McMurray.

Since 1985 Mr. DeLury has served as the staff vice president for labor relations at the Sea-Land Corp. in Iselin, NJ. Prior to this, he served with the Sea-Land Corp. as the corporate vice president of personnel, 1982–1985, and as the director of labor relations, 1977–1982. Mr. DeLury served at the Department of Labor in Washington, DC as an Assistant Secretary of Labor at the Labor-Management Relations Administration, 1976–1977, and as the Assistant Secretary of Labor at the Employment Standards Administration, 1973–1976.

Mr. DeLury graduated from St. John's University (B.A., 1960) and C.W. Post College (M.A., 1974). He served in the New York State National Guard Army Reserve, 1956–1963. Mr. DeLury was born on April 1, 1938, in Brooklyn, NY. He is married, has five children, and currently resides in Colts Neck, NJ.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With President Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina

September 27, 1989

President Bush met with President Menem of Argentina in the Oval Office for approximately 45 minutes. President Bush noted President Menem's determination in dealing with Argentina's economic crisis and stated U.S. support for his program. They discussed the Government of Argentina's overtures to normalize relations with the United Kingdom. President Bush stated that the U.S. is pleased that two of our friends are engaged in a direct dialog and expressed the hope that this process will lead to full normalization of relations in the near future.

The two Presidents discussed the drug problem and underscored a mutual desire in combating the drug scourge. They also discussed the situation in Panama and the urgent need for a return to full democracy. President Bush noted that the U.S. shares with the people of Argentina a strong desire for freedom and democracy and expressed the hope that this visit will strengthen even further the close bond between our two countries.

Remarks at the Education Summit Welcoming Ceremony at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville

September 27, 1989

Thank you all for that warm welcome. Secretary Cavazos, thank you, sir, and to the other members of the Cabinet; and Governor Branstad and Governors Clinton and Campbell, all the Governors; President O'Neil especially, who is moving out of his house so Barbara and I can stay there—beyond the call of duty. Members of the faculty and friends, thank you. And let me say as, I guess, the host of this: Welcome,

welcome to Mr. Jefferson's university, the alma mater of President Woodrow Wilson. To Virginia's gracious Governor, Jerry Baliles, my thanks to you, sir. Our Senators—I don't know if they made it—Chuck Robb and John Warner—but I know they plan to come. And, of course, Congressman for this district, French Slaughter.

I call it Mr. Jefferson's university, as nearly everyone else does in this marvelous city of Charlottesville. In fact, President Taft said once that they still spoke about Mr. Jefferson as though he were in the next room—his spirit more real than the painting of Plato and Aristotle behind me, or the statue of Homer outside on the lawn.

Although his ideas on individual freedom, humanism and the inalienable rights of man stand alone in the history of this republic, Mr. Jefferson had one overriding vision that he did not see realized in his lifetime, but one which has over the past 200 years been fulfilled: a vision of strong public education, a public education system in this country second to none. It's a system that has brought Americans from all walks of life together, enabled all citizens to build better lives for themselves; a system that has given us Neil Armstrong, and Martin Luther King, Jonas Salk, Sandra Day O'Connor; a system unparalleled in the world.

But today millions of Americans cannot read. Some never even make it to graduation, dropping out of school and society as well. Drugs have invaded our classrooms, violence has entered our schoolyards, and clearly the enlightened America dreamed of by Thomas Jefferson still eludes us. And so, the Governors have accepted my invitation to come together for open and candid discussions about the future of American education. And I am grateful to each and every one of you, and I appreciate the depth of commitment shown by everyone assembled here today.

This is not a Republican or a Democratic issue. And it's not administration versus the Governors. It's an American issue. And everyone in this room is committed—or you wouldn't be here—to educational excellence. And we all know too much is at stake to let partisanship get in the way of progress. This call was sounded in 1983, in the previous administration, in the Reagan administration, when warned in its historic education report that we are indeed a nation at risk. And that report awakened Americans to the situation in our schools, and then those alarm bells began to ring. And everyone now knows what the problems are. And no one came here to point fingers, but for the good of our children's education, for the good of the country, if you will, we must decide on a course of action. The time for study is over.

There are real problems right now in our educational system, but there is no one Federal solution. The Federal Government, of course, has a very important role to play, which is why I'm here and why so many members of our Cabinet are here. And we're going to work with you to help find answers, but I firmly believe that the key will be found at the State and local levels. You are the ones, as Governors, who are out there on the firing line, and you see what goes on in the classrooms and in the local school boards and in your state policymaking sessions. Truly, the States are the laboratories of reform in this country, and you are the experts. But we've got to work together—the States, Governors, mayors, State legislators, and the Federal Government. We must work together over the next 2 days—but more importantly, over the next several years.

We're going to talk about many issues—most importantly, choice and competitiveness and teaching quality and improving the learning environment. Accountability, flexibility, tougher standards, a results-oriented system—all of these have got to be out there on the table. And what I'm seeking at this summit is not just dialog, but a new sense of direction. We've got to challenge the education system if we're to meet the challenge of educational excellence. It's time to stop debating over commissions and studies and set priorities, and it's time to get on with it.

Shortly we're going to leave this hall and walk down the lawn to the Rotunda for the first of our working group meetings. On the way we will pass—walk past Pavilion Seven, known as the Colonnade Club. The cornerstone of that building was laid by three great Americans—Presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. And as you walk past that Colonnade Club, let us think of these three men and what they envisioned for the Republic. Think of the schools the founders sought to establish to develop the character of students with values like honesty and discipline and public service. And let us work together these next 2 days in a spirit of total frankness, total honesty. And let's not be afraid, as Mr. Jefferson said, to follow truth, wherever it may lead.

Thank you all very much for coming. And Governors, I look forward to working with you over the next couple of days here. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. in Old Cabell Hall on the grounds of the university.

Toasts of the President and Governor Terry Branstad of Iowa at the Education Summit Dinner in Charlottesville, Virginia

September 27, 1989

The President. Welcome, welcome. I will try to keep it short. You see, the record has already been set for toasts here in Charlottesville at the university. Back in 1824, Mr. Jefferson hosted a dinner in the Dome Room of the Rotunda for the Marquis de Lafayette attended by former Presidents Monroe and Madison. It was an elegant dinner. The libations flowed freely—so freely, in fact, that 13 formal toasts ensued. [*Laughter*] And looking around here, only to be followed by 37 more impromptu toasts. That's the one tradition that I would like to discourage tonight.

This afternoon, though, we did begin an historic summit—2 days of what will be a lot of hours and hard work. The issues before us in the working sessions are profound. The solutions that we seek will not be simple ones. But I am absolutely confident that the spirit which inspired the founders of this nation, and particularly this university, is ever-present tonight as we gather at the beloved mountaintop home of President Thomas Jefferson. Below us, outside of this tent, we can see the twinkling limits and lights of Charlottesville; above us, the quiet pastures of Brown's Mountain. Not far down the mountain road is Ashland Highlands, the home of President Monroe. And we're overlooking the "academical village" founded by Mr. Jefferson 170 years ago. Earlier, at sunset, we could see the Rotunda and the purple shadows of The Lawn—once an open-ended field that looked out to the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia. It was Mr. Jefferson's wish that it remain that way so that students would look out to the horizon poised between their education and their future.

Today, in the Rotunda, we worked in that elusive area between education and the future, defining our dream for excellence and giving shape to our hopes for America. And it was one day shortly before he died, right here, that Mr. Jefferson gazed at the Rotunda and said that establishing his university was "the last act of usefulness that I can render my country." Building the Rotunda and the university were the crowning achievements of the "Sage of Monticello," and yet he knew that without the creativity and the intellectual challenge of a great faculty, his new center of living and center of thought would be nothing more than bricks and mortar. He searched for the best in Europe and brought them to teach at the university as new citizens—except in the subject of law, to be taught only by a resident American.

In fact, Jefferson's favorite teacher was his own law professor, George Wythe, a man who also taught him the essentials of ancient philosophy and the classics. I'm sure everyone here has a favorite teacher. I think back myself to the 12th grade, to Professor A.B. Darling, that some elitist ivy-leaguers might remember—[*laughter*]—but in my case, this man made the immortals of American history come to life. And I'm not going to give you equal time because I'll bet you every Governor here has a special teacher that he remembers. Today, as it was in Jefferson's time, it is America's teachers who enlighten our young people and inspire them to excellence. You know, Jefferson knew this, writing once that aside from education, "no other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness."

And so, tonight I would like to toast those who have heard the call and followed it—those who have sacrificed so much in order that America might enjoy a sure foundation of freedom and happiness. And I toast our teachers—those who taught us, those who sacrifice to teach our children, and those among us who have been members of this proud profession, the 6 members of my Cabinet—6—and the 13 Governors present who are former teachers. And just to give a small plug for alternative certification, there is one person present who has never held a teaching position, yet has been a leader in the fight against illiteracy, and that is my wife, Barbara.

We've come to this spectacular home of Thomas Jefferson to build upon his dreams of a strong system of education for all. But without our teachers, without their vision and their dedication, the dream would be lost. And so I ask you now to join me in a toast, a salutation to the teachers of America. God bless them all, and God bless the United States. To the teachers!

Governor Branstad. Mr. President, First Lady Barbara Bush, on behalf of our nation's Governors and our spouses, we thank you for convening us for this historic summit. The first President to bring this body of Governors together was Teddy Roosevelt. And when he called a meeting in 1908 to discuss the problems in the natural resources and environment, the Governors had such a good time that we decided to meet annually every year and form the National Governors' Association. We are proud that you have brought us back together. It has been nearly a century since President Theodore Roosevelt called that meeting of the Governors in 1908; and yet, we have come together for only the third time for a summit meeting of this magnitude called by the President of the United States. We are deeply honored in this opportunity. Our agenda is to develop a world-class education system for the future of America. It is one of the critical challenges facing our nation today.

By bringing your most trusted advisers to this meeting, Mr. President, you have shown your commitment. And when I say "most trusted" advisers, I especially mean Barbara Bush and the Cabinet members. You have shown your commitment to literacy and quality education for all. Just like President Jefferson, you are committed to quality education. Just like President Jefferson, you are helping to build something. Apparently, he supervised the construction of the University of Virginia's Rotunda by watching the work from a telescope here at Monticello.

Here in Charlottesville we have begun what I hope will build something very important. You can watch and help and encourage as we continue the work in the individual States and in the classrooms all across this nation. We thank you for your commitment and for making education and literacy a priority of the American people. To the President of the United States and the First Lady, Barbara Bush.

Note: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. at Monticello.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Education Summit in Charlottesville, Virginia

September 27, 1989

The President said today's sessions with the Governors were very constructive. He said he felt a consensus could be reached on a number of issues. The key to success will be followup that occurs in the weeks ahead. The Governors indicated the most prominent issue before them is a question of flexibility in their spending of Federal funds. They asked the President to work with them in getting Congress to provide more flexibility in spending programs.

The Governors also indicated that early child programs, including Head Start, are the most valuable in terms of ultimate educational success. The Governors also spoke at length of the need to increase accessibility to the teaching profession by people now in other careers. This issue, teacher certification, is important to bringing new ideas into the teaching area.

The President found the give-and-take with the Governors quite useful and looks forward to tomorrow's meeting.

Remarks at the University of Virginia Convocation in Charlottesville

September 28, 1989

Governor Baliles. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as you may have noticed during the course of this unprecedented education summit, Virginia law and tradition oblige us to publicly invoke the name of Thomas Jefferson at least once or twice an hour. [*Laughter*] There are worse habits.

Mr. President, it has been an interesting, sometimes provocative gathering. You asked the Governors to be candid, and I think we've fulfilled that request—perhaps beyond your fondest hopes. [*Laughter*] I would also say, however, that you gave as good as you got. But these are times for candor and outspoken self-examination. These are times for us to open our eyes and our minds and face the facts. The world has changed more than we sometimes would prefer. The challenges, both internally and externally, are profound and difficult. And, frankly, we have not made it easy for ourselves.

Within the last decade, immense Federal budget deficits have accumulated with resulting declines in domestic spending, including education. We need not assign blame, but we ought to acknowledge that the Federal budget situation has left the States increasingly on their own to address not only education but also health care, transportation, law enforcement, and other pressing concerns. Indeed, the Federal budget deficits have been the backdrop to the education summit stage. The Federal deficits confine our flexibility, limit our options, and explain our shared reluctance to discuss financial resources. To be sure, in recent years the States have stepped into the breach. Imaginative and innovative programs have been created and funded by Governors and State legislators determined not to let the red ink in Washington inhibit the potential of our people in their enterprise.

But has it been enough? Has the renaissance of State governments yielded a renewed competitive America? The evidence says no. Indeed, it may be said of the American Federal system of government that the whole remains less than the sum of the parts. Education is one example, but not the only one. In other words, if we are to take on education as a nation, we had better get all the parts in accord and pulling together. And you, Mr. President, have taken a valuable and important step in that direction.

Up to this point, Mr. Jefferson's preference for locally administered education has prevailed. We will not depart from that model entirely. States and localities will continue to provide more than 90 percent of the funding and the preponderance of the direction and supervision.

And yet, there is a Federal role to be more clearly defined, supported, and sustained. In response to international economic competition, a consensus has emerged for an American national resolve. The Jeffersonian belief that education is the first, best hope for our republic's enduring success has not diminished. We have simply discovered that, as the times change, so must our ideas. That may be the finest result of this education summit: that we have begun, State and Federal governments together, to think anew our respective roles and to address education for the first time as a nation undivided.

Mr. President, you have a loyal ally to support your efforts in the person of the new chairman of the National Governors' Association. It is my pleasure to introduce my friend and the distinguished Governor of the State of Iowa, Terry Branstad.

Governor Branstad. Thank you, Governor Baliles. Mr. President, First Lady Barbara Bush, members of the Cabinet, fellow Governors and their spouses, President O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil, and members of the University of Virginia community: It is indeed appropriate that this education summit be held here amidst this historic setting. On behalf of the Governors and their spouses, we want to thank the faculty, administration, and students for hosting us here at this beautiful University of Virginia campus. And I hope we haven't disrupted your class schedules too much the last couple of days. [*Laughter*]

With this historic education summit, the President and the Governors have taken an important first step in the process of developing for the first time a national consensus for educational goals. We are discussing some of the most critical issues facing America today—that is, the state of education. Our discussions underscore the breadth and depth and the complexity of the issues that we face. We believe that this summit can serve as a catalyst for change and improvement in American education.

But we know that we can't do it alone. Not even the President of the United States and the Congress, each Governor and their legislature can cause the kind of changes that we want. We have to have the involvement of the people who are directly affected, the people who can assure that we get results for America's children. These are the teachers, the parents, local school administrators and school board members, students, business leaders, leaders in their communities—people who care deeply about American education. Only with the commitment of all of these people and with their cooperation and help can we be successful in attaining the goals that we hope to agree upon.

Governors recognize that this is a time for results. We are working hard to achieve results in our States—results like better student performances on math, science, and foreign language tests; lower dropout rates and higher graduation rates; improved adult literacy; skilled and productive workers for the jobs of the 21st century.

To get the results we want, we have to hold our education system accountable and give educators the flexibility they need to do their job. It is time to find new measures of performance based on what students know and what students can do, not just the number of classes that they complete in high school or college. It is time for more flexibility in the use of Federal dollars, and better coordination and cooperation among all levels of government and the different agencies of the Federal Government and State governments. We need to better serve the needs of American families and American schools.

On behalf of the Nation's Governors, we thank you, Mr. President, for convening this historic summit, for the process that you have started and for our opportunity to help achieve significant goals that will get results for future generations of Americans.

And now I have the privilege of introducing the Secretary of Education for the United States. Lauro Cavazos was appointed by President Reagan in 1988 as U.S. Secretary of Education. He was confirmed unanimously by the United States Senate, and before that, he had a distinguished career as president of Texas Tech University. And I'm pleased to say he also has a Ph.D. from Iowa State. Lauro Cavazos, Secretary of Education.

Secretary Cavazos. Thank you, Governor. Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. It's my distinct pleasure to be here today as we continue this historic education summit. The decisions we make will affect the lives of millions of children in the United States, and it is for those children and the future of this country that we are here. President Bush has pledged his support for education and the need to restructure our educational system, and it is an honor now for me to introduce the President of the United States, George Bush.

The President. Thank you all very much. Thank you, Secretary Cavazos. Thank you, Governors. Thank you, Dr. Cavazos—Secretary Cavazos. First, my respects to all the Governors here, and I want to thank—the music of that Air Force Band, just lovely. Thank you for your performance. I want to thank Governor Baliles and Governor Branstad and so many others who had a very special role. I want to thank President O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil. It was only yesterday that I discovered that we had evicted them from the president's house. [*Laughter*] And not only did they go peacefully, but they left me this necktie from Eljo's, which I'm sure some of you may recognize. You talk about Virginia hospitality. [*Laughter*] And I also want to pay my respects to the students and especially to the distinguished faculty of this great institution.

And for Barbara and me it's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. Imagine this: You have a President, the Cabinet, America's Governors all visiting your school. And the big man on the campus—still Sean Moore. [*Laughter*] But, you see, we're somewhat familiar—our son Marvin and our daughter-in-law Margaret, having gone here, both advising me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. You see, they told me you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson [*Laughter*]

Now, it's easy to keep your perspective and be humble at a school so rich in history and in educational endeavor. And I've also been deeply impressed by the commitment, the creativity, and the knowledge that my fellow chief executives bring here to this education reform agenda. In our meetings yesterday, I learned exactly how much you care about the children of your States and the future. And in short, I came to Charlottesville with high expectations, and I've got to say you have exceeded them. So, the spirit of our summit is not, "Who will get the credit?"—the spirit of this summit is, "How can we get results?" We are here to put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment, and our children before ourselves.

I've heard eloquent advice from many of you, and from so many others, in the last few weeks. And I've listened, and I am deeply appreciative of all that I have learned. But I've also learned that we should listen to our children. And they have much to tell us. In many ways, they are the luckiest generation in history. Just last month, our children observed, in the clarity of Voyager's sight, the horizons of new worlds, the majesty of space. And think what these images would have meant to the ever-curious founder of this university, who could only look through a primitive telescope at faint patches of light and wonder.

But our children are growing up in an age where wonder is commonplace, peace and prosperity often taken for granted. And our children are also the beneficiaries of a nation that lavishes unsurpassed resources on their schooling. So, in many ways we're close to fulfilling the Enlightenment dream of universal education, a dream that became a reality in the shadows of the Shenandoahs here at Mr. Jefferson's school.

And every step we take at this university is truly a walk in Thomas Jefferson's footsteps. When he first charted the ground on which we gather today, there was just a field of grass, a horizon limited only by the blue mountains beyond. But Jefferson surveyed a horizon that no one else could see. He saw the graceful dome of the Rotunda, the elegance of the Lawn and its pavilions. He saw meeting rooms and libraries and lecture halls teeming with professors, students yet unborn. Jefferson set out to fashion his rarified vision into solid reality, brick by brick, book by book. And it is his university, and his dream, that inspires us today to follow in his footsteps. As President O'Neil said, Thomas Jefferson, our first education president, was a relentless advocate for universal public education. "He had a fundamental conviction that on the good sense of an educated citizenry, we could build and defend a country of liberty and justice."

I borrowed those words—this assessment—from a friend of mine, another Renaissance man of our time, the late Bartlett Giamatti. Like Jefferson, his life was a metaphor for civility and public service. And it is this commitment to public service that we must carry on. So, let us make this an education society.

We have already come close to this Jeffersonian ideal. Our educational system is, in many ways, unrivaled in its scale and its diversity, in its commitment to meeting special needs and individual differences. And we're inspired by our best teachers, who give more than we can rightly expect, and from our best students, who surpass our highest expectations. And yet, after two centuries of progress, we are stagnant. While millions of Americans read for pleasure, millions of others don't read at all. And while millions go to college, millions may never graduate from high school.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress estimates that fewer than one in four of our high school juniors can write an adequate, persuasive letter. And only half can manage decimals, fractions, and percentages. And barely one in three can locate the Civil War in the correct half-century. No modern nation can long afford to allow so many of its sons and daughters to emerge into adulthood ignorant and unskilled. The status quo is a guarantee of mediocrity, social decay, and national decline.

Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything that we are and can become. And come the next century, just 10 years away, what will we be? Will we be the children of the Enlightenment, or its orphans?

Six years ago, the Committee on Excellence in Education issued its powerful report; and yet today, our nation is still at risk. The educational reform movement has done well in articulating its criticisms, and now it is time to define goals. This is the time for action. I sent my proposals for Federal action in education to Congress last spring, including an increase in funding for Head Start. The Educational Excellence Act of 1989 includes ways to reshape and expand Federal efforts, to recognize excellence, lift the needy, foster flexibility and choice, and measure and reward progress. I remain solidly committed to these principles, and I value your advice and ideas as we continue to refine the Federal role.

Some offer a completely different answer: Spend more money alone. And at the Federal level, we have asked Congress to provide nearly a half a billion dollars in new funding for 10 worthy programs. Your States may also choose to spend more. But to those who say that money alone is the answer, I say that there is no one answer. If anything, hard experience teaches that we are simply not getting our money's worth in education. Our focus must no longer be on resources. It must be on results.

And this is only the third time in our 200 years as a nation that a President has called a summit with the Governors. And I've called you together because you bear the constitutional responsibility for education. And I didn't ask you to such an historic occasion merely to bemoan what is wrong. We are here to work, and work together, to once again make an American education the best in the world.

And let me say to the Governors before this majestic audience: These sessions have been informative and thoughtful and very useful to me. And I appreciate the obvious extensive preparations that the Governors have undertaken in the days and weeks leading up to this summit. The Governors have emphasized to me the need for national performance goals and the importance of greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds, while accepting enhanced accountability for the results. And they've also stressed the high priority that helping prepare preschool children should have in Federal spending, even in time of fiscal constraint.

And finally, the Governors have articulated eloquently the need to restructure our education system. You already are consulting with State legislators to better our schools. Our teachers already are giving their heart and soul to their jobs. But we've never before worked together—President and principal, Governor and teacher—to achieve results in education.

A social compact begins today in Charlottesville, Virginia—a compact between parents, teachers, principals, superintendents, State legislators, Governors, and the administration. Our compact is founded not on promises but on challenges—each one a radical departure from tradition. I hope that you will join me to define national goals in education for the first time. From this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards, of higher goals, and a land of bigger dreams.

Our goals must be national, not Federal. That's why I welcome the initiatives of the National Governors' Association, from the Time for Results report in 1986 to the goal-setting project recently begun under the leadership of Iowa's Terry Branstad, South Carolina's Carroll Campbell, Washington's Booth Gardner, Bill Clinton of Arkansas. And my administration will work with you to build on the National Assessment Program's first State-by-State achievement results. We will work with you to formulate national goals, and then we're going to challenge superintendents and principals to meet these higher goals. In return, I accept your challenge and will work with you to loosen the grip of Federal restrictions. How many great ideas, how many grand and noble experiments have been impaled on the narrow spike of a Federal directive? Unnecessary restriction is the enemy of the bold. And bold action is what we need most of all.

I ask Congress to allow Washington to be more flexible by passing reform legislation. And I ask you, in turn, to ease State restrictions on local bodies. And then we'll judge our efforts not by our intentions but by our results. So, to get results, we need national goals and more flexibility from Federal and State government. To get results, we will need a new spirit of competition between students, between teachers, and between schools—a report card for all. And to get results, we will need discipline, structure, and goals.

And yet, I do not counsel a naive nostalgia, some tame adherence to the past. Business as usual is not getting us where we need to go. So, when hallowed tradition proves to be hollow convention, then we must shatter tradition. The polls show what every PTA board member already knows: The American people are ready for radical reforms. We must not disappoint them.

For myself, I envision tradition-shattering reform in five areas. First, I see the day when every student is literate. But literacy should mean more than the "three R's." We must be a reading nation. We must grapple with the hard sciences. And because education is as spiritual as it is practical, our children must know why Americans died at Bunker Hill, at Gettysburg, and at Monte Cassino. And they must do more than identify names on a multiple choice question. They must understand the generosity of Andrew Carnegie and the genius of Alexander Graham Bell and the heroism of Rosa Parks. Some youngsters will naturally take longer than others, and some will need more study and extra instruction. But we should never send a student from school to school just because he or she has passed an arbitrary birthday.

Second, I see a day when our educational system will be unafraid of diversity. Of course, all schools in a State will share a core curriculum and minimum standards of achievement, but the means by which that curriculum is taught and those goals met should be as diverse and varied as America itself. Let them blend, in myriad ways, the traditional and the modern, the human and the technological. Let us give our schools and our teachers the freedom to do what they do best.

Children also differ in their interests and learning styles and capabilities. And so, third, I see the day when choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception, when parents will be full partners in the education of their children. Too many parents have come to see education as a service we can hand over to the school boards in much the same way we expect our cities to provide electricity or water. But education is not a utility, not something to be delegated. Education is a way of life. And educational reform is an urgent responsibility for every parent, every student, every community. And those who do not advance the cause of education hinder it. Parents, students, and professional educators must be accountable to one another as a community.

But to be accountable, we need to know just how much progress we're making. So, fourth, I see the day when we use accurate assessments, carefully linked to our educational goals. We need to first know where we are, and this means accepting the bad news along with the good. We've always measured our progress against our past performance. We must now evaluate ourselves on a tougher grading curve, one that includes the other major industrial nations. And accountability also means we must act on what we discover. Weak performance in the classroom or the principal's office will no longer be tolerated. But neither will indifference towards good educators. Society has no greater benefactors than outstanding teachers and principals. And so, let them have their day in the sun, get what they deserve—generous praise and solid rewards.

Fifth, I see an educational system that never settles for the minimum, in academics or in behavior. Decades of research bear out what the best teachers already know: When standard and expectations are high, everyone does better. And this includes both the unusually gifted and those with special needs and disabilities, but it must also include the student we too often forget, the average student. All you guys with C's—I want to hear it from you. For I do believe that with a little care and a little work we can unleash within each of these so-called ordinary kids an extraordinary potential. This same potential can be found within every disadvantaged child, those from troubled neighborhoods, children for whom our schools must be a beacon of excellence, a sanctuary from violence, a model of good character, sound values, exemplary ethics. Let no child in America be forgotten or forsaken.

Some of our reforms and experiments are sure to come up short. But for too many of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse. The worthy and the useful will win out only if we give our schools the freedom that they need. And such freedom will not lead to a quick and easy solution. It's the work of years. And we've taken such a long-term view in our meetings over the last couple of days.

We've discussed the need for educational reform in terms of our national competitiveness—you heard Governor Baliles refer to that just a minute ago. But I'm sure you agree that there is more to learning than just our trade balance or the graying of our work force. It is broader than the important, but narrow, compass of economics and government. A scholar once wrote that great books are not lifeless paper but minds alive on the shelves. And he observed that just as the touch of a button on a stereo will fill a room with music, so by taking down one of these volumes and opening it, one can call into range the voice of a man far distant in time and space and hear him speak—mind to mind, heart to heart.

As a nation, we can again hear these voices, feel this enchantment, every time a parent reads a bedtime story to a sleepy child, every time a young scholar turns to the great books. The day must come when every young American can know the life of the mind. I might say parenthetically that is why my wife, Barbara, for many years has devoted a lot of her time to making this country more literate.

In essence, that is why we've gathered here at Mr. Jefferson's school. He was just one man, but look at what one man can do. Imagine what we can do, if we—more than 50 strong—are united by this great cause. So let us dream, and let us talk. And if need be let us argue, but in the end let us walk together on a journey to enlightenment, in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. Thank you for your hard work and dedication. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:56 a.m. at University Hall. In his remarks, he referred to University of Virginia football player Sean Moore, former University of Virginia basketball player Ralph Sampson, and former baseball commissioner A. Bartlett Giamatti.

Remarks at the Education Summit Farewell Ceremony at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville

September 28, 1989

Secretary Cavazos. Thank you very much. The past 2 days have been busy for all of us, but the enthusiasm has come to this meeting, discussions have borne our knowledge that we are doing vital and important work and that the results of our decisions will have an impact far beyond what we can imagine. We've made history at this education summit, and I know that we will continue to make history in every State and every school across America.

It is an honor now to introduce the President of the United States, George Bush.

The President. Thank you very much. My role is simply now, at the end of what I think we all agree was a very successful conference, to again thank the University of Virginia students, its faculty, its president; to thank all of the Governors. I want to single out those on the platform with me now: Governor Branstad, who is head of the Governors' Association; Governor Carruthers; Governor Booth Gardner of the State of Washington; and of course Bill Clinton, who looks a little tired, but took on an extra responsibility for hammering out a statement upon which there is strong agreement.

And we've reached agreement on the need for national performance goals, on the need for more flexibility and accountability, the need for restructuring and choice, and I agree with Governor Clinton that this is a major step forward in education; the need for letting parents, teachers, students, and communities—to encourage them to work together more and more; and the need for more Federal support for the prekindergarten education process normally identified with Head Start, but certainly other programs might fit that description.

But I want to thank each and every one of the Governors and their families. This has been historic, and I pledge to you my determination to follow up in every way possible. We just cannot let it sit here and end here, and I promise you that I won't, that my Cabinet won't, and that our entire administration will not. So, with no further ado, to all the Governors here, my heartfelt thanks.

Governor Branstad. Mr. President, on behalf of the National Governors' Association, we thank you for calling us together in this very historic summit on education. I want to thank all of the Governors that participated. We had better attendance than we even do at the National Governors' annual meetings. There were open and frank discussions. A very significant agreement has been reached. This year, the National Governors' Association has an agenda that calls for building a consensus for change to address some of the critical issues facing the United States of America—the issues of education and the environment.

And in the last 2 days here, we have made significant progress towards building that national consensus with the leadership of the President and the Governors. In the area of setting national education goals, we unanimously agree that there is a need for the first time in this nation's history to have specific results-oriented goals. And we're talking about roles in the area of readiness of children to start school; in the area of performance of students in international achievement tests in the areas of math and science; in the reduction of the dropout rate and the improvement of academic performance, especially for at-risk children; in the functional literacy of adult Americans; in the level of training necessary to guarantee a competitive work force; in the supply of qualified teachers with up-to-date technology; and the establishment of safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools.

We recognize the need for both flexibility to State governments and to local school districts—but coupled with that, accountability for outcome-related results. I think significant progress has been made. We have committed to work together—the National Governors' Association Task Force on Education and the people designated by the President—to make specific goals and to reach those goals hopefully by the February meeting of the National Governors' Association in the Nation's Capital.

It's a beautiful day in Charlottesville, Virginia. I'm proud that the President has invited us to be here. We appreciate the great hospitality of this great State and this great university, and I'm pleased to introduce my Vice Chairman for the National Governors' Association, the Governor of the State of Washington, Governor Booth Gardner, to talk about some of the other goals that have been spelled out in this joint statement. Governor Gardner.

Governor Gardner. The report goes further, and I think one of the reasons that we're all so excited about the results of the last 2 days are that the report addresses the financial role of the Federal Government in education, albeit in a limited role—but an extremely important role. And the understanding is that the money that becomes available will be applied to the issue of early childhood education and Head Start and preparing young people for the day that they enter school—that they will be on a parred and equity basis with other children and they're ready and able to perform.

And we also discussed and agreed that we have to continue to look at mandates from the Federal Government to make sure that those mandates do not impinge on the State's ability to provide its discretionary funds for education. Then we have a very exciting statement on the commitment to restructuring. The President and the Nation's governments [Governors] have agreed that significant steps must be made in restructuring education in all States: a system of accountability that focuses on results rather than input; a decentralized authority and decision-making responsibility to the school site; empowerment to the principals and the teachers to carry out their mandates and citing challenges to face us in this country; and an educational system that develops first-rate teachers and supports those teachers with the technology, staff, and services that are necessary to allow them to be productive.

And lastly, we want to compliment the Secretary of Education and the President on agreeing that we will have a report card and that we will measure the schools, the State, and the Federal Government year by year to make sure that we remain committed to the agreements that we have reached in the past 2 days and the goals that will come out of the process for the next few months that we hope to agree on in February or March.

In the past few days, the President, his Cabinet, Secretary of Education, the Governors, and their staff have humbly walked the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. We started down a promising path, and we have composed a Jeffersonian compact, the beneficiaries of which will be the children of this country. The children of this country today represent 25 percent of our population. Tomorrow, they are 100 percent of that population. With that, I'd like to introduce the Governor of New Mexico and the chairman of the Educational Commission of the States, Garrey Carruthers.

Governor Carruthers. Thank you very much, Booth. We came to talk about sharing the responsibility for success, and we've done that. And to have success we need to have a vision, much higher expectations, and the President of the United States gave one of the finest speeches I've ever heard on education today at the convocation at the University of Virginia.

And it is from that speech and the work that we have to do afterwards that will develop the vision of education in this country. But I think also we came to talk about empowering people, and we talked a lot about empowering. We're going to empower parents by encouraging choice; we're going to empower teachers by letting them take over the classrooms again; we're going to empower those educational entrepreneurs that exist in all our communities by deregulating the educational system.

We need to empower the kids by making sure that before they're 5 years old they've been properly taken care of in every way, particularly with health. And we need to empower the private sector by inviting them into the school systems and getting their assistance and mentoring programs and the financial assistance they've always been willing to give us. And then we need to empower all Americans very simply by having them join us in developing a set of national goals. It has been a wonderful conference, and now I'd like to introduce you to Governor Bill Clinton, who's one of the prime forces in developing this conference, the summit, with the President of the United States.

Governor Clinton. Thank you very much, Governor Carruthers, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. This is a rather emotional moment for me. For one thing, I didn't get much sleep last night—we were up working on this statement.

I want to thank Governor Campbell, who is not here, and Governor Branstad, who is, and all the others who worked on this statement from the National Governors' Association—John Sununu [Chief of Staff] and Roger Porter [Assistant to the President for Domestic and Economic Affairs] and others from the White House staff. And most important, Mr. President, I want to thank you for giving us the chance, the Governors, after 7 years of hard work on educational reform, to have a real national partnership in education.

The press will ask today, and maybe the people will when we get home, what really happened here that makes a difference. I would say there are three things.

This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education and ever understood its significance to our economic future enough to commit ourselves to national performance goals. It has never happened in over 200 years. This is the first time, ever, any group of public officials have ever committed themselves to a national effort to restructure the schools of the United States—something every educator who studied it says is the single most significant thing we could do.

And this is the first time a President and Governors have ever stood before the American people and said: Not only are we going to set national performance goals, which are ambitious, not only are we going to develop strategies to achieve them, but we stand here before you and tell you we expect to be held personally accountable for the progress we make in moving this country to a brighter future. If that doesn't make this a happy day, I don't know what does. Thank you very much.

The President. Thank you all. Well done, Bill. You did a wonderful job. Booth, thanks for everything.

Note: The President spoke at 3:07 p.m. on the steps of the Rotunda. Following his remarks, he returned to Washington, DC.

Joint Statement on the Education Summit With the Nation's Governors in Charlottesville, Virginia

September 28, 1989

The President and the nation's Governors agree that a better educated citizenry is the key to the continued growth and prosperity of the United States. Education has historically been, and should remain, a state responsibility and a local function, which works best when there is also strong parental involvement in the schools. And, as [a] Nation we must have an educated workforce, second to none, in order to succeed in an increasingly competitive world economy.

Education has always been important, but never this important because the stakes have changed: Our competitors for opportunity are also working to educate their people. As they continue to improve, they make the future a moving target. We believe that the time has come, for the first time in U.S. history, to establish clear, national performance goals, goals that will make us internationally competitive.

The President and the nation's Governors have agreed at this summit to:

—establish a process for setting national educational goals;

—to seek greater flexibility and enhanced accountability in the use of Federal resources to meet the goals, through both regulatory and legislative changes;

—to undertake a major state-by-state effort to restructure our education system; and

—to report annually on progress in achieving our goals.

This agreement represents the first step in a long-term commitment to reorient the education system and to marshal widespread support for the needed reforms.

NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS

The first step in restructuring our education system is to build a broad-based consensus around a defined set of national education goals. The National Governors' Association Task Force on Education will work with the President's designees to recommend goals to the President and the Nation's Governors. The process to develop the goals will involve teachers, parents, local school administrators, school board members, elected officials, business and labor communities, and the public at large. The overriding objective is to develop an ambitious, realistic set of performance goals that reflect the views of those with a stake in the performance of our education system. To succeed we need a common understanding and a common mission. National goals will allow us to plan effectively, to set priorities, and to establish clear lines of accountability and authority. These goals will lead to the development of detailed strategies that will allow us to meet these objectives.

The process for establishing these goals should be completed and the goals announced in early 1990.

By performance we mean goals that will, if achieved, guarantee that we are internationally competitive, such as goals related to:

—the readiness of children to start school;

—the performance of students on international achievement tests, especially in math and science;

—the reduction of the dropout rate and the improvement of academic performance, especially among at-risk students;

—the functional literacy of adult Americans;

—the level of training necessary to guarantee a competitive workforce;

—the supply of qualified teachers and up-to-date technology; and

—the establishment of safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools.

THE FEDERAL/STATE PARTNERSHIP

Flexibility and Accountability

The President and the Governors are committed to achieving the maximum return possible from our investments in the Nation's education system. We define maximum return as the following: significant and sustained educational improvement for all children. Nothing less will meet the Nation's needs for a strong, competitive workforce; nothing less will meet our children's needs for successful citizenship and economic opportunity.

Federal funds, which represent only a small part of total education spending, are directed particularly toward services for young people most at risk. Federal laws and regulations control where and for whom states and localities spend this money. State and local laws and regulations control what is taught, and how, for all students.

At present, neither Federal nor State and local laws and regulations focus sufficiently on results, or on real educational improvement for all children. Federal and State executives need authority to waive statutory and regulatory provisions in return for greater accountability for results.

The President and the Governors have agreed:

—to examine Federal regulations under current law and to move in the direction of greater flexibility;

—to take parallel steps in each state with respect to State laws and administrative rules.

—to submit legislation to Congress early next year that would provide State and local recipients greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds, in return for firm commitments to improved levels of education and skill training.

The President and the Governors have agreed to establish a working group of Governors and the President's designees to begin work immediately to accomplish these tasks.

We know that other voices need to be heard in this discussion—voices of educators, parents, and those whose primary interest is the protection of the disadvantaged, minorities, and the handicapped. We need to work with the Congress. The processes we will set up immediately following this conference will involve all parties.

The urgent need for flexibility in using Federal funds can best be illustrated by a few examples.

First, the Federal Vocational Education Act, which mandates specific set-asides that often result in individual awards that are too small to be meaningful and that prohibit the money from being spent to achieve its purpose. One state reported being required to divide $300,000 in aid among far too many categories and set-asides.

Second, similarly, the Chapter 1 program requires that equipment purchased to provide remedial education services cannot be used for non-Chapter 1 institutions in areas such as adult education. Several States report that large numbers of computers purchased by Federal funds are idle at night, while adult education classes that need them either do without or use scarce tax dollars to buy other equipment.

Third, the requirements that children who benefit from Federal funds for compensatory and special education be taught separately often undermines their achievement. Waivers that permit these students to return to regular classes and receive extra help have produced large increases in their test scores. This option should be available for all school districts.

These commitments are historic steps toward ensuring that young people with the greatest needs receive the best our schools and training programs can give them, and that all children reach their highest educational potential.

In a phrase, we want to swap redtape for results.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S FINANCIAL ROLE

State and local Governments provide more than 90 percent of education funding. They should continue to bear that lion's share of the load. The Federal financial role is limited and has even declined, but it is still important. That role is:

—to promote National education equity by helping our poor children get off to a good start in school, giving disadvantaged and handicapped children extra help to assist them in their school years, ensuring accessibility to a college education, and preparing the workforce for jobs;

—and second, to provide research and development for programs that work, good information on the real performance of students, schools, and states, and assistance in replicating successful state and local initiatives all across the United States;

We understand the limits imposed on new spending by the Federal deficit and the budget process. However, we urge that priority for any further funding increases be given to prepare young children to succeed in school. This is consistent with the President's recommendation for an increase in the number of children served by Head Start in this year's budget. If we are ever to develop a system that ensures that our children are healthy and succeed in school, the Federal Government will have to play a leading role.

Further, we urge that the Congress not impose new Federal mandates that are unrelated to children, but that require States to spend state tax money that could otherwise go to education.

COMMITMENT TO RESTRUCTURING

Virtually every State has substantially increased its investment in education, increased standards, and improved learning. Real gains have occurred. However, we still have a long way to go. We must make dramatic improvements in our education system. This cannot be done without a genuine, National, Bipartisan commitment to excellence and without a willingness to dramatically alter our system of education.

The President and the Nation's Governors agree that significant steps must be taken to restructure education in all states. We share the view that simply more of the same will not achieve the results we need. We must find ways to deploy the resources we commit to education more effectively.

A similar process has been going on in American manufacturing industry over the last decade with astonishing results: An increase in productivity of nearly 4 percent a year.

There are many promising new ideas and strategies for restructuring education. These include greater choice for parents and students, greater authority and accountability for teachers and principals, alternative certification programs for teachers, and programs that systematically reward excellence and performance. Most successful restructuring efforts seem to have certain common characteristics:

—a system of accountability that focuses on results, rather than on compliance with rules and regulations;

—decentralization of authority and decision-making responsibility to the school site, so that educators are empowered to determine the means for achieving the goals and to be held accountable for accomplishing them;

—a rigorous program of instruction designed to ensure that every child can acquire the knowledge and skills required in an economy in which our citizens must be able to think for a living;

—an education system that develops first-rate teachers and creates a professional environment that provides real rewards for success with students, real consequences for failure, and the tools and flexibility required to get the job done; and

—active, sustained parental and business community involvement.

Restructuring efforts are now underway in many states. The Nation's Governors are committed to a major restructuring effort in every state. The Governors will give this task high priority and will report on their programs in one year.

ASSURING ACCOUNTABILITY

As elected chief executives, we expect to be held accountable for progress in meeting the new additional goals and we expect to hold others accountable as well.

When goals are set and strategies for achieving them are adopted, we must establish clear measures of performance and then issue annual Report Cards on the progress of students, schools, the states, and the Federal Government.

Over the last few days we have humbly walked in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. We have started down a promising path. We have entered into a compact—a Jeffersonian compact to enlighten our children and the children of generations to come.

The time for rhetoric is past; the time for performance is now.

Note: The statement was not released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks to Participants in the Secondary School Recognition Program

September 28, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Secretary, and thank you especially for your key role in this educational summit. And to all of you, our special guests, welcome to the White House.

Let me first wish a happy birthday to the executive director of the Council for American Private Education, Joyce McCray, who is here someplace. And we have here today the proud representatives of 218 secondary schools—America's best. And some are private, some are religiously affiliated, some are public—a mixture of middle, junior, and senior high schools from 42 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. But you all have one thing in common: a determination to excel. And I am especially impressed by the 22 schools receiving this award for the second time. You did not take your first win as a reason to relax; you took it as a mandate for continued success. And this clearly shows that all the schools here today have a commitment to quality that is unwavering and true.

And so, returning from the summit, Barbara and I just wanted to say congratulations to all of you. As you know, this was a historic summit on education with the Nation's Governors there in Charlottesville. And one of the first points that we all agreed on was the need for schools and communities to work together. And this is what Douglas Molzahn of Lincoln High in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, meant when he said that this honor is not a spotlight on his school but a floodlight on his whole community.

Every school here today represents a successful community of businessmen, businesswomen, civic groups, and parents. And no one had to tell you how to do this—not Washington, not your State government. You set your own high goals and then you met them. These ideas dominated the discussion at this national summit. The Governors and I agreed that education is central to the continued prosperity of our country, so nothing less than an educated work force will do the job. But education has always been and must remain a State responsibility and a local function.

So, for the first time, then, in American history we reached the following agreements: to establish a process for setting national education goals, to seek flexibility and enhanced accountability and the use of Federal resources to meet these goals through both regulation and legislative change, to undertake a major State-by-State effort to restructure our education system, and then to report annually on progress in achieving these goals. I am going to stay engaged and use the bully pulpit of the White House to do my part working with these Governors to achieve educational excellence. By doing this, we will be truly walking in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. In fact, we've already started down the path by entering into this new compact, a Jeffersonian compact to enlighten all of America's children.

But let me say it again: No one will impose these goals on your schools. It's up to every community, every principal, every teacher to accept the challenge of national goals. And can it be done, you might ask. Well, yes. In fact, it has been done, in 218 different ways, along 218 different paths to one goal: excellence in education.

America desperately needs every school to match your determination. There are more than 40 million Americans who have never graduated from high school, and there are more than 17 million Americans who cannot read at all. Benjamin Franklin was once asked what was the most pitiful thing in life. And he replied, "A lonesome man on a rainy day who does not know how to read." Because of your schools, thousands of children will never suffer this singular form of loneliness; they will be readers. And they will be accomplished in many subjects, will possess the skills that our changing economy will demand. And there is no secret to the way in which you're achieving this, no secret to your success.

Danford Sakai of Waiakea High School put his academic philosophy in alliteration: commitment, caring, common sense, communication, and courage. And that's what you bring to your schools, your students, and to the future of our great nation.

So, thank you for what you're doing. Keep up the good work. Congratulations, and God bless you all. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 4:37 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House following his return from the education summit in Charlottesville, VA. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Education Lauro F. Cavazos.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Death of Ferdinand Marcos

September 28, 1989

The President and Mrs. Bush were saddened to hear of the death of former President Marcos. They offer their condolences to Mrs. Marcos and the members of her family. For over 20 years, Mr. Marcos was the leader of the Philippines, a nation that has been and remains a staunch friend and ally of the United States. Mr. Marcos agreed to leave the Philippines at a critical juncture in his nation's history. His departure permitted the peaceful transition to popular, democratic rule under President Aquino.

Statement on the House of Representatives Approval of Capital Gains Tax Legislation

September 28, 1989

I am pleased by the bipartisan House vote which represents a step forward for economic growth, new jobs, and American competitiveness. A lower capital gains rate will reduce the cost of capital and create incentives for investment in the long-term productive capacity of American industry. This is what we need to make us more successful in the increasingly competitive international marketplace, creating more jobs and better living standards for Americans.

I look forward to working cooperatively with the Senate to give swift attention to this tax cut. I want to thank the Republican leadership in the House and those Democrats and Republicans who made this achievement possible.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With President Virgilio Barco Vargas of Colombia

September 28, 1989

President Bush and President Barco met for approximately 1½ hours in the Residence, followed by a brief social reception. Joining them were Attorney General Thornburgh, Drug Coordinator William Bennett, General Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs], Governor Sununu [Chief of Staff], Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, Deputy National Security Adviser Gates, and Ambassador McNamara. President Barco is in the United States to address the United Nations General Assembly. President Bush took the opportunity to invite him to the White House for a discussion of the international drug situation and President Barco's courageous efforts against the drug cartels. President Bush reaffirmed the strong commitment of the United States in assisting President Barco's efforts and noted that Colombia's fight against the drug traffickers is an example to the rest of the world.

The two Presidents talked about the domestic drug problem in the United States and the administration's efforts to reduce consumption. They discussed U.S. assistance to Colombia to ensure that Colombia was receiving the necessary equipment in its fight against drug traffickers. They also discussed the possibility of other nations assisting Colombia in its efforts against the cartels, and President Bush indicated his willingness to encourage such support. President Barco outlined the efforts that the Government of Colombia is taking against drug traffickers. He expressed his appreciation for the help of the United States and noted that this is a global effort in which international cooperation is important.

President Barco also discussed Colombia's economic situation. President Bush said the United States is prepared to resume discussions with Colombia and others in order to resolve the fundamental problems of the current International Coffee Agreement.

President Bush indicated his intention to work closely with President Barco to expand bilateral trade and investment opportunities in order to spur Colombia's economic growth. He has asked the U.S. Trade Representative to lead an interagency effort to examine urgently what can be done, particularly with respect to GSP benefits and in the area of agricultural and manufactured items. President Bush noted the United States willingness to work with the international financial institutions to support increased economic assistance for Colombia.

Nomination of William H. Young To Be an Assistant Secretary of Energy

September 28, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William H. Young to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Nuclear Energy). He would succeed Theodore J. Garrish.

Since 1985 Mr. Young has served as president of William H. Young and Associates, Inc. in Wyckoff, NJ. He served with Burns and Roe, Inc., in Oradell, NJ, as vice president, 1984–1985; as vice president of the breeder reactor division, 1976–1983; as project manager, 1973–1976; and as a special assistant to the president, 1971–1973.

Mr. Young graduated from the Webb Institute of Naval Architecture (B.S., 1956) and George Washington University (M.S., 1961). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1956–1960. Mr. Young was born September 25, 1934, in Ilion, NY. He is married, has three children, and currently resides in Wyckoff, NJ.

Nomination of Joshua M. Javits To Be a Member of the National Mediation Board

September 28, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Joshua M. Javits to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1992. This is a reappointment.

Since 1988 Mr. Javits has served as a member of the National Mediation Board. Prior to this, he was an attorney with Cades Schutte Fleming and Wright in Washington, DC, 1985–1987, and Mulholland and Hickey in Washington, DC, 1983–1985. Mr. Javits served on the National Labor Relations Board in Los Angeles, CA, 1978–1983.

Mr. Javits graduated from Yale College (B.A., 1972) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1978). He was born January 2, 1950, in New York, NY. He currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Patrick J. Cleary To Be a Member of the National Mediation Board
September 28, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Patrick J. Cleary to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1991. He would succeed Helen M. Witt.

Since 1988 Mr. Cleary has been a partner with the Brock Group in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served with the Department of Labor as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy, 1987–1988, and the Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy, 1985–1987. Mr. Cleary served at the Republican National Committee as the director of the liaison division, 1984–1985, and as the labor liaison, 1982–1985.

Mr. Cleary attended the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1987; Hamline University School of Law, 1980; and Fairfield University, 1977. He was born October 23, 1955, in Paterson, NJ. He is married and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Remarks on Signing a Bill Making Continuing Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1990, Including Hurricane Hugo Disaster Assistance
September 29, 1989

The President. I'm very pleased to sign into law H.R. 407. [H.J. Res. 407] It's a continuing resolution. It includes funds to address the extensive hurricane damage caused by Hugo. It provides funds to maintain the activities of the Federal Government through October 25th or until the date of the enactment of the pending appropriations bill, whichever comes first. We're talking here about $1.1 billion for the Federal Emergency Management Association [Agency], FEMA, to provide critically needed disaster relief to Charleston, other communities in South Carolina, North Carolina, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Assistance is imperative because I've heard from these Congressmen, all politics aside, united, that this assistance for the people is absolutely essential. And I want to commend the Congress for their immediate response to the administration's request for additional funds. I want to thank FEMA for what I am convinced has been, under the law, a prompt response. And I especially want to single out the volunteers and the FEMA employees, many of whom have been sleeping out there on rocks at night in the Virgin Islands and elsewhere. And it's been an all-out humanitarian effort, the leaders of the Congress being sure that we in the administration knew the importance of all of this.

So, I'm delighted to do it. I'd add one point, and that is on the subject of continuing resolutions. I'm very pleased to sign this one, but we cannot support another short-term continuing resolution for fiscal '90. And I expect that the remaining '90 appropriations bills will be completed expeditiously. But I strongly urge that we not be presented with other continuing resolutions.

But in any event, I'm proud to be going down there. I'm anxious to see what these Members of Congress have seen and what our very able friends in FEMA have seen. And it's important that we all try to respond in every way possible. I might thank one more: It's the volunteer organizations, for doing a good job. And I would encourage the American people to support them in contributions to the Red Cross, or whatever other agencies are bringing hope to the people in these devastated areas. The

American people can do as much as the government, if not more, if we just get mobilized behind helping other people here.

So, I'm proud to sign this one. Again, I'm glad you're all here. Strom [Senator Strom Thurmond], you're the senior citizen present here——

Senator Thurmond. I'm the one that requested the delegation to do this, and I do appreciate it.

The President. We've been hearing from all of them, but anyway, you have been—I wouldn't say "thorn in our side"—[*laughter*]—I'd say a consistent reminder.

Senator Thurmond. I deal with Dick Darman [Director, Office of Management and Budget], you know.

The President. That's pretty much combat pay deserved for that, too. [*Laughter*]

But, really, all of you have been just magnificent in pointing out what FEMA can do. We want to respond if there are additional things on the ground that we should be doing. But I'm satisfied from a long talk with the Governor yesterday down in Virginia that we have responded as rapidly as possible under the law. And now we want to do whatever it is that you hear from your experts is needed in addition. And I hope this is a good start.

Senator Thurmond. Mr. President, since I am the senior member of the delegation, we want to take this opportunity to thank you for your fine leadership and also thank you for the help that your government agencies have done to assist us in this disaster.

The President. Well, thank you, Strom. Thank all of you guys. Good. Here we go.

Note: The President spoke at 6:40 a.m. aboard Air Force One en route to Charleston, SC. H.J. Res. 407, approved September 29, was assigned Public Law No. 101-100. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks Following a Tour of the Damage Caused by Hurricane Hugo in Charleston, South Carolina

September 29, 1989

Well, we've just completed a tour—something less than I would like to have had, only because of the weather earlier. But we did get to see the inner city and then the outreaches of Charleston, as well as going to rural areas.

And I must say I want to first thank Governor Campbell for his tremendous cooperation. I want to thank the four Congressmen that came down with me, three of whom are with me here; Senator Strom Thurmond, who was so instrumental in passing an emergency bill that permitted me to sign today $1.1 billion of assistance to South Carolina and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Even though the trip was short, I had a chance to talk to some of the people, and I commend the spirit of the people of South Carolina. I expect it's true for North Carolina and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. But you couldn't help be impressed to hear the people saying look, we're going to bounce back.

I was grateful to them for their understanding of the Federal Government's role here. I do know that there's been a critic or two, perhaps less than I would have expected. But to the critics I simply say, I understand. We are trying very hard, and there are men and women in the U.S. Services, of FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency], out there giving of themselves just as the people's neighbors are here. And I think when all the dust is settled and the debris removed, people are going to understand that this has been a total team effort. And I'm proud to have been in the company of these leaders who were so concerned about their own State, concerned about their country as well.

One thing that touched me very much was a young homeowner there saying that he had had offers of help from all over this country. And I think it does bring out the very best in the men and women of America who want to help in a tragedy of this nature. It's tough, it was devastating, but the spirit of South Carolina came through loud and clear. And so, we'll be alert to do what additionally we might do. But I'm proud of those Federal workers and those civilians that are out there doing their level best to snap back after a terrible tragedy.

Thank you all very much. And, Governor, good luck, stay in touch. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 9:10 a.m. at a disaster relief site. In his remarks, he referred to South Carolina Representatives Arthur Ravenel, Jr., Floyd Spence, John M. Spratt, Jr., and Robin Tallon. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Statement on Signing a Bill Making Continuing Appropriations For the Fiscal Year 1990, Including Hurricane Hugo Disaster Assistance

September 29, 1989

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 407, a continuing resolution that includes funds to address the extensive damage caused by Hurricane Hugo and that provides funds to maintain the activities of the Federal Government through October 25, 1989, or until the date of enactment of pending appropriations bills, whichever occurs first.

The resolution provides $1.1 billion for the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide critically needed Federal disaster relief assistance to Charleston and other communities in South Carolina, North Carolina, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The assistance provided by these additional funds is imperative for those who are suffering from the devastating effects of Hurricane Hugo. I would like to commend the Congress for its immediate and compassionate response to the Administration's request for additional funds. Together with the other disaster relief programs of the Federal Government and the important contributions of State and local governments, private industry, and charitable organizations, these funds will help the victims of Hurricane Hugo rebuild their homes, communities, businesses, and lives.

I also want to commend the Congress for presenting me with a resolution that does not contain extraneous and unnecessary legislative provisions. This resolution is needed because the Congress has not completed action on all 13 appropriations bills, and funding for most Federal Government operations would otherwise expire on September 30, 1989. Although I support this resolution, I do not intend to support any extension beyond October 25. I expect that action on the remaining FY 1990 appropriations bills will be completed as expeditiously as possible and before expiration of this resolution.

George Bush

The White House,
September 29, 1989.

Note: H.J. Res. 407, approved September 29, was assigned Public Law No. 101–100.

Memorandum on Administrative Dismissal of Federal Employees Affected by Hurricane Hugo

September 29, 1989

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Administrative Dismissal of Employees Affected by Hurricane Hugo

We have all been deeply moved by the terrible losses so many of our fellow Americans have suffered due to the ravages of Hurricane Hugo.

As a part of our national effort to recover from the effects of this storm, I request heads of executive departments and agencies who have Federal civilian employees in the geographic areas designated disaster areas because of the damage caused by Hurricane Hugo to consider their agency and OPM regulations and where appropriate excuse from duty, without charge to leave or loss of pay, any such employee who can be spared from duty and who is faced with a personal emergency because of the storm. Such excusal from duty should also apply for any employee who is needed for emergency law enforcement, relief, or clean-up efforts authorized by State or local officials having jurisdiction.

GEORGE BUSH

Remarks at the Retirement Ceremony for Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in Annapolis, Maryland

September 29, 1989

Thank you, Secretary Cheney, Members of the United States Congress here today, members of the Cabinet. And let me just acknowledge a few of the many distinguished men and women here this morning: I understand, though I haven't yet seen him, that Jack Vessey, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, is here; Governor Schaefer and Mayor Callahan; and all the Service Secretaries, Service Chiefs, and the commanders-in-chief of the unified and specified commands seated here; and, of course, the men and women of our Armed Forces.

I want to give a special welcome to the members of the Crowe family who are here today: Bill's wife, Shirley; their children, Brent, Bambi, and Blake—and that is Captain Blake Crowe of the U.S. Marines. And finally, the man with the difficult task of filling Admiral Crowe's shoes, our incoming Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Colin Powell.

Days like this one are bittersweet. And I've just shared with Admiral Crowe his final inspection of members of the finest fighting forces in the world. And many of us here today know Bill Crowe, count him as a friend—all of us admire him. In a moment, we'll hear from the man himself, and maybe he'll tell us the story of how a fella from a State that's landlocked chose the Navy, rose to the rank of Admiral and to the Chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

But what Bill Crowe will be too modest to talk about is his stellar career, his many achievements in 47 years in uniform, a few of which we've just heard about. For those who measure heroism and dazzling acts of concentration and courage, the Admiral's Bronze Star for Valor is testament enough—proud evidence of the man's resolve and character. But Admiral Crowe's heroism has reached far beyond serving in combat. Through a lifetime of acts of quiet valor, through work, words, and deeds done for sheer love of country, Admiral Crowe has done so much for peace.

William James once wrote that "civic

courage," as we call it in times of peace, "is a kind of valor to which the monuments of nations should most of all be reared." What speaks to the Admiral's civic courage more eloquently than any monument is the kind of integrity, honesty, and patriotism he's gleaned from his roots in Oklahoma. Before Bill would mention titles like admiral or doctor of philosophy or diplomat, he'd sooner tell you about the one title he truly cherishes: Oklahoman. One hundred years ago Bill's grandfather was among the first to make the run into the Oklahoma territory. And those were strong people, staking claims and standing firm in hard and hostile lands. And today, when Shirley Crowe takes her measure of someone, she asks herself: Would he have made the run? Today, a nation looks proudly toward Admiral Crowe, and we know in our hearts that in his service he has made the run.

The summer before last, Bill added a hat to his famous collection that he probably thought he'd never see: a Soviet seaman's cap given to him by the Marshal of the Soviet Union, Sergei Akhromeyev, on the first of a series of ice-breaking visits involving the American and Soviet military. Even more astounding was another gift, given to Admiral Crowe and to all of us, in the moment when he stood on the decks of that Soviet cruiser, *Kirov*. The sailors that he'd spent a career thinking of as adversaries were determined to honor him, and they did, by playing "The Star-Spangled Banner." Moments like that are rare and precious, not merely in the lifetime of men but in the lifetime of nations.

I want to share a story about the Soviet Marshal's visit here—Akhromeyev—in July 1988. First, of course, came the trips—the mandatory trips, if you will—to a series of U.S. military installations. But after Admiral Crowe introduced his Soviet guest to American troops and American firepower, and to the kids—the greatest kids in the fighting force anywhere, ever—he decided it was time to introduce him to America. And so Bill took Marshall Akhromeyev out to Oklahoma for an old-fashioned barbecue, the likes of which that marshall had never seen back in his own hometown. And that's Bill Crowe—a no-nonsense toughness, a resolve when it comes to defending America, and a warm heart for what makes America worth fighting for.

Bill Crowe's 4 years as Chairman have coincided with a time of transition in international affairs. And he's been steady at the helm, and he's kept a clear eye on emerging opportunities and on changing international conditions, and on the one unchanging demand of national security: preserving the peace and freedom of this great nation. Admiral Crowe, I've seen your poise and professionalism in times of crisis; I have benefited from your experience and counsel; I know you as an adviser and friend. And so, Bill, on behalf of a grateful nation, I thank you for the lifelong service you have offered our country. I wish you Godspeed. May God bless you and your family and the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. at Worden Field at the U.S. Naval Academy. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney, Gov. William D. Schaefer of Maryland, and Mayor Dennis M. Callahan of Annapolis. Following his remarks, he returned to Washington, DC.

Statement by the President on Signing the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1990

September 29, 1989

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2696, the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1990. I want to take this opportunity to commend the Congress for two reasons: first, for keeping funding contained in this Act at acceptable levels; and second, for the speed with which they produced the bill.

The Energy and Water bill is the first fiscal year 1990 appropriations bill to be presented to me for signature. I am pleased that the Congress has completed its work on this bill before the end of the fiscal year. I strongly urge the Congress to complete action on the remaining 12 appropriations bills quickly.

I am also pleased that the Congress and the Administration agreed on several actions that represent investment in America's future and protection of our environment, particularly:

- Providing funds for construction of the Superconducting Super Collider. This will be the largest and most ambitious basic research facility ever built. It is a critical part of this Administration's initiatives to strengthen the position of the United States as a world leader in science and technology.
- Fully funding atomic energy defense activities. The problems of cleaning up the environment will not be solved overnight, but a major step has been taken. Success in this endeavor will require continuing cooperation between the States, the Congress, and the Administration.

I encourage the Congress to continue to present me with spending bills that recognize important national priorities but keep funding at acceptable levels.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
September 29, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2696, approved September 29, was assigned Public Law No. 101–101.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board
September 29, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby submit to the Congress the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board for Fiscal Year 1988, pursuant to the provisions of section 7(b)(6) of the Railroad Retirement Act, enacted October 16, 1974, and section 12(1) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, enacted June 25, 1938.

Over 900,000 railroad retirees, their families, and 300,000 railroad employees rely on the railroad retirement system for social security equivalent benefits, rail industry pensions, and unemployment, disability, and sickness insurance benefits. These beneficiaries depend on the solvency and financial integrity of the railroad retirement trust funds to receive their benefits.

Recent actuarial projections included in the annual report indicate that, barring any large unanticipated declines in rail employment, the railroad retirement system will not experience short-term cash-flow problems. Board actuaries estimate that, based on Employee Retirement Income Security Act standards, the system has a $32 billion unfunded liability.

The long-term solvency of the railroad retirement system remains highly volatile. Refinancing legislation enacted in 1946, 1951, 1974, 1981, 1983, and 1987 serves as a reminder of this volatility. More recently, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance and Retirement Improvement Act of 1988 was enacted to ensure repayment of the unemployment insurance debt to the rail industry pension fund.

The Congress sought advice and created the Commission on Railroad Retirement Reform to examine issues relating to the long-term financing of the railroad retirement system. The Congress directed the advisory Commission to consider a range of financing alternatives that do not include general fund subsidies. Yet, as part of their fiscal year 1990 reconciliation bill, the Congress is once again considering extending general fund subsidies to the rail industry pension fund. Since 1983, over $1.2 billion in subsidies, in the form of diverted income taxes on rail industry pensions, have been given to the pension fund. Income tax on all other private pensions goes to the general fund. Under current law, this general fund subsidy provision will expire at the end of fiscal year 1989. Extending general fund subsidies establishes an undesirable precedent. I urge the Commission, in accordance with the congressional directive, not to recommend general fund subsidies in any form. In the long run, railroad retirees and employees will be best served by a financially stable system that relies solely on rail sector funding.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
September 29, 1989.

Nomination of William Clark, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to India

September 29, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Clark, Jr., a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to India. He would succeed John Randolph Hubbard.

Currently Mr. Clark serves as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State. Prior to this, he served for 4 years as Minister and deputy chief of mission for the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, Japan; and as deputy chief of mission and Chargé d'Affaires for the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, Egypt.

Mr. Clark received his bachelor's degree from San Jose College, and studied at the University of Southern California School of Law and Columbia University School of International Affairs. He was born October 12, 1930, in Oakland, CA. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1949–1953. Mr. Clark is married, has one son, and resides in Washington, DC.

Continuation of John C. Martin As Inspector General of the Environmental Protection Agency

September 29, 1989

The President today announced that John C. Martin will continue to serve as Inspector General for the Environmental Protection Agency.

Since 1983, Mr. Martin has served as Inspector General at the Environmental Protection Agency in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Assistant Inspector General at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1981–1983. From 1971 to 1981, he served in several capacities at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Martin graduated from King's College (B.A., 1967) and the University of Maryland (M.A., 1970). He was born March 4, 1945, in Wilkes Barre, PA. He is married, has six children, and resides in Dumfries, VA.

Appointment of John Charles Gartland as a Member of the National Commission for Employment Policy

September 29, 1989

The President today appointed John Charles Gartland to be a member of the National Commission for Employment Policy for a term expiring September 30, 1992. This is a reappointment. Mr. Gartland will continue serving as Chairman of the Commission.

Since 1979, Mr. Gartland has served as director of Washington affairs for Amway Corp. in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as chairman of the Foundation for the Study of Presidential and Congressional Terms, since renamed the Jefferson Foundation, 1977–1979; congressional administrative assistant at the Department of the Treasury, 1977; Executive Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury at the Department of the Treasury, 1974–1976; and Deputy to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Administration, 1973–1974. In addition, he has served as a Staff Assistant to the President on the Domestic Council and in the Presidential Advance Office, 1971–1973; special assistant to the Deputy Postmaster General at the Post Office Department, 1970–1971; and special assistant to the Assistant Postmaster General for Finance and Administration at the Post Office Department.

Mr. Gartland graduated from Villanova University (B.S., 1963), and he received his master's from George Washington University. He was born February 3, 1940, in Cleveland, OH. Mr. Gartland served in the U.S. Navy for 4½ years. He is married, has six children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Nomination of Dennis M. Devaney To Be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board

September 29, 1989

The President today nominated Dennis M. Devaney to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years expiring December 16, 1994. This is a reappointment.

Since November 1988 Mr. Devaney has served as a board member of the National Labor Relations Board by recess appointment. Prior to this, he was General Counsel at the Federal Labor Relations Authority, 1988; a board member of the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1982–1988; and with the law firms of Tighe, Curhan and Piliero, 1981–1982, and Randall, Bangert and Thelen, 1979–1981.

Mr. Devaney graduated from the University of Maryland (B.A., 1968; M.A., 1970) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1975). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1970–1972. Mr. Devaney was born February 25, 1946, in Cheverly, MD. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in Columbia, MD.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Death of August Busch

September 29, 1989

The President and Mrs. Bush are saddened by the death of August Busch today. He had been a legendary figure in American life for almost a century, as a successful businessman, community leader, and philanthropist. In sports, as in other aspects of his career, he was a man who cared deeply about individual spirit and achievement. The President and Mrs. Bush join the citizens of St. Louis and all Americans in extending their sympathies to the Busch family.

Message to the Congress Reporting Budget Deferrals
October 2, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report seven deferrals of budget authority totalling $1,380,399,855.

The deferrals affect the International Security Assistance program, as well as programs of the Departments of Agriculture, Defense, Health and Human Services, State, and Transportation.

The details of these deferrals are contained in the attached report.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 2, 1989.

Note: The attachment detailing the deferrals was printed in the "Federal Register" of October 6.

Nomination of Keith Leveret Wauchope To Be United States Ambassador to Gabon and to Sao Tome and Principe
October 2, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Keith Leveret Wauchope to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Gabonese Republic and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. He would succeed Warren Clark, Jr.

Since 1986 Mr. Wauchope has served as deputy chief of mission in Monrovia, Liberia. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Director in the Office of West African Affairs at the Department of State, 1984–1986; Chief of Assignments for Africa in the Bureau of Personnel, 1981–1983; deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Mali, 1979–1981; Sudan desk officer for East African Affairs, 1977–1979; and deputy principal officer at the consulate general in Asmara, Ethiopia, 1975–1977.

Mr. Wauchope graduated from Johns Hopkins University (A.B., 1963). He was born October 13, 1941, in New York, NY. He served in the U.S. Army, 1963–1965. He is married, has two sons, and resides in New York, NY.

Nomination of Gordon H. Mansfield To Be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

October 2, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gordon H. Mansfield to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity). He would succeed Judith Y. Brachman.

Mr. Mansfield has served in various positions at the Paralyzed Veterans of America in Washington, DC, including associate executive director of government relations, 1986 to present; national advocacy director, 1983–1986; and associate legislative director, 1981–1983. Prior to this, he served as an attorney in private practice in Ocala, FL, 1979–1981, and as a staff attorney for Marion County Legal Aid in Florida, 1975–1978.

Mr. Mansfield graduated from Villanova University (B.S., 1964) and the University of Miami (J.D., 1973). He was born September 15, 1941, in Pittsfield, MA. Mr. Mansfield served in the U.S. Army, 1964–1968, and was awarded a Distinguished Service Cross, two Purple Hearts, and a Bronze Star. Mr. Mansfield is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Leon Snead To Be Inspector General of the Department of Agriculture

October 2, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Leon Snead to be Inspector General at the Department of Agriculture. He would succeed Robert W. Beuley.

Since 1988 Mr. Snead has served as the Acting Inspector General at the Department of Agriculture in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was the Deputy Inspector General at the Department of Agriculture, 1986–1988, and the Assistant Inspector General for Auditing at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1985–1986.

Mr. Snead graduated from Spencercian College (B.A., 1963) and the University of Baltimore (J.D., 1969). He was born January 29, 1941, in Fort Valley, GA. Mr. Snead is married, has three children, and currently resides in Potomac, MD.

Nomination of Ann Christine Petersen To Be General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force

October 2, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ann Christine Petersen to be General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force, Department of Defense. She would succeed Anne Newman Foreman.

Since 1976 Mrs. Petersen has served as an attorney with the law firm of Wildman, Harrold, Allen and Dixon in Chicago, IL; and as a partner since 1983.

Mrs. Petersen graduated from the University of Iowa (B.A., 1973) and the University of Michigan (J.D., 1976). She was born December 25, 1950, in Muscatine, IA. Mrs. Petersen is married and currently resides in Chicago, IL.

Designation of Edward H. Fleischman as Acting Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission
October 2, 1989

The President today designated Edward H. Fleischman as Acting Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. He would succeed David S. Ruder.

Since 1986 Mr. Fleischman has been serving as a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as an attorney with the law firm of Beekman and Bogue in New York City.

Mr. Fleischman graduated from Harvard College and Columbia Law School (LL.B., 1959). He was born June 25, 1932, in Cambridge, MA. Mr. Fleischman served in the U.S. Army, 1952–1955.

Nomination of Smith Hempstone, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Kenya
October 2, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Smith Hempstone, Jr., to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Kenya. He would succeed Elinor Greer Constable.

Mr. Hempstone has been a syndicated columnist since 1970. He has served as editor-in-chief of the Washington Times, 1984–1985, and executive editor of the Washington Times, 1982–1984. Prior to this, Mr. Hempstone wrote a twice-weekly syndicated column, 1975–1982, and served as associate editor and editorial page editor of the Washington Star, 1970–1975. In addition, he served as foreign correspondent for the Chicago Daily News and the Washington Star in Latin America, 1965–1967. He was a Nieman fellow at Harvard University, 1964–1965, and served as African correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, 1961–1964.

Mr. Hempstone graduated from the University of the South, Sewanee, TN, (B.A., 1950). He was born February 1, 1929, in Washington, DC. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1950–1952. Mr. Hempstone is married, has one child, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico
October 3, 1989

President Bush. President Salinas and Mrs. Salinas, Secretaries Solana and Baker, Ambassadors Petricioli and Negroponte, and members of the delegation and friends, less than 1 year ago, sir, we met in Houston, Texas, as two Presidents-elect and began to focus on what for each of us is a major Presidential responsibility: defining and enhancing the U.S.-Mexican relationship.

Mr. President, you and I went to Houston certain of the importance of our responsibilities, for ours is one of the world's broadest and most complex bilateral relationships. But I think that few could have envisioned the degree of success that our talks would have. That success was embodied by what has come to be known as the Spirit of Houston: our joint commitment to create a framework of mutual trust and understanding. And in the past year that spirit has strengthened our Mexican-American ties.

Together, Mexico and the United States have worked to negotiate a solution to the debt question and develop greater cooperation in the war against drugs. Together, we've improved opportunities for bilateral trade and investment and nurtured our environment—in sum, finding new ways to reaffirm old bonds. When President Salinas and I met last July in Paris, these steps were already underway—steps crucial to countries with such shared social, economic, and regional interests.

And now, as I welcome President Salinas to our Capital for his first state visit, I look forward to continued progress and additional proof of how Mexico and the United States can work together toward common ends, toward positive results. Those ends are reflected in today's agenda, for as major trading partners we must explore ways to expand our commerce, and as members of the Organization of American States, discuss how democracy can be restored to Panama and free and fair elections held in Nicaragua.

And this year we celebrate a century of joint projects by the International Boundary and Water Commission. We must renew that cooperation and continue to strengthen our assault on the plague of drug use and trafficking. For we know that what threatens one nation in our hemisphere threatens us all. In each case, strong bilateral cooperation is fundamental to an effective multilateral response. And thankfully, Mr. President, our countries share the good will and dedication to confront and meet our challenges—meet them through mutual candor, through mutual respect.

I've often spoken of the need to recognize the permanent importance of the U.S.-Mexican relationship And Mr. President, I'd like again to refer to that need today, for U.S.-Mexican affairs are vital to our respective national agendas. Our relations now are strong, and they must grow even stronger—and they will.

On behalf of the United States of America, President Salinas and Mrs. Salinas, let me welcome you both to the White House and to this country and to your friends.

President Salinas. President George Bush, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to come to this land of liberty. I bring the greetings and the desire of the Mexican people to raise our friendship with the United States to a new level of direct, effective, and respectful dialog and to an economic cooperation without precedent for our common prosperity. I am deeply grateful for the welcome that I have received from you and from your wife, Mrs. Bush, and from many Americans in this beautiful city of Washington.

I come to share with you the idea that one's own well-being is more lasting when it is accompanied by the well-being of others. I come here convinced that there is a spirit of cordiality between us—born in Houston, reaffirmed in Paris, and ratified in Camp David—which is ready to aid us in making the most of our points in common and resolving our differences. That is the basis of friendly relations between two neighbors who are different but determined to benefit from their coexistence and to live up to the values that their people share.

We have good reasons to take new steps in those matters that concern and interest both of our countries: a less uncertain world, one that is less threatened and more propitious to the development of all nations; a cordial and respectful bilateral relationship that will loosen fetters of inertia, improve mutual understanding, and permit the steady development of the human potential of our peoples. We can open a new stage in trade between our countries. We can find a way to deal more humanely with the migration of Mexicans to the United States. We can strike lethal blows against drug trafficking to free the world from that international scourge. We can respond to the urgent demand for a healthier environment, for an ecological future of the kind that our children deserve. These are topics that will occupy our closest attention.

The history of our relations provides examples that show us how valuable it is for us to cooperate and how sterile confrontation is. Working together, we have gotten to know each other better, and we have learned to take more advantage of the opportunities that arise from our complex interrelationship.

Mr. President, we are neighbors who are important to each other. We shall study our common problems and move toward resolving them, because it is in the interest of the Mexican and the American peoples to turn neighbors into friends and challenges into opportunities for our mutual benefit. May this greeting to President Bush be seen as well as the expression of our most cordial greeting to all the people of the United States of America.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:13 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House. President Salinas was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. In his remarks, President Bush referred to Mexican Foreign Minister Fernando Solana Morales, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Mexican Ambassador to the United States Gustavo Petricioli, and United States Ambassador to Mexico John D. Negroponte. President Salinas spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Remarks During a Meeting With President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico

October 3, 1989

All of you from Mexico City and elsewhere, welcome!

Well, I normally don't say anything at a photo opportunity. But I just can't tell you how pleased we are to have the President of Mexico here in the White House, what an honor it was to have him and Mrs. Salinas up at Camp David for what was almost a family evening. But this is a very important visit for the United States. I hope you feel welcome; we want you all to feel very welcome.

Note: The President spoke at 10:34 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Statement on Signing the Bill Establishing the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in St. Louis County, Missouri

October 3, 1989

Today I have signed into law H.R. 1529, an Act to establish the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in St. Louis County, Missouri. This action will preserve White Haven, an estate owned by President Grant and his wife Julia Dent.

The Grants lived together at White Haven during the crucial pre-Civil War years. It was during this time that Grant's strength of character was developed through economic adversity. Traits formed then—a relentless pursuit of success and a determination to move ahead despite temporary setbacks—later served Grant well both as an incomparable military leader and as President of the United States.

White Haven appears to be the only intact setting appropriate for commemorating the entire range of Grant's heroic deeds and public service. Accordingly, White Haven will be a worthy addition to the National Park System.

At the same time, I am disappointed that the Congress did not accept the Department of the Interior's recommendation that performance of a formal new area study precede establishment of this Historic Site. Such studies enable the National Park Service to examine the suitability, feasibility, and alternatives for managing proposed new park units.

In the future, the Congress will consider many more proposals for new National Park System units. I firmly believe that formal new area studies, conducted under the management policies of the National Park Service, assist this process and lead to better decision-making. To protect the integrity and viability of the National Park System, completion of such a study should be a prerequisite for establishment of any new unit of the National Park System.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 2, 1989.

Note: H.R. 1529, approved October 3, was assigned Public Law No. 101–106.

Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for the Mexico-United States Environmental and Trade Agreements
October 3, 1989

President Bush. Let me just say that these agreements we're about to sign are symbolic of the breadth and ever-growing closeness of the United States-Mexican ties. They do prove the special relationship between our countries. It's never been stronger. And I welcome them as a commitment of our two Governments and of the President and myself to make progress over a wide variety of issues.

The understanding regarding trade and investment facilitation talks, for example, moves beyond the consultation encouraged by our framework understanding on trade to create a mandate for negotiation. And by taking the initiative, we will promote the increased trade and investment that can benefit both sides of our border.

The agreement on the protection and improvement of the environment of Mexico City is also significant, particularly in these times. For it commits our Governments to jointly find ways to resolve air and other pollution problems in one of the largest cities in the world. Improving the quality of life for our people is a priority for both of our Governments, and we welcome the personal commitment to this matter by President Salinas and his leadership. So is finding a balanced response important—a balanced response to our environmental needs. And this agreement confronts those needs.

So, these two agreements, and others that will be signed this afternoon, as well as our joint efforts to fashion a plan for addressing Mexico's external debt, are concrete examples of how our administrations have worked closely together during the last 10 months. These agreements come from teamwork. They show what can and must be done to make relations between our two great nations even closer than they are today. So, Mr. President, I am delighted to be with you as we witness the signing of these two historic agreements, and I would welcome your comments, sir.

President Salinas. The signing of these agreements simply comes to show the atmosphere of friendship that leads to concrete results which will undoubtedly benefit our two nations.

The first one, the one on trade and investments, for the facilitation of trade and investment, simply opens up additional sources of employment in Mexico for Mexicans. It is also encouraging the export of products to generate well-being amongst all our citizens. It will further the investment processes so that Mexicans can find a job in Mexico. That is the central purpose of my visit to this country. This is a good and very positive atmosphere of dialog which shows respect in our relations. There are differences, there are points of coincidence. But what it simply comes to show is that although we have differences, we have respect for them. In trade, we have more points of convergence that could even be furthered. Mexico has a political will in order to translate these specific agreements into benefits that will become a reality.

The second one, which is the agreement on the protection and the improvement of the environment, is, as you might well realize, of great relevance. Mexico City, the metropolitan area of Mexico, is the most populated and most polluted city in the world. Its population—the number of inhabitants that this city has—is more than the total population of Central America. We want better air for the Mexicans, for their children, and for the children of their children in Mexico.

The signing of these agreements is proof of the good will that exists between the two countries in relation to the benefits that this will derive for Mexico and for those who will visit Mexico, to not only receive its very cordial and brotherly hospitality but to enjoy its beauty and its culture.

May my recognition and my acknowledgement go together with my gratitude for the very positive attitude that the U.S. Government has shown in this open dialog—which is proved today when we subscribe and sign these agreements for the benefit of the two countries.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:52 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The agreements were signed by Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Mexican Foreign Minister Fernando Solana Morales. President Salinas spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Exchange With Reporters on the Attempted Overthrow of General Manuel Noriega of Panama

October 3, 1989

Q. Respectfully, Mr. President, can we ask you to make an exception to your rule on photo ops because we'd all like to know what you can tell us about Noriega?

The President. Yes, you can. I think that given the anxiety and the state of the rumor mill, why, it's appropriate.

The first concern that I have as President of the United States is the safety of American citizens, and of course that would include American forces that are there under our treaty rights with Panama. Secondly, there are a lot of rumors. We are staying in very close touch with SOUTHCOM [Southern Command of U.S. joint forces]. We have very able military officers who are advising us of the situation on the ground.

But, beyond that, I would simply add to the rumors if I commented further, and we are watching the situation. The number one priority: the lives of Americans. There were rumors around that this was some American operation, and I can tell you that is not true.

Q. Mr. President, in the past you have said that your argument is not with the PDF and that you would be willing to help them in any eventuality. Is this such an eventuality?

The President. Well, again, that's part of the confusion. Nobody is sure what's happening there. Our people on the ground have the best idea about that. But I would repeat, in the hopes that it be conveyed instantly to Panama: We have no argument with the Panamanian Defense Forces. We have no argument with them. We've had good relations with the Panamanian Defense Forces. And our argument has been, as has many other countries', with Mr. Noriega, who aborted the democratic will of the people of Panama; and that's where our argument was, and that's where our argument is.

And so, if you can use all these cameras to get that message to the people of Panama, I really think it would be a good thing for peace, and I think it would be a good thing in terms of a historic relationship between our two countries that I value and that all Americans want to see improved.

So, sally forth and do your best.

Q. Mr. President, we played no role in this coup?

The President. This is the end. I just answered the last question on Panama. I answered that question. Go back and listen to the tapes.

Note: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House during a meeting with Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov

October 3, 1989

The President met with Soviet Minister of Defense Dmitriy Yazov for about 30 minutes and exchanged views with him on issues of U.S.-Soviet security and arms control. General Yazov is here to meet with Defense Secretary Cheney as a part of a continuing program of contacts between military officials of the two countries.

The President expressed his desire to conclude agreements on conventional forces in Europe and on chemical weapons as soon as possible and his hopes for progress in START. General Yazov discussed Soviet views of the problems facing the two sides in arms control. The President reiterated his support for *perestroika* and asked that the general relay his best wishes for success to President Gorbachev.

Also present at the meeting were Secretary of State James Baker, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell, and Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Dubinin.

Nomination of Hilda Gay Legg To Be Alternate Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission

October 3, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Hilda Gay Legg to be Alternate Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission. She would succeed Jacqueline L. Phillips.

Since 1988 Mrs. Legg has served as an instructor of sociology and social work at Lindsey Wilson College in Columbia, KY. Prior to this, she served as director of admissions at Lindsey Wilson College, 1987–1988; field representative for United States Senator Mitch McConnell in Bowling Green, KY, 1985–1987; Acting Executive Director of the National Council on the Handicapped at the Department of Education in Washington, DC, 1981–1983; and a teacher in the Adair County public schools in Columbia, KY, 1974–1981.

Mrs. Legg received a bachelor of science degree from Campbellsville College and a master of arts degree from Western Kentucky University. She was born October 7, 1952, in Campbellsville, KY. She is married and resides in Milltown, KY.

Nomination of Barry M. Goldwater, Sr., To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation
October 3, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Barry M. Goldwater, Sr., to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1992. He would succeed E. Pendleton James.

Currently Mr. Goldwater serves as a professor at the American Institutions School of Public Affairs at Arizona State University in Tempe, AZ. Prior to this he served as a United States Senator (R–AZ).

Mr. Goldwater graduated from the University of Arizona in 1928. He was born January 1, 1909, in Phoenix, AZ. He has four children and resides in Scottsdale, AZ.

Appointment of J. Brian Gaffney as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association
October 3, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint J. Brian Gaffney to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association for a term ending on the date of the annual meeting of the stockholders in 1990. He would succeed Al Cardenas.

Since 1960 Mr. Gaffney has served as a partner with the law firm of Gaffney, Pease and DiFabio in New Britain, CT.

Mr. Gaffney graduated from the University of Notre Dame (B.A., 1955) and Fordham University (LL.B., 1958). He was born March 25, 1933, in New Britain, CT. Mr. Gaffney served in the U.S. Army, 1959–1963. He is married, has six children, and resides in New Britain, CT.

Toasts at the State Dinner for President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico
October 3, 1989

President Bush. To President and Mrs. Salinas and honored guests and ladies and gentlemen, Barbara and I are just delighted to welcome you to the White House. Your country, sir, has often extended to us that kindness for which Mexico is so famous. And tonight, we are honored to have you both here.

We first met last November, sir, in Houston, Texas. We met, if I might add this personal note, the day after your Harvard football team fell to the mighty men of Yale. It seemed at the time like an inauspicious start, somehow, but we've learned anew how special the relationship—you're trying to get even—[*laughter*]—the relationship between Mexico and the United States can be, this relationship which has been and continues to be bound by so many ties. And we've become good friends. And those ties, of course, include our 2,000-mile border and billions of dollars in trade.

And they're educational, they're political, they're economic, they're environmental. And our ties rest on respect, maturity, and communication, consultation. And the values that we cherish links our cultures—values of faith, family, and respect for tradition.

As a young man, Mr. President, you did study in the United States. And you know us well, and you came to understand our ties. And I, too, revere them, for as a Texan, I've lived many years side by side with Mexico and know and appreciate your beautiful country and its wonderful people. Such understanding, I think, leads to trust, and such trust can lead to progress.

Speaking of trust, I trust that you dried out from the golf cart tour of Camp David on Sunday. [*Laughter*] There was a true downpour. President and Mrs. Salinas came up there in the mountains. But I was anxious for the President to look around, so he and I set out on a golf cart in this driving rain. Barbara was convinced that I had just dealt a severe blow to Mexican-United States relations. [*Laughter*]

It is this kind of trust that I'm talking about. For, from its earliest days, your administration has acted as our neighbor and equal partner, and known that by applying our resources to common problems we can ensure a richer life for all.

Now, let us determine to do more. And let us increase bilateral trade and achieve economic growth. Let's expand cooperation and enhance investment opportunity. And let us support democracy in our hemisphere, and thus, regional security and stability. We must also reaffirm our commitment to combating narcotics—that is both a national priority and a hemispheric crusade. And I thank you, sir, for your fantastic cooperation in this regard, for unless we defeat drug use and trafficking, we will help rob our children of their very dreams.

There's an ancient proverb which goes: "God guides whom he wills to a straight path." Mr. President, let our path be straight and true, affirming all that which unites us, and so enrich this generation and all the generations to come. In that spirit, I ask all of you, our guests here this evening, to rise and raise your glasses to Mexican-American friendship, to a better world for our children and all children, and to the health and happiness of our friend and colleague, the President of Mexico, and Mrs. Salinas.

President Salinas. President George Bush, Mrs. Barbara Bush, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends: I would like at this dinner to express my gratitude to the people and Government of the United States for the warmth they have shown towards the Mexican delegation which I head. I have found in President George Bush a friend who is not only worthy of esteem, but also an outstanding leader who, in the short time he has been in office, has managed to give a new thrust to the United States and to national relations based on the human understanding that is the legacy of freedom handed down by the Founding Fathers of this great republic.

We Mexicans, President Bush, have been witnesses to your willingness to engage in frank, open, and substantive dialog. This has been a good starting point for embarking on a different phase in our bilateral relation. The same applies to the Congressmen and officials with whom we have held fruitful talks on both sides of the border that have led to improved understanding between our peoples.

I have come to the United States with the intention of establishing a new relationship of friendship free of myths and mistrust. I have come determined to stress common points of view and shared ideals, to pave the way for a mutually respectful, united and solitary progress as neighbors towards the future. We are aware of the historical difficulties that we have had in our relations and of the problems that are still pending. Nevertheless, we are sure that the time has come to derive mutual benefits from the advantages of the border that joins us, thereby strengthening the identity of each nation at a time of profound worldwide changes.

In Mexico, we are presently experiencing a time of renewed social optimism. On concluding an important stage in the process of renegotiating the foreign debt a few months ago, we provided Mexicans with a new horizon for progress. I extend my gratitude to President Bush for the understanding and solidarity he has shown, which enabled us to reach a successful outcome to this important process so essential for our growth.

In Mexico, we are determined to modernize our country. We Mexicans are seeking the best way to mobilize the full potential of social energy, of groups, and of regions. Despite a severe economic crisis, we have not succumbed to apathy or despair. With strong institutions, we are currently striving to regain our growth and to continue transforming our economic structures and renovating our political practices. Rights and responsibilities are now becoming a salient feature of all social activities, the economy, and politics. The needs and dreams of Mexicans, especially those of modest means, demand this major transformation.

Trade exchanges worldwide have intensified significantly with the shortening of distances. Accordingly, exchanges between our countries are increasingly dynamic and diversified. Trade offers an extraordinary potential for mutual benefits and for growth, which is essential for my country. Few economies have opened up as much and as rapidly as Mexico's. A similar opening up of the American market would not only represent reciprocal treatment but a stimulus to our new friendship. A renewed period of gradual growth will enable us to assign resources to investment, to the strengthening of the domestic market, and to the generation of employment for the one million young people who currently demand it. My aim is for all Mexicans to find work in Mexico. However, the differences between our economies attracts Mexican labor to contribute to the development of the United States. We can do much to abolish mistreatment of workers on both sides of the border and to ensure respect for their dignity.

My government views the in-depth fight against drug trafficking as a tireless battle. We have not hesitated to resort to political will and economic resources to put an end to the international crime. Many Mexican lives have been lost in this struggle. We know, however, that stamping out the traffic in drugs is a matter of national security to us, of preserving the health of our youth and the basic principle of international solidarity in the face of an evil that affects us all. No one can feel untouched by it as long as there are teenagers trapped in addiction while their families look on helplessly.

Bilateral cooperation between our countries will be enriched by concrete actions undertaken by both governments to halt environmental pollution on our common border, to make joint progress in restoring the purity of the air and water in both territories, and to engage in common efforts to protect the tropical forests that are the lungs of the world. Allow me to add, Mr. President, that with this cooperation regarding the environment and to halt environmental pollution, that will enable the children in Mexico to paint the sky blue again and to find the stars in the sky.

Out of culture, a valiant history—invincible in the face of adversity—has been forged. It is the source of our self-assurance, our identity, in opening our doors to the world and participating in its transformation. By strengthening ourselves as an independent nation in today's interdependent world, cooperation between us will prosper and our relation as neighbors will become the new friendship of the coming decade.

President Bush, Mrs. Bush, you have given us a cordial welcome. In it, we see the spirit that sums up what has always existed between our peoples: the hope of sharing an era of mutual benefits, of exploring areas of agreement, and of working side by side to shape a future of mutual prosperity. By joining our efforts, our two governments can more clearly hear the wise, generous voice of the men and women who give meaning to this meeting.

President Bush, in this new stage of respect and friendship, let us join now in a toast to the strength of Mexico and of the United States; to a hemisphere with peace, democracy, and development; to the beginning of a new friendship that inspires us to live up to the expectations of our peoples; and to your own well-being and that of your family.

Note: President Bush spoke at 8:11 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Salinas spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Economic Assistance for Poland and Hungary
October 4, 1989

The world has watched with wonder as Poland has moved—swiftly and peacefully—to form a new government under Prime Minister Mazowiecki, the first non-Communist government in Eastern Europe in more than 40 years. We salute Prime Minister Mazowiecki, President Jaruzelski, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, and so many other distinguished Polish leaders for their courage and wisdom in helping bring about a new beginning for Poland.

From the very start of this administration, President Bush has taken the lead in supporting reform in Poland and Hungary. At Hamtramck, Michigan, in April, on the day of the signing of the roundtable agreement in Poland, the President announced a set of measures to open U.S. markets and encourage private sector loans and investments. In July, he visited Poland and Hungary and spoke before the Polish Parliament, as well as to a massive gathering at the Solidarity monument in Gdansk. He announced a further comprehensive package of assistance measures to support Poland's economic and political regeneration, a package which took account of the fact that Poland did not yet have its new government or its new economic policies in place. He announced a similar program during his visit to Hungary, which is also embarked on a promising path of political and economic reform. A few days later, at the Paris economic summit, the President proposed and our summit partners agreed to a plan for concerted Western action to encourage and assist economic reform and democratic change in Poland and Hungary.

In early September, the administration submitted to Congress a comprehensive legislative proposal that would create a $100 million enterprise fund for Poland and a $25 million fund for Hungary, as well as a labor initiative and an environmental initiative together totaling $20 million. In addition to this $145 million proposal, and other initiatives taken by reprogramming existing resources, we have offered $100 million in emergency food aid to Poland in the coming fiscal year, in addition to $8 million in FY '89. In dollar terms, this total package already involves over $250 million.

We have also moved to encourage new trade and investment by proposing that Congress grant both Poland and Hungary access to the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences and that it authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to operate in both countries. On September 18, the President announced that he would grant Hungary permanent most-favored-nation status, contingent upon passage by the Hungarian Parliament of new emigration legislation, which has since occurred.

We have engaged the resources and creativity of the private sector, recognizing that the U.S. Government alone could not and should not render all the support Poland and Hungary require. On the eve of his trip to those countries in July, the President hosted a White House symposium in which he urged leaders from the American private sector—labor leaders, businessmen, educators, and others—to be actively engaged in supporting economic and political change in Eastern Europe. Labor Secretary Dole visited Poland in August and signed an agreement providing for U.S. technical assistance and bilateral exchanges in the labor field. In mid-September, Commerce Secretary Mosbacher led a U.S. investment mission to Poland and Hungary, where he and American businessmen developed concrete proposals to encourage new private investments, joint ventures, and other forms of expanded U.S. business involvement in redeveloping these two economies.

The dramatic changes in Poland over the past 2 months have lent new urgency to our efforts. What Poland is doing is historic, in the largest sense of the word. It holds the promise not only of a peaceful transition to democratic rule in Poland but also of the beginning of the end of Europe's division—toward a Europe whole and free. It is also unprecedented: never before has a country attempted a successful transformation of a state-controlled economic and political system into one of political pluralism, democracy, and a market economy. The new Polish Government under Prime Minister Mazowiecki has a chance to consolidate the public trust that is needed for the difficult economic steps ahead, but it faces major economic problems.

There is no disagreement that both Poland and Hungary need, and will have, strong U.S. support. There is no disagreement that the U.S. needs to play a leading role in developing a concerted Western approach to Poland's economic recovery. The question is how best to achieve our goal. We believe, as do our Western economic partners, that Poland can best go forward by reforming its economy and becoming creditworthy again by reaching early agreement with the IMF on an economic reform plan. We also support a prompt and generous Paris Club rescheduling of Poland's international debt. This, along with agreement with the IMF, will make Poland eligible for IMF and World Bank loans totaling hundreds of millions of dollars annually. It will also give confidence to official and commercial lenders and to investors, whose participation in Poland's recovery is vital.

Poland is taking important steps toward reforming its economy. The administration had a series of meetings last week with key ministers in the new Polish Government and reviewed the outlines of their economic reform program. It is an ambitious and bold plan, calling for radical economic reform and rapid movement toward agreement with the IMF. An integral part of the plan is an urgent request for Western economic assistance in helping to stabilize the Polish economy as reforms are implemented. In the context of an agreement with the IMF, the Poles seek, in addition to IMF and World Bank support, $1 billion in stabilization funds from the Western industrialized countries.

In response to Poland's request, the President has decided on two major new steps. He will ask Congress to approve a $200 million grant for stabilization purposes, which would be the U.S. contribution to the $1 billion in Western assistance the Poles have requested. The grant would be contingent upon conclusion of an IMF agreement, and upon the recommendations of an experts mission that the President will send to Poland soon. The U.S. will be working closely with the summit seven and its other allies to make certain that the entire $1 billion is available to Poland for this stabilization fund since the concept can be effective only if the fund is fully financed. A program for use of the $200 million U.S. contribution will be developed with the Polish Government. The President wants to work with Congress to develop a strong bipartisan approach toward the common goal of providing prompt and effective support to the Government and people of Poland.

It is important to complete development of a strategy to assist Poland's recovery. Toward that end, the President will send to Warsaw within the next few weeks a Presidential mission including senior U.S. officials, business leaders, and experts to discuss with the Polish Government its economic plans and evaluate its needs. This mission will make recommendations to the President based on their own findings and their deliberations with experts from the 24-nation Group for Economic Assistance to Poland and Hungary as to the most effective use of the $1 billion stabilization fund.

This mission will also focus on those economic sectors where U.S. expertise and experience can be of greatest assistance—agriculture, business management, financial services, and others—pinpointing areas for reform and for productive use of assistance resources. The Congress can certainly be helpful in this endeavor. This initial mission will be followed by experts missions in key economic sectors. In addition, administration economists will examine urgently the structural economic challenges Poland will face now and in the years ahead so that we can provide the most effective help possible to the Polish Government.

As the President has said, the futures of Poland and Hungary depend on concerted and sustained Western action. These efforts must be complementary, not duplicative, and must be coordinated with the efforts of the IMF and World Bank. That is why the President called on our G–7 economic partners at the Paris economic summit to establish new mechanisms for coordinating our efforts. The resulting 24-nation group has already met 3 times under the chairmanship of the EC [European Communities] Commission. The EC on October 3 committed itself to $330 million in additional assistance, over and above the $271 million in emergency food aid already pledged by the United States, the EC, and other donors. It has also begun to develop a common assistance strategy for Poland and Hungary, along with working groups on food aid, environment, manpower training, and other specific areas of assistance. The goal is to set clear priorities, avoid redundant efforts, and assure maximum aid effectiveness.

West Germany, France, Britain, Japan, and several other countries have already announced their intention to provide substantial bilateral assistance. The IMF has indicated it will move quickly in assisting Poland to develop an overall economic stabilization and reform program; and the World Bank is prepared to extend promptly major new credits, once an IMF program is in place, and to develop additional loans.

Finally, in order to continue the dialog with Poland's leaders that he began in July, the President is inviting President Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Mazowiecki to visit Washington at times convenient for each of them.

These are steps the administration has taken and will be taking in support of democratic change in Poland and Hungary: economic assistance conditioned upon real progress toward reform, business and technical assistance, the opening of investment and trade opportunities, and concerted Western action in conjunction with other industrialized democracies and the international financial institutions. These combined measures constitute an international recovery program that provides broad and substantial Western support for the historic changes now underway in Poland and Hungary.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Minority Enterprise Development Week Awards

October 4, 1989

Thank you all. Excuse the—keeping you waiting a few minutes here. To Bob Mosbacher, my special thanks. And Susan Engeleiter, Director Bolton, Erline Patrick, thank you—thank all of you.

Somebody told me—I've got to have a little nostalgia—that Maurice Stans was here somewhere. And I'm looking and looking, and wondered if that's true, because—here he is. What a pleasure. When I think of looking back over my shoulder to one of the pioneers of minority business opportunity in this country, I always think of Maury. And I'm just so pleased that you're here, sir.

And I welcome all the distinguished community and business leaders here. As you know best, the business of America is not business; the true business is opportunity. No social program, no jobs program, no government program of any sort can match the opportunity created for all Americans by those special people that we call entrepreneurs. I wish there were a simpler word for all of this—entrepreneur. [*Laughter*] But people know what it means—people, men and women out there who take risks and pioneer, start businesses, create jobs.

In those communities where opportunity is most needed, minority entrepreneurs are especially leading the way. And that's why I aim to restore and reinvigorate the vision behind the Office of Minority Business Enterprise. Once a minority-owned firm was a rarity, but in the last 20 years the number of minority-owned businesses has grown fivefold to approximately 1 million. And this is happening as we learn that cutting redtape and high taxes allow small business to help millions of disadvantaged Americans. For many of your employees, this is their first—who knows, perhaps their best—chance to reach the first rung on that opportunity ladder. And so, you know better than anyone that when we support minority business—and we intend to revitalize our efforts in this regard—we're also supporting social progress.

Just last week—I can't resist this—we saw a majority of the Members of the House of Representatives recognize this truth by taking a bold stand in favor of opportunity. They did this by voting to reestablish a capital gains differential by voting to cut the tax on capital gains. Of course, some say that this is a tax cut for a few; but as businessmen and businesswomen know, this is a tax cut for all, a way to channel investment back into new growth and new jobs. And I would like to take this opportunity to call on the United States Senate to follow the lead of the House of Representatives—call on them to raise revenues, to raise employment, and raise millions of our fellow Americans to a new threshold of opportunity, and to cut the capital gains tax now. And I will be pushing for this because I know that the beneficiaries will be those who are looking for their first job, or perhaps their second job. It is a job-oriented tax cut.

While the House was taking action on capital gains, I was down meeting with the Governors in what has really, I think, been viewed as an historic summit—the first education summit in our history. Bob Mosbacher was down there at my side, and we discussed our children's education and how it's going to shape their future. And we agreed for the first time to set national goals and to seek greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds in exchange for enhanced accountability for the results. We did this because a good education is not critical for most Americans; it is critical for all Americans. And in the economy of the future, American workers who cannot read and have no skills won't have that shot at the American dream. So, our schools must—they simply must—do a better job.

And more businesses must follow your example by stepping in to finish the job of training workers. And this is why you're already doing so well. Look to Teresa McBride of Albuquerque, whose high-tech firm, McBride Microsource, went from 1 full-time employee—1—in 1985 to 22 people today. Think of it. Because of this 27-year-old entrepreneur, there are now 22 jobs where once there were none.

Look to Ronald Thompson of East St. Louis, whose company, General Railroad Equipment and Services, Inc., has grown fivefold in the past 7 years. Sixty-four employees then, three hundred now—a firm that has sponsored a program to teach minority youth about entrepreneurship.

Look to Roy and Rudolph Terry of Roanoke, Alabama. They've not only created a firm, Terry Manufacturing, with 280 full-time people and with annual sales in excess of $12 million; they've also found the time to get involved in what I call the Thousand Points of Light—time to sponsor a local Little League team and a Boy Scout troop and support a county antidrug program. And they also provided summer jobs for college-bound kids of their own employees, and matched employee contributions to the American Heart Association, making their small company the association's largest donor.

Ronald, Teresa, Rudolph, and Terry: In a moment we'll be presenting you with awards for your outstanding accomplishments. But the true reward comes not from me or anyone else in Washington. It comes from the people in the communities that you serve so well. You've heard me say this before, and I'm going to keep saying it, because I really believe it: From now on in America, any definition of the successful life must include service to others. And by these lights, you all are very, very successful.

Congratulations, and now I will turn to Bob and Susan to make a few announcements. It's all yours, Mr. Secretary.

Note: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher; Susan S. Engeleiter, Administrator of the Small Business Administration; Kenneth Bolton, Director of the Minority Business Development Agency; Erline M. Patrick, Associate Administrator for Minority Small Business and Capital Ownership Development at the Small Business Administration; and former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With President George Vassiliou of Cyprus

October 4, 1989

The President met this afternoon with Cypriot President George Vassiliou. The two leaders discussed a number of issues relating to efforts to bring a peaceful solution to the Cyprus dispute.

The President reaffirmed our support for the negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations and expressed his hope that the talks will be resumed at the earliest possible date. The President noted that the negotiations were not an end to themselves but a means to a peaceful solution to the dispute.

Also present at the meeting were Secretary of State James Baker, Chief of Staff John Sununu, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, Special Cyprus Negotiator Nelson Ledsky, Cypriot Foreign Minister George Iacovou, and [Cypriot] Ambassador Michael Sherifis. The meeting began at 2 p.m. and lasted approximately 40 minutes.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Jonas Savimbi of Angola

October 5, 1989

President Bush met with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi for approximately 30 minutes in the Oval Office this morning. Dr. Savimbi is in the United States on a private visit. He has met with President Bush several times during the last administration.

President Bush used the occasion of today's visit to stress the United States continued support for UNITA and the goal of national reconciliation in Angola.

The President urged Dr. Savimbi to work with President Mobutu and others in the region to foster the peace process. He noted our longstanding support for a ceasefire and face-to-face negotiations, and ultimately, free and fair elections.

Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation

October 5, 1989

Well, a thousand apologies for keeping you waiting. But you can't say we didn't provide you with a little good music. And welcome to the White House. A special welcome to Dr. Suessmuth and Ms. Geiger and the other Members of the German Parliament that are here today.

You know, we meet as we're a part of a pivotal moment in history. The countries of Eastern Europe are in ferment, as the struggle to find freedom has entered a new stage with hopes higher than ever before. And a non-Communist government has been formed in Poland. Totalitarian ideology is being discarded in Hungary. And as I said in Hamtramck, in Warsaw and Gdansk, and in Budapest, America stands with the forces of change. We pledged our moral and our material support.

The Polish Government, facing the prospect of painful adjustments as it initiates its drastic economic reforms, last week requested $1 billion in immediate aid from the West. And therefore, yesterday I asked Congress to provide $200 million in entirely new assistance, when Poland signs an IMF [International Monetary Fund] agreement, to do our part in fully meeting this request. I'm also sending a Presidential mission to Poland to consult with the Poles on the best use of this and other assistance.

We are riveted and I am moved by the tens of thousands of East Germans sacrificing all that they own, leaving everything behind, to find their way to a West that offers the promise of freedom and opportunity. And I read today of thousands of people, people who have waited for 10 years to buy a car and just left them on the street, handing the keys to whoever wanted them, so they could—taking with them only the possessions they could carry—and climbed over an embassy fence to wait for a freedom train.

As we celebrate German-American Day today, I want to praise the actions of the Federal Republic in rising to the challenge presented by these events, the enormous challenge. And I also look forward to the day that Germans will not have to climb fences, freeze in embassy courtyards, or dodge bullets in order to enjoy the fruits of a free society.

I don't need to tell you what an important role the whole entire German-American community has played in the United States over the past 200 years—individually, collectively. German-Americans are a vital part of this country's heritage. And as you know, in the early 1980's we recognized the need to strengthen contacts between Germany and the United States. And since that time our countries have worked together to emphasize shared values and responsibilities. Our own U.S. Information Agency has taken the lead on many of these initiatives. USIA played an important role in the celebration of Germany's tricentennial in 1983, which I was fortunate enough to attend. And most recently, USIA assisted in the establishment of the German-American Friendship Garden, which I understand you all are celebrating this afternoon.

And therefore, I am pleased to announce today that our new, very capable Director of USIA, my friend Bruce Gelb, will assume the role of U.S. coordinator of German-American contact initiatives. He stands ready and willing to work with you to bring together young German and American leaders—something that I know Chancellor Kohl is very much interested in—in government, in business, in journalism, and the arts—bring them together to broaden perspectives, strengthen friendships, and increase understanding between our two countries.

And now I am honored to sign this proclamation appropriately honoring the German-American community.

Note: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Rita Suessmuth, President of the West German Parliament, and Michaela Geiger, Member of Parliament and chairwoman of the visiting parliamentary delegation. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Remarks on Signing the Veterans Day Proclamation

October 5, 1989

Thank you all for being here. Secretary, come over here; you can't escape. [*Laughter*] I've got to get my friend here.

Let me just say I'm delighted to welcome all of you here to the Roosevelt Room to witness the signing of this Veterans Day proclamation. I want to especially thank Secretary Derwinski for being with me. I know that Congressman Montgomery had planned to be down here and also Senator Murkowski—both of them tied up, and we have to forgive them, but I wish they were here.

As you know, our nation's veterans hold a very special place in the hearts of our country for their selfless devotion to duty and commitment to service. And we all know that freedom is not free, and the men and women who have fought to preserve this nation's liberty have indeed been willing to sacrifice everything in that noble cause. So, Veterans Day is a time when all Americans can pay tribute to our veterans for their willingness to give their lives for this great nation and for the cause of freedom.

And I also want to take this opportunity to highlight an issue that is of special concern to veterans around the country, and I'm talking about the protection of the American flag. The flag is a unique symbol, the unique symbol of our nation which must be protected from desecration.

And the Senate today passed a statutory approach. And look, I respect the intention of those who voted for this approach, but I continue to feel that such an approach is inadequate in the light of the Supreme Court decision. And I believe that a constitutional amendment, carefully drawn, is necessary in order to provide proper protection. And I urge the Congress to send to the States for ratification the bipartisan amendment proposed by Congressmen Montgomery and Michel and Senators Dixon and Dole.

And now, with no further ado, I am happy to sign this proclamation.

Note: The President spoke at 3:31 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Memorandum on the Presidential Quality and Management Improvement Awards

October 5, 1989

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Presidential Quality and Management Improvement Awards

The strength and success of the United States depend upon the performance of the 4.3 million civil servants and uniformed services personnel around the world. My experience in Government confirms that their skills, abilities, and dedication not only provide the necessary continuity of government, but also contribute to the growth and prosperity of our Nation. Their work in important and diverse areas, such as scientific and medical research, national defense and security, protection of our environment, air and highway safety, education, and service to our veterans and their families, represents important contributions to the quality of life of our citizens.

Accordingly, I am calling on you to enlist the talents and creativity of your employees in a partnership to serve the needs of all Americans. To do this, I ask that you communicate the attached message announcing the Presidential Quality and Management Improvement Awards Program to the men and women in the Government service.

Knowing how much their actions contribute to significant improvements in Government operations and services to the public, I am requesting that you inform me of such efforts so that I may add my personal congratulations by letter of commendation. Further, for those contributions judged to be of greatest benefit, I intend to grant Presidential Quality and Management Improvement Awards. Instructions for the administration of this Program will be issued by the Office of Personnel Management.

The people of our country deserve the very best and most efficient services that the Federal Government can provide. Through your personal support and that of your employees, I am very confident that we can continue to earn their trust and to meet this commitment.

GEORGE BUSH

Message on the Presidential Quality and Management Improvement Awards
October 5, 1989

Message to Civilian and Military Personnel

I would like to ask you to join me in a partnership to improve Government operations and services to the public. I know from my own experiences in Government that Federal civilian and military personnel make critical differences every day in how well and how efficiently Government organizations provide essential public services. Because of the urgent need to reduce the Federal deficit, it is of vital importance that each of us explore ways to improve not only our own performance, but also that of our organizations.

Accordingly, I have asked that heads of Federal agencies actively use their awards authorities to encourage and to recognize those individuals and groups whose ideas and other achievements significantly improve the quality and efficiency of Government. Further, I have requested that they inform me concerning major cost-saving achievements as well as other efforts that significantly improve the quality of services provided to our citizens so that I might add my personal thanks through letters of commendation and granting Presidential Quality and Management Improvement Awards.

In addition to reducing the Federal deficit, I want to challenge everyone in Government to find ways of improving the quality of services and products without increasing their costs. All of us in Government service can make a difference. Therefore, I ask that each of you work with me in making these goals a reality.

I look forward to learning about your accomplishments and recognizing personally those individuals whose efforts support our objectives of improving services to our citizens and reducing the cost of Government operations. With your participation, I am confident that we can continue to provide our citizens the very best services of any Government in the world.

GEORGE BUSH

Nomination of Cresencio S. Arcos, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Honduras
October 5, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Cresencio S. Arcos, Jr., a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Honduras. He would succeed Everett Ellis Briggs.

Since 1988 Mr. Arcos has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central America at the Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Coordinator for Public Diplomacy in the White House Office of Communications and Planning, 1987–1988; Deputy Coordinator for Latin American and Caribbean Public Diplomacy at the Department of State, 1986–1987; Deputy Director of the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office at the Department of State, 1985–1986; and public affairs counselor, American Embassy in Honduras, 1980–1985. In addition, he has served in public affairs and cultural affairs positions in Leningrad, U.S.S.R.; Sao Paulo, Brazil; and Lisbon, Portugal, since 1973.

Mr. Arcos graduated from the University of Texas (B.A., 1966) and the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (M.A., 1973). He was born November 10, 1943, in San Antonio, TX. Mr. Arcos served in the U.S. Army, 1968–1970. He is married, has two children, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of Philip L. Christenson To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development
October 5, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Philip L. Christenson to be an Assistant Administrator (Food for Peace) of the Agency for International Development, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. He would succeed Julia Chang Bloch. Mr. Christenson has been serving in this position since December 1988 by recess appointment.

Since 1988 Mr. Christenson has served as Assistant Administrator (FVA) at the Agency for International Development in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as a senior professional staff member for the Committee on Foreign Relations, 1987–1988; professional staff member for the Committee on Foreign Relations, 1981–1987; associate director of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program in Washington, DC, 1979–1981; and an international trade specialist at the Department of Commerce, 1974–1979.

Mr. Christenson graduated from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (B.S.F.S., 1971). He was born May 18, 1947, in Ely, NV, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Michael Bruce Donley To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force
October 5, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Michael Bruce Donley to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Financial Management. This is a new position.

Since 1988 Mr. Donley has served as Deputy Executive Secretary of the National Security Council and Senior Director of the Situation Support Staff at the White House. Prior to this, he served as the Director of Defense Programs at the National Security Council, 1984–1987; professional staff member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, 1981–1984; and legislative assistant to Senator Roger Jepsen, 1979–1980.

Mr. Donley graduated from the University of Southern California (B.A., 1977; M.A., 1978). He was born October 4, 1952, in California. He served in the U.S. Army, 1972–1975. He is married, has three children, and resides in Springfield, VA.

Nomination of Francis Terry McNamara To Be United States Ambassador to Cape Verde

October 5, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Francis Terry McNamara to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cape Verde. He would succeed Vernon Dubois Penner, Jr.

Since 1987 Ambassador McNamara has served as a senior research fellow at the National Defense University. Prior to this, he served as the deputy chief of mission in Beirut, Lebanon, 1985–1987. Ambassador McNamara served as a foreign affairs fellow with the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, 1984–1989; as the Ambassador to the Republic of Gabon and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, 1981–1984; as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in Washington, DC, 1980–1981; and as the consul general in Quebec, Canada, 1975–1979.

Ambassador McNamara graduated from Russell Sage College (B.A., 1953) and George Washington University (M.S., 1972). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1944–1946 and 1950–1951. Ambassador McNamara was born November 2, 1927, in Troy, NY. He is married, has seven children, and currently resides in Baltimore, MD.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting Reports on Trade Barriers to United States Wine Exports

October 6, 1989

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Pursuant to Section 1125 of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, I am submitting herewith updated reports concerning consultations undertaken by the United States Government to eliminate trade barriers to U.S. wine exports in certain foreign countries.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Lloyd Bentsen, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Nomination of Robert P. McMillan To Be a Member of the Board of the Panama Canal Commission

October 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert P. McMillan to be a member of the Board of the Panama Canal Commission. He would succeed Richard N. Holwill.

Currently Mr. McMillan serves as a senior partner with the law firm of Rivkin, Radler, Dunne and Bayh in Uniondale, NY. Prior to this he served as director of public affairs and corporate vice president of Avon Products, Inc., for over 10 years. In addition, he is founder of the Long Island Housing Partnership, 1987 to present.

Mr. McMillan received his undergraduate degree from Adelphi University and graduated from Brooklyn Law School (J.D., 1960). Mr. McMillan was born May 21, 1932, in Queens, NY. He served in the U.S. Army, 1952–1954, and was awarded the Bronze Star while serving in Korea. Mr. McMillan is married, has three children, and resides in Garden City, NY.

Exchange With Reporters Following the President's Hand Surgery
October 6, 1989

The President. First report, all is well.

Q. How do you feel?

The President. Feel fine. They just did a—went deep down into the—near the bone, apparently. But I think the doctor felt it was a good thing to do. But it's real minor. When it's healed—I'm out of some sports for a few days, but other than that it's fine, just fine. So, anyway——

Panama

Q. Sir, how about Panama? Simply put, a lot of critics say you blew it. Your administration blew it on Panama. Do you have a comment on that?

The President. I don't think that's the case. No, we reviewed all the information, and I don't see anything now that would have had me make a different decision then. And I think the Senate and the House, once fully briefed, will understand that.

But I want to see Noriega out of there. I think the record will show that there was never a chance to have him handed over to us. I think that was one of the things that caused concern, because there's a report that he was offered to our military and they wouldn't take him. Well, that simply is not true. So, once that fact is out there, I think it will be all right.

Obviously, I would like to see him out, but I think any Commander in Chief must have the lives of American citizens and of American soldiers foremost in mind when he makes a decision. And I'm not just being stubborn, but as I look at all the information, I wouldn't today have made a different decision then. And I think that will get clear when people understand the facts.

Q. When you say make a decision, I mean, what exactly did you decide to do——

The President. Well, what people—some people—seemed to have wanted me to do is to unleash the full military and go in and—quote—get Noriega. I think that's the charge by those who feel as frustrated as I do about the results. But I think that's the allegation. So you say, what could a Commander in Chief have done? I suppose you could have gone to general quarters. But that's not prudent, and that's not the way I plan to conduct the military or foreign affairs of this country.

Q. Did you ever consider doing that, sir?

Q. Were there communications problems, sir?

The President. Not under these circumstances. Not under the way the circumstances developed.

Q. Were there communications problems? Were there bad cables? Was there a gap in getting information to you?

The President. I don't think so. We had kind of almost a running meeting there. And I think that's a good question, and I don't think I can factually answer that yet. Having been through a few situations of this nature, I think the more coordination you have the better, but I don't think there was a fact gap that kept the President from acting differently—put it that way. But whether we can do better on communications, I don't know. I hope so.

Q. Do the Panamanians who might want to mount another coup attempt feel that in the future there might be a different response from you—that perhaps you might, under the right conditions, use military force to help?

The President. Well, I think, as I indicated—I didn't say it publicly, but as I—put it this way: I would not rule out any option—any option. But you have to look at the facts at the time. And you've got to keep in mind the lives of American citizens, lives of your own troops, and what you're trying to do. But I wouldn't—certainly wouldn't rule that out.

Q. Do you think the likelihood of another coup attempt is less now because this was put down, sir? Do you think a coup attempt——

The President. I don't know. I get the feeling that those who are in opposition feel that, with this manifestation of opposition to Noriega being more clear than ever, that maybe he's weaker; but maybe that's wishful thinking. But I'll tell you, the day he goes out there will be dancing in the streets of Panama.

Q. Sir, why didn't you use military force in this case? Was it because you didn't think you could get Noriega himself? Or what was the reason?

The President. Well, I didn't use military force because it wasn't warranted under the existing circumstances.

I've got to go. Thank you all.

President's Surgery

Q. How long are you going to keep that elevated?

The President. I've got to hold it up like this, and I'm trying very hard to keep it in this five-finger position here. You get what I mean? [*Laughter*] One more question, however. [*Laughter*] No, come on.

Q. Did it hurt, Mr. President?

The President. No. They put a block on it. I didn't feel it.

Q. Does it hurt now?

The President. They tell me it will later. No, it doesn't now. Just out of some sports.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 2:15 p.m. outside the Emergency Room at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, following surgery to remove a cyst from his right hand. The President then left for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Hand Surgery

October 6, 1989

President Bush underwent minor surgery today at Walter Reed Army Medical Center to remove a mucoid cyst of approximately one centimeter in diameter from the third digit on the middle finger of his right hand. The procedure, which started at 1:35 p.m., took approximately 25 minutes and was entirely successful. A pathological examination of the cyst is underway, but Dr. Burton Lee, the President's Physician, said the cyst appeared benign.

The digital nerve block anesthesia, a form of local anesthesia, is expected to wear off within 3 to 4 hours following the surgery. Pain medication will be prescribed as necessary.

The incision was approximately 1½ inches long, along the top of the finger. Eight stitches were required to close the incision, which will be removed in approximately 2 weeks. No long-term impairment of movement in the finger is expected.

The operation was performed by Dr. Allan Smith, a colonel in the Army Medical Corps and chief of hand surgery at Walter Reed, and Dr. George Bogumill, chief of hand surgery at Georgetown University. Digital nerve block anesthesia was administered by Dr. Charles Gandy of Walter Reed, a lieutenant colonel in the Army Medical Corps. White House Physicians Dr. Burton Lee and Dr. Lawrence Mohr, a colonel in the Army Medical Corps, were in attendance throughout the procedure.

The President will wear a splint on the finger for 2 to 3 weeks. Dr. Allan Smith will visit the President at the White House Tuesday, October 10, for a followup examination.

Memorandum on the 1990 Census
October 6, 1989

Memorandum for the Secretary of Commerce and the Director of the Office of Personnel Management

Subject: Recruitment of Temporary Census Employees for the 1990 Census

Since the first decennial census was conducted in 1790, special procedures have been used for the recruitment of temporary census employees distinct from the normal Government hiring process. Due to the large number of workers who must be recruited for a limited period of time, it would be excessively cumbersome and costly to comply with the hiring requirements applicable to most Government employees. In recruiting for the 1990 census, the Bureau of the Census must draw from a labor pool smaller proportionately nationwide than that available for past censuses and therefore needs maximum flexibility in its employment authority.

It is my intention to encourage recruiting from as many sources as possible in order to secure a large corps of qualified workers who are mindful of the Bureau's obligation to conduct the most accurate census practicable. To facilitate this process, and to encourage local hiring for the census district offices, I am directing the following action:

1. The positions of temporary census employees in the Bureau of the Census in the Department of Commerce for the purpose of conducting the 1990 decennial census shall be excluded from the coverage of section 2302 of title 5 of the United States Code, based on my determination that such action is necessary and warranted by conditions of good administration.

2. The Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the Director of the Office of Personnel Management, shall develop and implement a supplemental recruiting plan that permits referrals from elected officials, Federal, State, and local agencies, civic organizations, minority and women's groups, and other appropriate sources.

3. The Director of the Office of Personnel Management is hereby delegated the authority to implement this memorandum.

4. This memorandum shall be effective immediately for a period not to exceed the conclusion of the 1990 decennial census.

GEORGE BUSH

Nomination of Ruth V. Washington To Be United States Ambassador to The Gambia
October 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ruth V. Washington to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of The Gambia. She would succeed Herbert E. Horowitz.

Since 1988 Ms. Washington has served as an attorney with a private firm in New York, and since 1989 as an arbitrator with the New Jersey Mediation Board. Prior to this, she served as an adjunct associate professor at Fordham University in New York, 1987; U.S. Magistrate in the Southern District Court of New York, 1979–1987; attorney with a private firm in New York, 1977–1979; and as the Appeals Board Chairperson for the Benefits Review Board at the Department of Labor, 1974–1977. In addition, she served as commissioner of the New York State Workers' Compensation Board, 1968–1974; WCL judge (referee) for the New York State Workers' Compensation Board, 1963–1968; and associate counsel for the State Commission for Human Rights in New York, 1961–1963.

Ms. Washington graduated from Hunter

College (B.A., 1944) and New York University Law School (LL.B., 1947; J.D., 1968). She was born August 17, 1921, in Buffalo, NY, and currently resides in Buffalo.

Nomination of R. James Woolsey for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as the United States Representative to the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe

October 10, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate R. James Woolsey to be accorded the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United States Representative to the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

Since 1979 Mr. Woolsey has served as a partner with the law firm of Shea and Gardner in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Under Secretary of the Navy, 1977–1979; an associate with Shea and Gardner, 1973–1977; general counsel to the Senate Committee on Armed Services, 1970–1973; and adviser to the U.S. delegation to the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT I) in Helsinki and Vienna and a program analyst in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1969–1970.

Mr. Woolsey graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1963); Oxford University (M.A., 1965), where he was a Rhodes scholar; and Yale Law School (LL.B., 1968). He was born September 21, 1941, in Tulsa, OK. Mr. Woolsey served in the U.S. Army, 1968–1970. He is married, has three sons, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Nomination of Betsy Brand To Be an Assistant Secretary of Education

October 10, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Betsy Brand to be Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education at the Department of Education. She would succeed Bonnie Guiton.

Since 1989 Mrs. Brand has served as Acting Director of Adult Education at the Department of Education in Washington, DC. Prior to this she served as a professional staff member of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, 1986–1989; staff director for the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Productivity, 1985–1986; legislative assistant to Senator Dan Quayle, 1983–1985; minority legislative associate for the House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, 1981–1983; and legislative assistant and office manager for Representative E. Thomas Coleman, 1977–1981.

Mrs. Brand graduated from Dickinson College (B.A., 1976). She was born July 20, 1954, in Plainfield, NJ. Mrs. Brand is married, has one son, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of Robert C. McCormack To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy

October 10, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert C. McCormack to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Financial Management. He would succeed Robert H. Conn.

Since 1988 Mr. McCormack has served as Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Industrial and International Programs in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Production Support at the Department of Defense, 1987–1988; and was managing director with Morgan Stanley and Co., Inc., 1981–1987. From 1968 to 1981, Mr. McCormack served in various positions with Dillon, Read and Co., Inc., completing his service as a senior vice president.

Mr. McCormack graduated from the University of North Carolina (B.A., 1962) and the University of Chicago (M.B.A., 1968). He was born November 7, 1939, in New York, NY. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1962–1966, and was awarded the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service in 1989. Mr. McCormack is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Richard G. Austin To Be Administrator of General Services

October 10, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard G. Austin to be Administrator of General Services. He would succeed Terence C. Golden.

Since 1988 Mr. Austin has served as Acting Administrator of the General Services Administration in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served in various capacities at the General Services Administration, including Deputy Administrator, 1988, and Regional Administrator in Chicago, IL, 1986–1988. In addition, he served as chairman and chief executive officer of the Sangamon County Board, 1978–1986; division manager of the office of governmental services in the bureau of support services at the department of central management services for the State of Illinois, 1980–1986; and administrative assistant to Gov. James R. Thompson, 1977–1980.

Mr. Austin graduated from Lincoln Land Community College (A.A., 1971) and Sangamon State University (B.A., 1972). He was born September 20, 1948, in Springfield, IL. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1965–1969, and in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, 1969–1971. Mr. Austin is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Remarks Congratulating the Trumbull Nationals on Winning the Little League World Championship
October 10, 1989

Welcome to the White House. First, to our distinguished Members of Congress here—Congressman Shays and Congressmen Kennelly, Rowland, Morrison—thank you all for coming, and to Mrs. Vance and Dr. Hale and Mr. Talbott, Mr. DelVecchio, Coach Galla, and whoever is left out there—[*laughter*]—Little League players and fellow fans. And a special hello to our new Executive Director of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, my old friend Wilmer "Vinegar Bend" Mizell, former great pitcher in the major leagues. Stand up now, Vinegar, so they can see you. Welcome. And it's a pleasure to welcome all of you here to the Rose Garden.

The World Series starts this week, and thus it's fitting that this world champion baseball team is here with us today. That team, of course, is Trumbull, Connecticut, the 1989 Little League world champions, whose amazing triumph propelled these kids headfirst into the sports heart of America.

You know, Casey Stengel once asked of the early 1960's Mets: "Can anybody here play this game?" [*Laughter*] Well, sadly for his then helpless, hapless team, almost no one could. Vinegar Bend, naturally, was a notable exception. But, well, in 1989 Trumbull emphatically could, and did, play this game. And in this special year for the Little League, the 50th anniversary of the world's largest organized youth sports program, your special team brought the title back—right back to where the Little League began. And it was special because of self-discipline and hard work, helping Trumbull become the first U.S. team in 6 years—6 years—to win the Little League World Series. And its feeling of sportsmanship: kids scraping and competing and then shaking hands after the final out.

This Trumbull team was special because it kept its eye on the ball—sort of like when one of my grandkids, George, told me he wants to be a baseball player when he grows up. I asked him why, and he said, "Because politicians don't get their pictures on bubble gum cards." [*Laughter*]

Most of all, Trumbull is special because of a feeling of family: fathers and daughters, mother and sons, kids of all ages banding together, evidenced by more than 15,000 people jamming the streets of Trumbull to welcome this gang back home. And they were there, yes, to cheer your triumph, but also your learning the lessons of Little League, lessons like friendship and generosity, like "Do unto others" and doing your best, lessons which go beyond balls and strikes and which have made Little League a global institution. This year more than 2½ million players in 33 nations played Little League baseball. And they know those lessons, and so do their 750,000 adult volunteers—and so, if I might add, do past Little Leaguers.

On a personal note, all four of the Bush kids played it. I coached it. And Barbara—well, back then there were tens of thousands of Texas kids in Little League. And as I've often said, she'd keep score, but there were times when I thought she was carpooling each and every one of them. [*Laughter*] So, I think our family can sense your pride, and hope you can sense the pride we feel in you.

Chris Drury, for instance, beating Taiwan to win the championship game. Which is Chris? There he is, modestly in the back row there. Or Dan McGrath, squeezing that final out as 40,000 people roared in disbelief, as did the entire Nation. And where are you, Dan? There he is. Okay. Andy Paul. Where is Andy? Right there. Big guy. I called Cape Canaveral about this guy—[*laughter*]—about the homer he hit against Davenport, Iowa. And they tell me it's somewhere in orbit between Williamsport and Harrisburg. [*Laughter*] Or Dave Galla, Ken Martin, Cody Lee, Jason Hairston—I wish I had time to mention all 15 players. And don't worry, I'm not forgetting Assistant Coaches Bob Zullo and Ed Wheeler or the man who led the way. I've heard some people say that Frank Robinson and Roger Craig should be named managers of the year. Well, there should be a recount if Tom Galla is not right up there in contention.

What memories you have given us, and what memories you'll cherish—of great heart and great plays, or that crowd cheering, "USA! USA!" there at Williamsport, and of the spirit which says that nothing is impossible, in Little League or in the bigger fields of life. You know, we lost a man recently who embodied that spirit—the former president of Yale and then commissioner of baseball. He lived a few miles from where you do. He was a great friend of many of ours, certainly a friend of mine: Bart Giamatti—poet and scholar, gentle and sensitive. And his life was a metaphor for honesty, and he ennobled public service. He knew and loved the fact that this marks the 50th anniversary of Little League.

But it's also another 50th anniversary, and I'd like to close by noting it as Bart himself did earlier this summer. It concerns, if you will, a hero of mine. And also they come to know his story, I hope, of you Trumbull kids as well. His name was Lou Gehrig. He was a Hall of Fame first baseman in the twenties and thirties. But more than that, he was a good and decent man about whom a teammate said, "Every day, any day, he just went out and did his job." Fifty years ago, Lou Gehrig was stricken by a form of paralysis which now bears his name. And the disease ended Lou's record-consecutive-games-played streak and caused his retirement from baseball. And even so, he told that July 4th, 1939, crowd at Yankee Stadium: "I consider myself the luckiest man on the face of the Earth."

That story has become an American parable. What an example for these kids. And how right that we recall it on the 50th anniversary of his unforgettable farewell. Less known is what Lou Gehrig did after he left the Yankees. Dying, weaker day by day, he could barely move his body, yet he loved and wanted to counsel the kids, the children. And so, he spent much of the last 2 years of his life as parole commissioner for the city of New York. And they called him "The Iron Horse," the "Pride of the Yankees." And certainly, I think we would all agree he was a hero. He showed, like Little League, that what matters is how we conduct ourselves off as well as on the field. You kids here are proof of that. So, let me again congratulate Trumbull, Connecticut: You truly are number one.

And now let me conclude with a presentation. Earlier this summer, the United States Post Office issued a special 50th anniversary stamp to honor Lou Gehrig for his decency, integrity, and bravery, qualities that, as Bart Giamatti showed, are as timeless as today. This inscribed picture of Lou that we have here somewhere—[*laughter*]—commemorates that stamp, and I'd like to give it to Howard Talbott, Director of the Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, also marking its golden anniversary. Howard, let me just say that I hope this picture will inspire the kids of every age and show how—by building courage, character—baseball Little League can belt the grand-slam home run. Tom Galla, as Trumbull coach, please help me in presenting it. And to all of you, thank you so much for coming to the White House to salute this team and to honor a legend.

Note: The President spoke at 1:34 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Morag Vance, first selectman of Trumbull, CT; Creighton Hale, president of the U.S. Little League Foundation; Howard Talbott, director of the Hall of Fame; John DelVecchio, president of Trumbull Little League; and Tom Galla, coach of the Trumbull Nationals.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Francesco Cossiga of Italy
October 11, 1989

President Bush. Mr. President and distinguished members of the Italian delegation, good morning, and a warm, hearty welcome to the White House.

Mr. President, when your visit was being planned, I suggested we invite a few friends of Italy to greet you. Well, we discovered that finding friends of Italy here in America is like finding fine art in Florence or canals in Venice: they're all around us. And Barbara and I are just delighted to have this opportunity to return the warm hospitality that we received in Rome earlier this year. Italy was my first stop on my first visit to Europe as President, en route to a critical and ultimately highly successful NATO summit. And I'll always remember that the road to continued alliance unity began in Rome.

Mr. President, our two countries are linked in many ways, by ties of friendship and the bonds of family. And on this past Memorial Day weekend, I paid a visit to the cemetery at Nettuno, on the coast south of Rome, to honor the thousands of American soldiers, many of Italian ancestry, who gave their lives to help liberate Italy.

For more than 40 years Italy and America have been friends and allies, fellow members of the family of free nations. And President Cossiga is himself a symbol of Italy's democratic renaissance, a man of supreme ability and integrity who has served his nation in more positions of public trust than we have time to name. And I am particularly pleased that the President has honored us with a visit to America on the eve of our Columbus Day. The son of Genoa, discoverer of the New World that became America, is celebrated here in our country, and through the tradition of Columbus and the great explorers live on.

Soon, aboard the space shuttle *Atlantis*, a space probe begins its 6-year voyage to the planet Jupiter. *Galileo*—a mission across the millions of miles of space to the moons the famed astronomer discovered over three centuries ago—*Galileo* is just one element in a very exciting, very ambitious space program. And I know that the Vice President, Dan Quayle, who is doing a tremendous job as Chairman of our National Space Council, agrees with me that every voyage into space is a voyage into our future.

And Italy, too, is active in the new world of space exploration. After his meetings here, President Cossiga will visit my hometown of Houston and the Johnson Space Center. And he's going to hear firsthand how much the U.S. values its partnership with the Italian Space Agency, a partnership that's going to be built to result in the flight of the first Italian astronaut aboard one of our space shuttle missions in 1991.

In just a few minutes, the President and I will move inside to begin our discussions. Both of us have been to Poland this year. And we'll discuss the momentous changes taking place in Eastern Europe and the progress we've made in developing concerted Western action to support movement towards democracy there. And of course, we'll talk about developments within the Soviet Union and our determination to continue pushing forward with NATO's call for the early conclusion of a conventional arms reduction agreement with the Warsaw Pact. And we will also discuss other issues of mutual concern: the war on drugs that we're waging here in the United States, and Italy's crackdown on organized crime, narcotics trafficking, and drug abuse.

We'll discuss alliance issues and the need for unity that is critical today, when tensions are easing but the threat to peace and freedom still exists. And I look forward to a productive meeting, a meeting of the mind and heart that takes place between friends, takes place between allies.

President Cossiga, welcome, sir. I wish you and your distinguished colleagues a pleasant and productive visit to our country. There are few nations where the ties are so strong, the affection so genuine and mutual, than between our two countries. And I know that here and on the rest of your travels you will find America welcomes you with open arms. And thank you, and God bless you. And God bless the United States of America and the Republic of Italy. Welcome to the White House.

President Cossiga. Mr. President, I am most grateful to you for your warm words of welcome. It is a great pleasure for me to be in this great country with which Italy has ancient and solid ties of friendship and alliance, as the result of a choice that is shared by the whole of the Italian people, as the expression of a common desire for peace and of common values of freedom and democracy.

After 40 years of history marked by confrontation between the East and the West, we are witnessing great changes occurring worldwide, events that are full of promise and that strike the imagination of our peoples. The changes in the direction of democracy which are taking place in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary are developments that would have been unthinkable even a very short time ago. In this new climate, it is becoming possible to act with realism but with well-grounded confidence to restore that whole and free Europe of which you, Mr. President, have spoken with such vision and insight.

The West has the historic duty to contribute to us making this difficult process successful, giving generously of its farsighted support and its financial assistance. I'm thinking in particular of the great Polish nation that is currently in the throes of serious difficulties in its courageous attempt to work its renewal and which needs more substantial aid from us.

Italy, Mr. President, identifies a specific role at home and is ready to take on direct responsibilities in creating a new relationship with Eastern Europe, in particular with the countries of the opposite shores of the Adriatic and over the Alps, which do not divide but unite the peoples in the Danube Basin. This is a demanding mission which Italy intends to pursue with the aim of contributing towards overcoming the political tensions and the economic difficulties in the southern part of central Europe, which if not kept at bay might lead to upheavals and dangerous tendencies towards disgregation [disintegration].

For both geographical and historical reasons, Italy's policy towards the Middle East and the Mediterranean area is imbued with the same concern. In these areas, we should work not only to settle the grievous conflicts which are still being waged but also to prevent the economic and demographic imbalances from worsening and threatening the stability of the whole area.

In relation to the friendly sister nations of Latin America, too, Italy views her aid policy as a means not only of assisting their economic development but also of restoring or consolidating free and democratic systems.

Mr. President, we are the witnesses of a new and major turning point in history. A decade which opened under the cloud of confusion and uncertainty is about to end under the sign of hope—a decade whose beginning was marked by difficult and painful decisions on the part of those vested with the responsibilities of government. But those decisions have contributed, as indeed they were designed to, towards strengthening peace and opening up encouraging prospects for reconciliation and dialog. It is our duty today to look ahead to the future, indeed, to build up that future by taking the initiative with determination and, at the same time, to consolidate the foundations of what we had already constructed: the edifice of the alliance between the free nations of the West.

In Italy we listen with great interest to the reference you made last May to the common values which constitute the very mortar that binds the United States to Europe and the basis of our defense alliance, which for over 40 years has helped to keep peace. At a time when it is precisely these values that are winning through, even outside the alliance, we must confirm with even great forcefulness and conviction our commitment to fostering them. Together we must continue to close ranks on the side of freedom and justice, human rights, and the peaceful progress of all peoples, particularly by bridging the gap between north and south. Together, we must extend a hand of friendship to the peoples who are still deprived of the benefits of economic development. The more closely united

Europe of tomorrow is ready to take up these challenges in a spirit of open cooperation with the United States and the conviction that entrenchment is incompatible with progress, entrenchment is incompatible with prosperity.

Scientific progress and economic growth are the indispensable preconditions for extending development to all sections of society and to all the regions of the world. Moreover, we are convinced that technological and industrial development, which is the expression of the irreversible progress of mankind, is not incompatible with environmental protection and respect for nature. However, we must do all we can to seek to strike a just balance which will demand imagination, political courage and, above all, the cooperation of everyone.

Mr. President, I am particularly happy to make this visit because I'm certain that we will be able to further strengthen our two countries' bilateral relations, that already constitute a tightly interwoven network in the areas of the economy, culture, science, and combating the scourge of crime and drug trafficking. It is only by continuing to closely coordinate our efforts that we shall be in a position to defeat the tremendous threat looming over our societies because of drugs.

Common values, common interests, common duties—these form the solid and concrete basis of relations between Italy and the United States on which we have to work together. I trust that my visit, which is so important and so welcome to me, may constitute a significant step forward in this new dynamic and mutually enriching process.

God bless you, Mr. President. God bless the United States of America. God bless Italy.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:15 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where President Cossiga was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. President Cossiga spoke in Italian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.

Nomination of David E. Lewis To Be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs

October 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate David E. Lewis to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs for Acquisition and Facilities. This is a new position.

Mr. Lewis served in several positions at the Blessings Corp. in Liberty Corner, NJ, including director and vice chairman, 1975–1988; president and chief executive officer, 1977–1987; president, 1976–1977; and executive vice president, 1975–1976. Prior to this he served as vice president and general manager of the International Paper Co. (nonwoven products division) in New York.

Mr. Lewis graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1944). He was born March 10, 1924, in Washington, DC. Mr. Lewis served in the U.S. Navy as a lieutenant. He is married, has three children, and resides in Naples, FL.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Senators David L. Boren and William S. Cohen Concerning Panama

October 11, 1989

The President invited Senators Boren and Cohen to the White House this morning for a conversation about the events of the last week in Panama. The President has the highest respect for the judgment and integrity of the chairman and the vice chairman and wanted to take this occasion to reaffirm the close working relationship with Senators Boren and Cohen and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The President expressed his particular appreciation for Senator Boren's leadership on behalf of bipartisanship in foreign policy and his support for necessary Presidential authorities in foreign policy matters.

The meeting lasted approximately 35 minutes, beginning at 8:45 a.m. Participants included the Vice President, Governor Sununu [Chief of Staff to the President], General Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs], and Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner

October 11, 1989

The President met this afternoon with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. The two leaders discussed a variety of alliance issues and developments in Eastern Europe. The President complimented the Secretary General on his leadership at the May NATO summit and noted that the Summit Declaration was designed to chart a new course for NATO in a period of change in the East-West relations, giving the alliance the mission of working to overcome the division of Europe. The President expressed his strong commitment to supporting the process of economic and political reform in Poland and Hungary.

The President and the Secretary General also discussed the ongoing CFE negotiations and the importance of sustaining the momentum created by NATO's recent tabling of its proposals. They reaffirmed the commitment to an accelerated timetable for reaching a CFE agreement within 6 to 12 months.

The meeting began at 2 p.m. and lasted 30 minutes. Also present were Secretary of State James Baker, Chief of Staff John Sununu, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, U.S. NATO Permanent Representative William Taft, and Deputy Assistant Secretary General Robert Pearson. Following the meeting with the President, the Secretary General met with Vice President Quayle for 15 minutes.

Nomination of Harry F. Manbeck, Jr., To Be Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks

October 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Harry F. Manbeck, Jr., to be Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks at the Department of Commerce. He would succeed Donald James Quigg.

Since 1970 Mr. Manbeck has served as general patent counsel of the General Electric Co. in Fairfield, CT. Prior to this, he served in several positions with the General Electric Co., including various patent management positions, 1957–1969; patent agent and patent attorney in Louisville, KY, 1953–1957; and engineer, 1949–1953.

Mr. Manbeck graduated from Lehigh University (B.S., 1949) and the University of Louisville (LL.B., 1954). He was born June 26, 1926, in Honesdale, PA. Mr. Manbeck served in the U.S. Army, 1944–1947. Currently he resides in Fairfield, CT.

Nomination of Jacqueline Jones-Smith To Be a Member and Chairman of the Consumer Product Safety Commission

October 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jacqueline Jones-Smith to be a Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission for a term of 7 years from October 27, 1989. She will also be nominated to be the Chairman. She would succeed Terrence M. Scanlon.

Since 1987 Mrs. Smith has served as a staff attorney in the Office of the General Counsel at the Federal Election Commission in Washington, DC. Prior to this she served as an assistant county attorney in the office of the county attorney for Montgomery County, MD, 1985–1987. She has also served in several positions at the MAXIMA Corp., including division manager, 1984–1985; senior library systems consultant, 1981–1984; director of library/clearinghouse operations, 1980–1981; and systems librarian, 1979–1980.

Mrs. Smith graduated from Swarthmore College (B.A., 1974), Syracuse University (M.L.S., 1978), and American University (J.D., 1984). She was born November 5, 1952, in the Bronx, NY. Mrs. Smith is married, has one stepson, and resides in Rockville, MD.

Appointment of Josephine Mora Velazquez as a Member of the National Commission on Children

October 11, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Josephine Mora Velazquez as a member of the National Commission on Children for a term expiring September 30, 1990. She will serve as a Parent Representative. This is a new position.

Currently Mrs. Velazquez serves as a member of the board of directors of the Children's Home Society and vice president and founding member of Hands in Action in Florida. Prior to this she served as vice president of the Big Travel Club in Miami, FL, 1979–1983.

Mrs. Velazquez received a bachelor's degree from the University of Madrid in 1976. She was born November 15, 1943, in Havana, Cuba. Mrs. Velazquez is married, has four children, and resides in Miami, FL.

Toasts at the State Dinner for President Francesco Cossiga of Italy
October 11, 1989

President Bush. Mr. President, welcome. Barbara and I are delighted to have this opportunity to renew our friendship and to return the hospitality that we've felt on every one of our visits to your country. And it's a great honor to host a man who has held almost every high office that Italy has to offer.

If I took the time to list every single job you've held, the dinner would be cold and out of date. [*Laughter*] But let me mention three: your service as a navy man, a former legislator, and President of the Senate. I've always thought that those experiences alone would be enough to prepare anyone for the Presidency. [*Laughter*]

And Mr. President, when I asked my advisers about the secret of your success, they told me that you have an especially interesting method to keep in touch with Italian public opinion. I wonder how many Italian ham radio operators know that the fellow who signs off as Andy Capp is really the President of Italy. And sure enough-- [*laughter*].

But, sir, on a serious vein, I do place great importance on the meetings that we had this morning, speaking with candor and from the heart, as friends, just the way it ought to be. And all of us here tonight know that relations between Italy and the United States have never been stronger. They really never have been.

And for millions of Americans, Italy is the old country—home of a proud heritage, a heritage written into every page of the history of Western civilization. The greatness of Rome was known, of course, throughout the world, more than a thousand years before our country or this continent was even known to exist. And America has always been the New World, discovered by your great adventurer, Columbus—a land of possibilities, a place where a new history could be written. And that history, our history, is one that the sons and daughters of Italy helped to write.

And so, tonight I offer this toast to old friends and also to the new Italy: a great and growing economic power, one of the world's foremost democracies, a strong and valued ally and a partner in the community of free nations.

And so, let us raise our glasses to President Francesco Cossiga, to the Republic of Italy, and to the lasting friendship and love between the people of Italy and America.

President Cossiga. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to thank you again also on behalf of Foreign Minister De Michelis and the delegation accompanying me for the warm welcome extended to us in Washington. Mr. President, you wish to address to me very kind words to recall also the times when I was a young man and I was known as Andy Capp. [*Laughter*] I think that this name has helped me to overcome my handicaps. [*Laughter*]

Mr. President, I know fairly well that in the United States the political struggle is quite hard, but I ask you to believe me if I say that in Italy it is not easier. [*Laughter*]

Mr. President, your kind words through my person are addressed to my country and to the Italian people, thus confirming the deep-rooted friendship between Italy and the United States of America. Indeed, Italians and Americans share the fundamental values which inspire our common activity: the values of freedom, of peaceful development and progress, and of cooperation with all nations in full mutual respect. As your history as a nation was dawning, you placed the ideals of freedom, democracy, and social justice as the foundation stones of your Revolution. These same values which were enshrined for the first time in the American Constitution were subsequently taken up and reaffirmed in the fundamental charters of all democratic countries. And like your Revolution, the two great movements that brought about Italy's unification and national redemption, the *Risorgimento* and the Resistance, were based on the concept of the indissoluble and intimate relationship between the independence of the nation and the freedom of the individual.

During our conversations a few months

ago in Rome at the Quirinal, what I noticed most particularly, Mr. President, was the emphasis with which you reaffirmed the continued importance of these values in view of the forceful, auspicious, but also at times perilous changes that are taking place on the international stage. Today we can safely state that those principles which underlie our political system and our joint endeavors have won through. We can rely on the knowledge that the values of freedom are not only secure but enduring, as the great Italian scholar Benedetto Croce emphasized when he wrote: "When the question is heard whether liberty will enjoy what is known as the future, the answer must be that it has something better still; it has eternity."

Faced with the momentous events we are witnessing—first and foremost, the evolutionary process taking place in the Soviet Union—those who have traditionally fought for the principles of democracy, as we have, must actively endeavor to encourage the full deployment of the potentialities now emerging. This is a common duty incumbent on the whole of the West, and its import and significance are certainly not lost on the members of the European Community. They intend to redouble their efforts to establish a climate of ever-greater mutual confidence and to restore increasingly close economic, cultural, and human relations throughout the European Continent.

Mr. President, it was also thanks to your contribution that the Atlantic summit last May confirmed the vitality of the alliance which binds us and made it possible to lay the foundations for that great improvement in East-West relations hoped for by us all. But the values and principles which our countries share should not be limited to creating common ground with regard to the great issues of relations between America and Europe and between East and West. We must work in harmony in many other fundamental fields, guaranteeing the sustained economic growth of developed countries and providing the aid which less-developed countries need in order to liberate themselves from the slavery of hunger, solving the regional conflicts that are still being waged, and overcoming the major problems afflicting mankind, regardless of national borders and irrespective of political and economic distinctions. I am referring in particular to the pollution of our planet, organized crime, terrorism, and to the dramatic scourge of the spread of drugs.

Mr. President, Italy is proud to have made its contribution of culture and personal sacrifice to the birth of a nation whose greatness and strength also stem from its diversity and its ability to absorb and assimilate contributions from the whole world into its lifeblood—a nation whose great destiny was from the very beginning of your Revolution foreseen by Daniele Dolfin, the Ambassador of the Venetian Republic to Paris and a friend of Benjamin Franklin, when, in a dispatch sent in 1783, he wrote: "We may well expect that with the aid of time and of European arts and knowledge, this nation will become the most formidable power in the universe."

Mr. President, the few years that separate us from the end of the second millenium offer all of us a historic opportunity to steer the future course of mankind along the path of peace, freedom, and prosperity. I am certain that it is in this great undertaking, which we might well describe in the words of Lincoln as the triumphal march of civilization, the United States and Italy can work together to make a strong and significant contribution towards its realization.

And it is with these sentiments, Mr. President, and renewing to you and to Mrs. Bush my thanks, I would like all those present here to raise their glasses with me in a toast to the prosperity of the United States of America, to the success of the work of your administration, to your personal well-being, to that of Mrs. Bush, and to the friendship between our two peoples. To the President of the United States of America.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:13 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Cossiga spoke in Italian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Nomination of Robert W. Sweet, Jr., To Be Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

October 12, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert W. Sweet, Jr., to be Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice. He would succeed Verne L. Speirs.

Since 1989 Mr. Sweet has served as an education analyst for the Senate Republican Policy Committee. Prior to this, he served as the Deputy Executive Secretary of the Domestic Policy Council at the White House, 1983–1989; a senior staff member in the Office of Policy Development at the White House, 1983–1985; Executive Director of the National Council on Education Research, 1983; and the Acting Director and the Deputy Director of the National Institute of Education, 1982–1983. Mr. Sweet was a special assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education at the Department of Education, 1981–1982.

Mr. Sweet graduated from the University of Maine (B.A., 1960). He served in the Naval Reserve, 1954–1962. Mr. Sweet was born in Durham, ME, on March 18, 1937. He is married, has five children, and currently resides in Fairfax, VA.

Remarks at a Fundraiser for Congressional Candidate Tom Anderson in Gulfport, Mississippi

October 12, 1989

The President. Distinguished guests, thank you. What a marvelous welcome, and thank you, Tom Anderson. It's so good to see you and Katherine again. And thank you all for this fantastic turnout, for coming out this morning, and for this very warm welcome. It's so warm, I think I'll take my coat off and go to work here.

This is the second time that I've been to Mississippi since I've been President. And I know we're here today to talk a little politics. But you know, politics begins with people, and people—good people—is what southern Mississippi is all about. And that's why I want to take this opportunity at the outset of my remarks to speak to the people of Gulfport.

It may have been 20 years since Hurricane Camille ripped into this town, but you have not forgotten what horrible damage a hurricane can do. And I was down in Charleston, South Carolina, a couple of weeks ago. And I saw a community determined to get back on its feet, and they're doing it with the help from people from all over our great country and with the help from some of you, I was told, right here in Gulfport. And today I want to thank you for lending a helping hand—the Seabees from the Construction Battalion Center right here in Gulfport who were on the way to Charleston 26 hours after that call came in, the engineers and electricians who helped Puerto Rico cope with Hugo's aftereffects. And I want to thank the members of the community here in Gulfport for their assistance, too—the extra hours that I know many of you put in so that desperately needed supplies and equipment reached the people in need just as soon as humanly possible. Believe me, the people of Puerto Rico and Charleston know they've got good neighbors right here in Gulfport, Mississippi. And your country is grateful to you for responding to that disaster.

No, it's almost like a homecoming. It is great to be back in the gulf coast country. And there was some talk as we were planning this rally that we could hold it at the local stadium, but there was one catch: We'd have to cancel a few games. And that's fine if you think politics is just another sport, but the trouble is that down here—just as across the way in my State—down here football is a religion. And with the separation of church and state, that makes it unconstitutional to cancel a game. [*Laughter*] And so, here we are at Jones Park—beautiful setting. And let me say to Central Junior High and the JV's from Biloxi High: Milner Stadium is all yours. Good luck! The kickoff is at 5 p.m.

Now, it is great to see so many familiar faces—leaders of this community, leaders of this State. First of all, Mississippi's two top-notch Senators—you are so lucky to have Thad Cochran and Trent Lott in the United States Senate. And I am so lucky as President of the United States to have Thad and Trent in the United States Senate. You've got a class-act team up there, and I want to add to it now. And let me just say a warm greeting, a warm hello, to the man that I want to see join them in Washington, your own native son, Tom Anderson. We need him in Washington, DC.

Let me just click off a few other notables here with us today: Evelyn McPhail, the chairman of the Mississippi State Republican Party, doing a fantastic job—she over here—and then Haley Barbour and Ann Wilson, our two national committee people, Republican committeeman and committeewoman. And then, of course, Lee Atwater, who came down with me, knows this part of the world well, and he's doing a fantastic job as our national chairman. And Joe Price, who's been chief deputy in the sheriff's department for the past 5 years and who's going to be the next sheriff of Harrison County come November. Mayor Combs—Mr. Mayor, I've heard about a fishing trip that you've got planned here for Saturday, the very special Fishing Rodeo. And I can't think of a better way to spend a day than helping a disabled kid or adult learn to fish. And I hope you catch plenty of fish. I know you'll have plenty of fun. And this comes from a frustrated fisherman, but right from the heart. [*Laughter*]

And before I go any further, I want to take a moment to remember another Mississippian, Larkin Smith, who was well on his way to a fine career on Capitol Hill when tragedy struck. And our hearts—and I'm talking about Barbara's and mine and our country's heart—go out to Congressman Smith's family, to his wife, Sheila, who courageously and wonderfully is with us here today. And I want to say to all of you here today that part of the legacy of Larkin Smith is making sure that his successor carries on the work that you sent him up there to do and that he was doing so well.

I've come down today because I feel and I know that Tom Anderson is the right man. He won't be your average freshman in Congress because he's already ahead of his class. Just look at everything he taught Trent in 16 years. [*Laughter*]

Audience member. What about Katherine?

The President. I'm about to get to Katherine. [*Laughter*] No, Tom knows the back roads of the Fifth District, from Jones County right down to Jones Park, just as well as he knows those corridors of Capitol Hill. And that's a winning combination in the U.S. Congress. And you know you can count on him to provide the kind of leadership that does right by southern Mississippi. And you can't beat the experience that he can bring to the job right from day one. He can be the strong, independent voice that this great section of Mississippi needs in the United States Congress, needs on Capitol Hill.

You heard him touch on it just a minute ago. He knows what the Fifth District needs: continued economic expansion. We've got to keep this expansion going, not only here but nationally—growth and jobs, real work, not make work. And let me tell you, we can't tax our way to richer growth; we cannot tax our way to higher growth. And I will not do that as President of the United States.

You know, Tom's been a part of the team up on Capitol Hill that's worked hard to create conditions for what is now the longest peacetime expansion in America's entire history, one that's creating opportunities and raising living standards for all Mississippians.

And we're working back in Washington to make progress, to take action across a broad national agenda. And today let me just mention a few of the issues that demand our attention—and most of them concern this fantastic turnout of young people that are here today—demand action without delay, issues where having people like Tom in the Congress can help make things happen.

Tom touched on it—it's on the minds of every American: illegal drug use. He's a veteran of this war on drugs. Five years ago, at the tender age of 37, he was nominated as a U.S. Ambassador to those eastern Caribbean nations, point man in that drug interdiction effort; and he knows what it is to stop those drug runners from reaching our shores. We are together, Mr. Anderson and I, on the need to stop these drugs from coming into this country.

And, Tom, knowing of your interest, being on the front line in this war on drugs, this is the perfect opportunity for me to announce personally that I have accepted the invitation of those three Andean nations to attend a very important international drug summit. I've instructed my administration to prepare for a summit that will bring us to a new level of international cooperation in this war that we must win. And as long as I am President, I will give as much support as he needs to President Barco of Colombia, who is waging an all-out fight against the narco trafficker.

But there's another part of waging this war: Part of getting tough on drugs is getting tough on crime itself. And I've sent a strong crime package to the Capitol Hill, and I want to see action on that crime package now. And with Tom in the House, I know he would be pushing hard to get that crime bill to the floor. And I've called for it to my desk in the Oval Office soon. And I want to thank, again, Thad and Trent for their all-out support for this process that will strengthen the laws in this country against those who are trafficking in narcotics.

Then there's the environment. You can't help but sense it and feel it when you're here in Gulfport—new consensus-building for action on this issue. Environmentalism is a commonsense issue that concerns all of us. And living here on this beautiful gulf coast teaches a lesson every day on what it means to preserve our natural heritage. And I've urged the Congress to act on a number of environmental initiatives, including the first amendments in more than a decade to the Clean Air Act. And I want to see action on the environment, and I know that Tom Anderson would support a strong advocacy, an advocacy for change in the Congress. We owe it to the young people of southern Mississippi to protect our environment and leave this Earth a little bit better as we go on.

And finally—first let me say, God bless the teachers. And Katherine, you can take a bow, too. We need people that understand this profession. But finally, there is education. And no single issue today says more about our commitment to the future. Just last month, I met with 49 of our 50 Governors to renew our resolve and explore new ways that we can make our schools better. Our aim has got to be quality education: teachers and students working to the best of their abilities. And I know I can count on Tom to speak out on Capitol Hill for a higher standard of excellence in our schools—more accountability, support for our teachers, a national goals program. But we need people like Tom that understand this in Washington.

So, there are some of them: the war on drugs and crime and the environment and education. And every one of these issues is a matter of urgent concern, and every one of them is one more good reason to send this good man to the Congress to help me get the job done. But the best reason to send Tom to Congress may just be this one: Whatever the issue, you know where he's coming from philosophically. You know where his heart is: right here in Gulfport—a willingness to represent the will of the people and not to forget who sent him to Washington, DC.

Not far—maybe we can see it from here; we'd have to take this thing down, I think—the steeple of the First Presbyterian Church, where Tom and Katherine were married, a few blocks from the Hancock Bank, where this guy worked during high school and college. And of course he went to school here at Gulfport High. It takes courage, it takes a little guts, to run in a place where there are still living high school teachers who can tell tales about you.

[*Laughter*] Mercer Miller, who was principal back when Tom was at Gulfport, likes to tell how Tom hid behind the hedges when it was his time for lessons with Mrs. Baxley, the speech teacher. [*Laughter*] Well, you heard him—she must have done something right. Well, Tom, there's nothing shy anymore about your public speaking. And Mrs. Baxley, if you're out there somewhere: Tom has learned his lesson. And now I hope he can still count on your vote because that's what it's all about.

You know, I know what makes this State click: Mississippi values, traditional values, Tommy Anderson's values. And you need a man in Washington who makes sure the voice of southern Mississippi is heard in the Halls of Congress. You need Tom Anderson.

And, Tom, as you pointed out—and I expect it's hard for you and your beautiful, wonderful Katherine to believe—only 5 more days until the Fifth District goes to the polls. It's been great to see you here, and I am proud to be here; but it'll be even better, with your help, to see this man on Capitol Hill.

With your help it will happen. And once again, let me thank all of you for this warm welcome back to a State I love. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America, and God bless the State of Mississippi. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:33 a.m. at Jones Park. Following his remarks, he traveled to New York, NY.

Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Mayoral Candidate Rudolph W. Giuliani in New York, New York

October 12, 1989

Thank you very much. Bill, you did a first-class job. And thank you—please be seated—and thank you for those warm words and, most important, for all your hard work in working for Rudy and making this a tremendously successful evening.

And it's always good to see our outstanding political leaders. The chairman of our party, Pat Barrett, is here; Ralph Marino and Rap Rappleyea and—with a certain pride—a former finance chairman of the State of New York, my brother, John. And last, but not least, are two of my best friends in the State: Senator Roy Goodman and one of the great movers and out-front people in my own election over a year ago, Guy Molinari, who's here. And Al is here—and my pal, Al D'Amato—Al, welcome. I didn't see you come in. I'll tell you something: When we get into the tough scrapes down there in the Senate, it is a joy to have this Senator on our side, and he's doing a fine job. Welcome.

I hear that a guy went to Rudy a few weeks ago and said, "Good news. I've got you the most powerful man in America for your fundraiser." Rudy told him, "Look, we've already had Donald Trump." [*Laughter*] But he asked me to come and speak on his behalf in a city that I lost in last year's election. People say he has no sense of humor? [*Laughter*]

My staff called Rudy's office last week, asking if there was anything in particular the campaign would like me to say here. And they came back with a one-word memo. True story. A phonetic guide to pronouncing the word: Joo-lee-ah-nee. [*Laughter*]

So, I've come here for two reasons. The first is to endorse as strongly and as enthusiastically as I can the next mayor of the city of New York: Rudy Giuliani. Number one. And secondly, I urge every single one of you to support Rudy's candidacy as energetically and as generously as you possibly can because he deserves the backing of everyone who really wants to bring this city totally back and everyone who wants a mayor who knows how to fight crime, crack, and corruption—and win. And that's why we need your help here.

You know, Barbara and I lived not far from here when I served as U.N. Ambassador. And we had a terrific time. And flying in today on Air Force One, seeing the magnificent skyline, I remembered many of the wonderful things the city offers: the sports and, of course, the arts and music and dance. There's a certain pace to New York life, an exciting, vibrant atmosphere that no place else can match.

And in some ways, I'm thinking of the impacts that drugs have had on this and other cities. And New York City isn't the city in this regard that it used to be. But Rudy holds out the hope that it can again become the city that it once was.

And most of us know him as America's great crimefighter. I told that to one of my grandkids. I said, I'm going up to meet America's greatest crimefighter. He thought I was going to New York to meet Batman. [*Laughter*]

But seriously, to try to pigeonhole this guy as just one more crimefighter would be like dismissing Chuck Yeager as just another test pilot, calling Teddy Roosevelt a former police commissioner. Rudy's the real thing. And I'm not talking about quality of prosecutor; I'm talking about the quality and heart of the person. As one New York columnist put it—a Democrat put it: "In an era of lawlessness, he stood for law. In an era of private greed, he stood for public service."

Born in Brooklyn of Italian parents who ran a local bar and grill, while still in his twenties he fought police corruption. His cases literally became the stuff of movies. And what happened in his next big case wouldn't be believed if Hollywood tried to put it into a movie. It was Rudy versus Goliath: an unknown Brooklyn kid, barely 30 years old, against the United States Congressman accused of bribery. And the Congressman broke down under Rudy's cross-examination, stopped the trial, and confessed on the spot. And it really happened. The newspapers were in awe, and Rudy's too modest to brag about it. But every generation or so, there emerges a larger-than-life crimebuster who captures the public imagination. And Teddy Roosevelt was one, and Thom Dewey and Elliot Ness were others. And Rudy won his reputation, as they say, the old-fashioned way: He earned it. And his secret has been hard work, an innovative mind, unflagging idealism, and then this flair for leadership. And he has imagination and energy, and he's a man of ideas.

It was his brainstorm to use the existing RICO [racketeering, influence, and corrupt organizations] law and use it in a way that had never been tried: to attack the ruling board of New York's crime families. And he did it without new legislation. He did it without new resources. And he did it by seeing what no one else had seen—and by making it work.

And he has all the right instincts. He's fought not only for criminal justice but also social justice. Some years ago, the ranks of the homeless here swelled when hundreds of mentally ill people were stripped of Social Security benefits. But Rudy did the right thing. He refused to go along. And the New York Times called it, "one of his finest hours." And he took a stand for New York and for the homeless.

And his leadership really and truly has earned respect across America. In a recent letter, former Attorney General William French Smith said without qualification that Rudy Giuliani has "done more than any individual I know to extinguish the myth that crime is an unconquerable and somehow tolerable presence in our society."

Rudy demonstrated to a skeptical nation that one man with courage and conviction can make a difference. As U.S. attorney, he commanded about 160 troops. And think what he can do from City Hall. Think of the energy, the renaissance, that this young and imaginative leader can bring to New York. In the war on drugs, no man in America has a better chance of succeeding. Let's take back the streets. Let's bring back New York.

Like many of us, Rudy knows what it's like to meet a payroll, to run a business. In 1978 he was appointed by a court to take over a bankrupt, strike-threatened coal company in Kentucky. And he saved hundreds of jobs, got the miners a raise, paid off the creditors 100 cents on the dollar. And he was the one to turn it around, and I honestly believe that he's the one to turn around New York City.

People do get tired. They're tired of a

city that can't cope with New York's problems: the shortage of affordable housing and the decline of the school system and neighborhood tensions and the homeless and the crumbling highways and bridges and tunnels. And Rudy has the energy, the intelligence, and the will to solve New York's problems. He knows that when he becomes mayor he'll have the second toughest job in America. The first, of course, is managing the New York Yankees. [*Laughter*]

No, but this guy cares about New York. People always wonder whether New York politicians are using their jobs as stepping stones to Washington. But Rudy's the one who left Washington to help clean up New York City, the city of his birth, his hometown.

And he's a family man. Just a few weeks ago my beautiful dinner partner, Donna, gave birth to a daughter, Caroline. Son Andrew, 3½, now has a little sister. And wouldn't it be nice to see those kids playing on the lawn at Gracie Mansion? We'll send him 11 grandchildren to play with them.

Now, I've known Rudy for years, and he's fiercely proud of this town. And he has a dream for New York. The dream is of a city that gives everybody a chance, in which everybody is free to make the most of himself or herself. Rudy will create a New York where that is possible. And he'll bring everyone together in this city because he's running for mayor of all New York.

Half a century ago, Mayor La Guardia inherited a city bled by a decade of mismanagement and knavery. And on his first day in office he swore in a new police commissioner with a single, blunt message: "Drive out the racketeers or get out yourselves." And at City Hall he bounded past a gauntlet of shouting reporters, giving them only a four-word comment in Italian. "What the hell does that mean?" someone asked. "It means," said a newsman who knew both Italian and La Guardia, "no more free lunch." And with those words, Mayor La Guardia launched what many consider 12 years of the best reform government in American urban history. And it helped that his three terms as mayor coincided closely with F.D.R.'s 12 years in the White House. And they forged an undeclared alliance that lifted New York up and brought back the lost respect of the Nation.

It's time to bring the Big Apple all the way back. And I want Rudy to know, and I want New York to know, that Mayor Giuliani will have a friend in the Oval Office that looks forward to working with him for the benefit of New York City.

As I thought back of the history of the city, I thought that, like La Guardia, our man is an American original, an American hero. And a world-class city deserves a world-class mayor. And time's running out. Resources are scarce. The stakes are high. And if the problems are to be solved—and not simply put off, postponed—Rudy is the leader New York City needs in City Hall.

You see, he's right on the issues. And he's ready to debate them one on one with his opponent. And frankly, debates are good for democracy, and I think they'd be very good for New York City, too. So, my words, as one who loves this city, lived here for a couple of fascinating years: New York, don't postpone your return to good government, your return to greatness. Don't wait another 4 years.

Okay, at this moment, Rudy's an underdog. But he reminds me of Yogi Berra's description of the Miracle Mets of '69. Sure, Yogi admitted, they were underdogs, but they were overwhelming underdogs. [*Laughter*]

Look, I've got a sense things are moving in this campaign. Ever since I've come today, you can feel it, and all the pros are telling me it's happening. So, take your polls and do what you want with them. [*Laughter*] He may be an underdog at this moment, but New York loves an underdog. And he's a fighter with overwhelming character. So, let's start now. Let's bring back New York, and let's elect a winner, the next mayor of the city, Rudy Giuliani.

Thank you, and God bless you. And God bless the city of New York.

Note: The President spoke at 7:34 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the New York Hilton Hotel. He was introduced by William Koeppel, chairman of the fundraising dinner. In his remarks, the President re-

ferred to State Senator Ralph Marino and State Assembly Minority Leader Clarence D. Rappleyea. Following the dinner, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The President's News Conference
October 13, 1989

The President. I have a statement I'd like to make, and then—some time constraints—I'd be glad to answer a few questions.

I believe that the American flag is a unique and special symbol of our nation and it should be protected from desecration. And our administration has proposed a constitutional amendment to protect the flag because we believe that is the most lasting and legally correct means of protection—a constitutional amendment. And yesterday the House of Representatives agreed to a Senate bill providing statutory protection for the flag. And when this measure comes to the House, I will allow the bill to become law, but without my signature. And I'm withholding that signature to signal our belief that a constitutional amendment is the best way to provide lasting protection for the flag.

Now, we will continue to work for such an amendment. And I can understand the rationale of those who voted for this legislation, but in my view, it is not the ultimate answer. And therefore, I will not put my signature on the legislation.

I would now be glad to take questions, all of which I'm sure will be on the flag. [*Laughter*]

Situation in Panama

Q. Sorry to disappoint you, Mr. President. You have said on several occasions that you knew everything at the time of the Panamanian coup and you didn't feel that there were any, really, problems in retrospective. At the same time, there are many reports that you've changed the rules of procedure on crisis management and that you have asked the Hill for more authority to operate during a coup, or plan a coup, or whatever. Can you straighten this out for us?

The President. Let me help you out.

Q. And obviously, there were glitches, or you wouldn't have spent 2 weeks trying to defend yourself—I mean, the administration.

The President. Well, I'm not sure I agree to the last part, but——

Q. Well, you have spent 2 weeks trying to explain to the American people what happened.

The President. No, this is the first shot I've had at explaining.

Q. Not you per se, but your administration.

The President. Oh, I see. No, I—what was the first part of the question? [*Laughter*]

Q. That you have changed the procedures on crisis management.

The President. No. Look, coming back, here's my position. I have not seen any fact in all the reports that have come out that would make me have done something different in terms of use of force. And I reiterate that. Now, in terms of procedures, I'll simply say, anytime we can make improvements, so much the better. But there has not been an intelligence gap that would have made me act in a different way, and I repeat that. And there's been endless interviews and discussions and stories—many of which are false—that come out as to what we were asked to do or not to do. But I've seen no fact that would make me change my view. And I've seen allegations that we had—if when I said I wanted Noriega to get out of there, that implied use of force. I hope I would never be reckless enough as a Commander in Chief to make a blanket commitment to use of force without knowing the facts regarding some coup attempt.

We want to see Mr. Noriega out. I'll repeat that. I've been very heartened by the reports from various leaders in our hemisphere about what Noriega should do. But I don't see any serious disconnects at all. And if we can fine-tune our crisis management systems, so much the better, and I think that's what you're reading about now.

Q. Have you asked for greater authority from the intelligence committees to act in case of a coup?

The President. No, I have not. But we've had a very good meeting with two leaders of the Senate Intelligence Committee—Boren and Cohen—the other day. But I have not asked for that. We may, we may.

Q. You're satisfied with the power you have?

The President. Well, I want as broad a power as possible, and I think under the Constitution the President has it. But I'll be working with the—has broad powers, broader than some in the Senate or the House might think. I may have a difference with some on interpreting what the powers of the President might be. But I want to work cooperatively with these committees, and it is with that in mind that we invited Boren and Cohen here. But I've not made specific requests of them. We might. We might do it, but we have not done it yet.

Abortion Funding

Q. Mr. President, Democratic leaders in Congress are urging you not to veto legislation that removes a ban on Federal financing of abortions for the poor. House Speaker Foley says your position is harsh, terribly harsh, on the poorest, most vulnerable American women. Will you let that legislation become law?

The President. My position is well-known and well-stated. And right now there is some negotiation and discussion going on. I have not read the conference language, and so, we are going to be meeting with some of the various, most interested congressional parties on this and see what can be resolved. I'm not looking for any conflict over this. I'm not going to change my position any, but let's see how those negotiations come out, and we'll start discussing that today. But I've not changed my position.

Q. But you're leaving it open about whether or not you would veto this.

The President. Well, because I'm told, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], that the conference language may be able to avoid a veto on my part.

Q. Mr. President, in other words, you are willing to negotiate or accept a compromise that in some way would allow Federal funding for abortions in cases of rape or incest?

The President. Now, I've already said what I'm willing to do: discuss the conference language.

Q. Let me ask you specifically. Are you willing——

The President. Is this a followup?

Q. Yes. Are you willing to compromise?

The President. I'm not willing. I've already told you my position.

Q. Let me ask you a question about your position. Can you explain why you believe it's all right for women who can afford an abortion on their own, that in cases where they are raped or in cases of incest, that it's permissible; but that for poor women who cannot afford abortions, it is not permissible to help them get abortions in cases of rape and incest?

The President. Owen [Owen Ullman, Knight-Ridder], the only answer I can give you on that is to go back to the original Hyde amendment and to the position that I took and will stay with. And to some there might be a contradiction there. To me there is none.

Q. Just to follow, sir: I mean, it's not a question of a contradiction. It seems that if you can pay it yourself it's okay under those circumstances. But the message, it seems, is that if you can't afford it yourself—tough luck! And isn't that a moral conflict in your own position?

The President. No, I don't think it's a moral conflict in my own position.

Situation in Panama

Q. Mr. President, could I return to Panama for an instant? You say you want Noriega out. What message are you sending the PDF [Panamanian Defense Forces] now? Would you like them to attempt another coup, or is that out of the question?

The President. Well, I don't think anything is out of the question. I think that, from what I've seen and the reports I've heard out of Panama, things are more unsettled than before about the fate of Noriega. I would simply reiterate that we have no problem with the PDF itself. I think this rather sophisticated argument that if you say you'd like to see Noriega out, that implies a blanket open carte blanche on the use of American forces—I don't want to mislead somebody, and to me that's a stupid argument that some very erudite people make. I'd like to see him out of there, and so would my colleagues south of our border. And I notice what Carlos Andrés Pérez [President of Venezuela] said. And I notice what Felipe González [Prime Minister of Spain] is saying. And I think that people now see more clearly than ever the reason, from Panama's standpoint, why this man should be out—say nothing of the fact that he is an indicted drug dealer and I would like to see him brought to justice.

Q. Mr. President, I'd just like you specifically to clear up on this, if I may. Have you issued or do you plan to issue precise, clearer guidelines to diplomatic and military personnel on the scene in Panama to improve communication with possible dissident elements or contacts with dissident elements within the Panamanian military? Would you be inclined to use U.S. force more rapidly if the opportunity presents itself again?

The President. I wouldn't mind using force if it could be done in a prudent manner. So, in other words, I'm not ruling out the use of force for all time. I am reiterating the fact that it was not proper to use force under the existing circumstances. And I feel more confident in that than I ever have—more confident, not less confident, from anything I've seen.

What was the second part?

Q. The first part was: Have you authorized or are you going to authorize wider latitude——

The President. No. I'm going to look at each situation. Now, if we can do better in terms of communication and what I would call fine-tuning a crisis management structure, absolutely; and I think we're already beginning to do that. I'm not suggesting there are procedures we can't follow, but to the fact that I say that should not indicate that I think there was something fatally wrong here—I mean, you've got to look at each situation at the time. You've got to look at each individual attempt to get rid of Mr. Noriega—and there have been several.

Q. What would you do differently?

The President. Nothing now. That's exactly my point.

Abortion Funding

Q. Returning to the abortion issue for a moment, perhaps it might be helpful to clarify your position. Are you opposed to Federal funding to help pay for the abortion for young women who are victims of rape or incest? Are you unalterably opposed, or is there some room for a compromise?

The President. Yes, I'm opposed. We'll see what we can do in terms of the conference committee to see if there is room for flexibility.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. On capital gains, there are some reports on the Hill this morning of a deal in the works on the capital gains tax reduction. Are you confident that there will be such a reduction over a 2-year period, perhaps not a permanent period? And would you accept some sort of IRA relief as part of the deal?

The President. Look, the mixing of IRA and capital gains in this debate is troublesome to me. We early on took a very clear-cut position on capital gains. When I became President, there was no doubt at all as to where I stood on this one, and there was no doubt that this was a priority. And so, we moved, and moved to have it as part of our original proposal.

Of course, we're interested in facilitating the machinery and seeing things move forward. And in principle, IRA's encourage savings, and it's something a President should try to do. But what I don't like to see is that—the last month here—the suggestion raised that our insistence on capital gains is extraneous or that it is something that is holding up the reconciliation process when it was a fundamental part of it to begin with.

But whether there's some room for compromise in that or—and I want to credit our leadership: Senator Dole is doing a superb job. Whether there's room to compromise on it, I'd leave it to those that are negotiating on that right now.

Q. Just to follow up: You don't seem to be flatly ruling out IRA relief.

The President. I'm not ruling out anything in that regard. I am ruling in capital gains. But I'm not suggesting that by answering the question that way that this is some instruction to our side in the Senate to do something different on IRA.

Situation in Panama

Q. I want to go back to what you called your critic's stupid argument about Panama.

The President. That one argument is the one, not all the other critics.

Q. You've said since the beginning of the year that you thought Noriega should go.

The President. Yes.

Q. And you said so loudly and publicly, but when push came to shove a few weeks ago it wasn't clear the U.S. did very much to lend a hand.

The President. Right.

Q. So, the question is: Is it responsible or consistent to, on the one hand, call publicly for Noriega's ouster, but then to do nothing?

The President. Yes, absolutely, totally consistent. I want to see him out of there, and I want to see him brought to justice. And that should not imply that that automatically means, no matter what the plan is or no matter what the coup attempt is or what the effort is, diplomatically and anything else, that we give carte blanche support to that.

Follow-on.

Q. Some people would say you don't have to give carte blanche support to all situations like that, but you have to lend a hand.

The President. To the support that we didn't get. In other words, what they're trying to argue—look, let's be fair with each other. What they're saying is—and it's only a handful of critics: You said you wanted Noriega out; you say you have no argument with the PDF; an element tries to get him out, and you didn't support him. And I'm saying yes, I want him out, and yes, we have no argument with the PDF; but I am not going to give carte blanche support to an operation, particularly when they don't ask for this support.

And I have to reserve that right. I have at stake the lives of American kids, and I am not going to easily thrust them into a battle unless I feel comfortable with it and unless those general officers in whom I have total confidence feel comfortable.

So, my argument is with the argument. My argument is with the argument that when I say I'd like to see Noriega out, that that means carte blanche commitment on my part of American forces. I'm not going to do that.

Arrest of Fugitives in Foreign Countries

Q. Mr. President, the LA Times is reporting today that the Justice Department has given the FBI the go-ahead to arrest fugitives in foreign countries without the foreign country's consent. Now, this reverses the Carter administration's policy. Can you tell us what led up to this event? And perhaps Noriega——

The President. No, I'm——

Q. Perhaps Noriega has something to do with that since he's a fugitive. The FBI can go into Panama now?

The President. I'm embarrassed to say I don't know what it is you're—I'll have to get back to you with the answer to your question. Marlin [Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary], will you take care of that?

Mr. Fitzwater. I'm not sure that's happened.

The President. I don't know what it is. I've not seen the LA Times report, so I'll just have to not comment until I do.

Situation in Panama

Q. Mr. President, your explanation of why you did not back the coup seemed to imply that it would almost have to be an American operation or an American-planned operation before you would use American troops. Is that a misreading of what you said?

The President. A little bit, yes. A little bit.

Q. Well, could you explain by what you just—I'm only a little bit off?

The President. Yes, just a hair. [*Laughter*] Because if the circumstances under this coup plan had been different and the requests had been different and the facts on the ground had been different in terms of what we knew, we might well have done something different. So, is that helpful?

Q. I'm not sure. One other question on Panama, if I may. You said back in the spring that we believe Mr. Endara and Mr. Ford had won the election in Panama, yet you have not recognized them as the Government of Panama. And I know your Vice President a week or so ago said Mr. Ford was the duly elected Vice President of Panama. Have you given any thought to recognizing them?

The President. There's been some discussion of that, but we have not made any final determination on that. And it's not clear. It's not clear whether that would facilitate the change in Panama we want or whether that would compel us to do some of the things differently that we're doing that might result in that change.

Yes, Jerry [Gerald Weintraub, New York Times], and then we've got two here. And then I've got to go because I've got a 10 a.m. No, that's the fifth one. Flag question? Go right ahead. [*Laughter*] And then we'll come—you're back on. One, two, three. I can't take them all, honest.

Flag Desecration Legislation

Q. Mr. President, during the campaign, Michael Dukakis was ridiculed partly by members of your campaign for vetoing a bill mandating teachers say the Pledge of Allegiance during school classes.

The President. Yes, I remember it.

Q. Are you politically afraid, sir, to veto the flag statute if you truly believe it's the wrong way to go?

The President. No. I think it's an overwhelming expression on the part of the Congress to do something about the protection of the flag. So, I'm not going to veto it, but I don't think it's enough. So, I'm saying I'm not going to sign it, and that's a symbol that I don't think it's enough. But I don't want to set the clock way back and rule out the legislation, even though I don't think it's enough. I don't see a parallel at all. Although I read an argument that was thrown out there on that, I don't agree with it.

Catastrophic Health Insurance

Q. Mr. President, there's another controversial issue up on the Hill in the last couple of weeks, which is catastrophic health insurance for the elderly. As somebody who initially supported that program, don't you think you have more of an obligation to figure a way out of the current mess than to simply say you want the program to continue, but that it's up to the Congress to figure out a way to reduce the premiums that have to be paid to keep it in force?

The President. No. [*Laughter*] You got a followup?

Q. Yes. I mean——

The President. You asked me a question: Do you feel it? And I said no.

Q. Fair enough. [*Laughter*]

The President. And I don't.

Q. But if that's the case, why not offer a suggestion about how to keep the program from repeal and keep it financially viable at the same time?

The President. Well, we got very able congressional leaders who don't agree on this, and it isn't all that clear what ought to be done on it. And so, we are letting the congressional process hash this out. And if there's something that's unsatisfactory to us, well, I've no hesitancy to step in there.

Situation in Panama

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned the remarks of the Prime Minister of Spain earlier. One of the things he said was to propose a deal—I guess it's a new proposal of an old deal—where General Noriega would step down in exchange for the U.S. dropping criminal charges against him. Is that a deal you can live with?

The President. I don't recall that part of his statement. But, Tom [Tom DeFrank, Newsweek], I can't do that. It would send an impossible signal in this fight against drugs. I can't drop a good indictment. And I'm told by the Attorney General the indictments are sound, that it isn't some grandstanding appeal. I can't drop those indictments or encourage that they be dropped. I'm not sure a President can drop an indictment anyway, but I would not encourage that. If that's the sine qua non, it's too much.

Q. Mr. President, when you were saying before that you wouldn't allow a carte—when you wouldn't allow a carte blanche to any attempted coup in Panama, you were reserving to yourself the right to evaluate the merits of any potential coup. This implies, however, better communications with the participants than you had. In fact, it appears that the United States didn't know a good deal of the time what was going on during the crucial hours of that Tuesday coup in Panama. What sort of urgency—here's the question—what sort of urgency are you giving to improving those procedures?

The President. We're reviewing the procedures to see if we can't do it better. But let me just reiterate: There's enough known about this that nothing different would have happened And I keep coming back to that as the fundamental point. That isn't to say we can't do things better. But you've got to look at where these—in this particular instance, the people were coming from—what their objectives were.

I know what the United States objectives are: one, Noriega brought to justice; and very important, a Panama under democratic rule, not deny the people the very election that they had. And so, these are our objectives. These are the objectives of the United States, and I will look at whatever comes up in the future with those objectives in mind.

Q. Just to follow up, on the day of the coup——

The President. Hey, I've got a 10 a.m. meeting.

Q. On the day of the coup, we hear about telephone calls that aren't returned. We hear about people who are using phone numbers that they are given for contact with the U.S., and when they call they do not get help. The officials dither——

The President. That's well worth looking into.

Q. ——and opportunities are lost.

The President. Exactly.

Q. This is what I mean when I suggest the urgency about it.

The President. No, I think you've got a good point there. And we will be doing everything we can to fine-tune the mechanism. Everyone knows that when you have a combat situation—and there was with the PDF and the coup people—it isn't all that clear. But to the degree we can improve our communications, fine. But I don't feel—again, I want to just end up where I started—I don't feel, in looking at all the charges and the allegations of this nature and having them assessed both here and down in Panama by our leaders, that it would have led me, as the President, to do something different in this particular coup. But you raise a very good point. When I hear that there was, you know, a phone number given and nobody answers the phone—we'll find out what's the significance of that. I really do have a 10 a.m.——

The President's Surgery

Q. How's your hand?

The President. This is not a——

Q. ——budget plan——

The President. Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News], I was hoping you'd ask. No, it's fine. Totally good.

Situation in Panama

Q. Secretary Baker said the military was involved——

Q. Why did you put a gag order on members of the administration, telling them not to second-guess how you and other members of the administration handled the Panamanian crisis?

The President. We've been blessed in this administration by a good team who don't like the game of who's up, who's down, who's winning, who's losing, who's looking good, who's in, who's out. And I did not have to have any gag order because all of them are singing from the same sheet of music. So, there wasn't a gag order.

Q. You didn't tell people to stop complaining?

The President. No.

Q. A week ago?

The President. No.

Q. Did you get angry?

The President. And I didn't get angry. I didn't get angry.

Q. What did you get?

The President. What I did say is, I don't want to see any blame coming out of the Oval Office or attributed to the Oval Office in the face of criticism. I'm not in the blame business. Blame—if there's some to be assigned, it comes in there. And that's where it belongs.

Q. If someone drops the ball, is there no punishment? Is there no——

The President. Can we kick some—huh? [*Laughter*] They'll find out about it.

Q. Has anybody been fired lately?

The President. No, and they're not going to be over this because they all did a good job—a good job. And that's why I feel relaxed, even in the face of criticism. I really do. I mean, normally I might be a little more tense. I wouldn't blow up, I don't think. And that's why I had ulcers 20 years ago because I didn't; I kept it all inside. But I learned now to get out there, do your best, get the best information you can, have confidence in good people. And those fundamental principles are guiding me now. And I can understand people criticizing and wishing it had come out different. And I can understand instant hawks appearing from where there used to be the feathers of a dove, because some of it's political and some of it is the understandable frustration they feel about this man still staying in office. I've got a certain responsibility, and it is to have good people there, make the best decision you can. And so, I'm not misleading you. I never felt, you know, anger or blowing up—it's absurd. And I haven't lost any confidence in our top people that are handling these matters, including—and I want to repeat it here—our military officers in Panama. None at all. And certainly not General Powell [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff].

Q. But you are sorry it didn't work.

Q. How do you rate yourself in your first foreign crisis?

Q. What do you say the odds are of another coup, sir?

The President. The American people are strongly supporting the position I took, and they're not dumb.

Note: The President's 25th news conference began at 9:44 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Ante Marković of Yugoslavia

October 13, 1989

The President met with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Marković in the Oval Office for approximately a half hour. The President reaffirmed his strong support for Yugoslav independence, unity, and sovereignty. He welcomed Prime Minister Marković's commitment to market-oriented economic reform and to building democratic pluralism throughout Yugoslavia.

The two leaders discussed the difficult economic and political challenges Yugoslavia faces and ways the industrial democracies might support the Prime Minister's reform program. The President stressed, and Prime Minister Marković agreed, that implementation of an economic reform program is essential to attracting foreign investment and Yugoslavia's economic recovery. The President thanked Prime Minister Marković for Yugoslavia's constructive leadership at the nonaligned movement summit in Belgrade last month.

Also present were Secretary of State Baker, national security adviser Scowcroft, Yugoslav Federal Executive Council Member Dzevad Mujezinović, and Deputy Foreign Minister Milivoje Maksić.

Continuation of Richard P. Kusserow as Inspector General of the Department of Health and Human Services

October 13, 1989

The President today announced that Richard P. Kusserow will continue to serve as Inspector General of the Department of Health and Human Services.

Since 1981 Mr. Kusserow has served as Inspector General at the Department of Health and Human Services. Prior to this he served as a special agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In addition, Mr. Kusserow served as the Vice Chairman of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency, 1985 to present.

Mr. Kusserow graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles (B.A., 1963) and received his master's degree from California State University at Los Angeles. He was born December 9, 1940, in San Jose, CA. Mr. Kusserow served as a captain in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1965–1968. He is married, has one child, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Members of the Asian-American Voters Coalition

October 13, 1989

Nice to see you. Well, I hope you haven't been sitting waiting. I'm afraid I'm running a little bit late. Welcome to the White House. I first want to salute our three Members of Congress over here: Duncan Hunter and Dana Rohrabacher and Ben Blaz. Have you guys been introduced yet? Stand up, and let them—[*applause*]. They have been great leaders in their determination to broaden our whole political base and reach out to men and women of sound values and good ideas. And so, they are here as a team of interested individuals who are working hard with me in the area that I want to talk to you all about.

But welcome to the White House. I'm delighted to see my three friends and experts behind me, both of Paul and—I was going to say Paul and Roger Porter—actively involved. And this character over here, he and I worked the whole China equation—Dick Solomon—for many years. So, you have our best here today to help you with some of the facts. I want to say to Vi De La Pena, the outgoing chairperson, and to Frank Vinh, the incoming, and then to the secretary, Gloria Caoile—if I got the pronunciation correct—[*laughter*]—and Rex Tu—close enough?—[*laughter*]—and Rex Tu, our treasurer, and Nancy Kwan and all the rest of you here for the first time, a sincere welcome.

Almost a year ago, the Asian-American community supported the direction the Republican Party wanted to take the Nation. And both the Vice President and I appreciate that continued support. And now I'm meeting here today to simply reiterate my commitment to you.

For example, I know of your interest in education. Let me tell you that we are moving forward. Two weeks ago—I'm sure some of you saw it—we convened the first ever education summit with the Nation's Governors to find ways to improve our education system through increased choice, flexibility, accountability, higher standards. The goal: educational excellence.

That was only the first step, though. It was a successful conference. And we did it with the Governors because they're, after all, on the cutting edge. And one thing they made clear to me that I know you'll be interested in: Don't send us a lot of mandated programs. Let us have the flexibility to use the resources where our families and our experts think is best. So, they made that message clear.

Immigration and refugee issues—they continue to be important. And let me express my support for our policy of no forced repatriation of refugees to a country like Vietnam. We're not going to retreat from our position taken at the Geneva conference. And people who seek freedom ought to be given a chance. So, let's not deny them that.

You all know that freedom and democracy are on the march. I should say, you more than most, given the history, given the backgrounds, given the family involvement. And we've seen it actually in Eastern Europe now, in Asia. And I hope that one day soon the people of Cambodia will be free from the tragedy that has engulfed that country for far too long. And so, we're going to continue in this one to seek a peaceful, diplomatically negotiated, comprehensive settlement of the conflict. And that recent Paris conference was not a failure. Anytime you get opposite sides to the table, constructive dialog will come about. We need to continue to support those efforts. I can't say I wasn't disappointed at the outcome. I'd like to have seen more progress. But we ought not to say failure and then throw up our hands and give up.

America is moving forward, and as we do, we've got to continue to strive for free trade—free and fair trade. It's the fuel of prosperity worldwide. Asian-Americans are among the most industrious and hard-working members of our society. And all that you have asked of us and your families—freedom. And in exchange, you have been the shining examples of what all Americans can achieve. And there are so many success stories and so much potential for the future. I know that sacrifice and hard work and discipline are second nature to all of you. And so, many of you have translated your success in education and business into political activism, and that's good. Keep it up. We welcome it. The Asian-American Voters Coalition is a major vehicle for you to do just exactly that.

And so, I really popped in not to interrupt the experts but to tell you how much I appreciate your support and how much I personally look forward to working together with you as we continue to make America great.

Bless you all, and thank you very, very much for coming over here today to the White House. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 2:21 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Paul Wolfowitz, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; Roger Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy; Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and actress Nancy Kwan.

Remarks at a Ceremony for the Presentation of the End Hunger Awards and the Signing of the World Food Day Proclamation

October 16, 1989

Welcome to everybody, and I do want to salute the Members of Congress who are here from the House Select Committee—the Select Committee on Hunger: Bill Emerson, one of today's award winners; Tony Hall and Ben Gilman; and then, of course, our friend Senator Lugar of Indiana. Clayton—welcome, Secretary, and Mark, our Acting Administrator of AID. Let me welcome all of you to the White House.

It's a very special privilege to welcome Dr. Kurien, the 1989 recipient of the World Food Prize. And he's the father of India's White Revolution, that has brought hygienic milk to the homes of 170 million people. And tomorrow evening, Dr. Kurien will be honored at the Smithsonian for his lifelong dedication to the poor and hungry of India. I want to congratulate this great humanitarian whose work has changed the lives and the livelihoods of so many millions of people.

And of course, let me say again how honored I am to meet with the End of Hunger Award winners—14, if you will, of the Thousand Points of Light who are bringing hope to the hungry. And you've all heard me say before that from now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include service to others. And by that standard, the people I've just met with in the Oval Office are the kind of success stories who inspire us all. Whether you're a Congressman like my friend Bill Emerson or a produce merchant like Mickey Weiss, who decides one day it's time to feed the hungry with the perfectly edible food that we waste, what you've done proves that each of us can make a difference right in our own neighborhood or on the other side of the world as well.

And I know this is a proud moment for all of you, but I'd like to single out the five award winners who are not here: Ambassador Alan Woods, Administrator of AID, who cared so deeply, working until the very end of his life to help the world's hungry; of course our friend Congressman Mickey Leland—people here in Washington and people back in Mickey's hometown, and mine, of Houston, and the starving children of Ethiopia will never forget this man and his great love and compassion; and of course Tom and Roberta Worrick and Gladys Gilbert, the dedicated AID officials who lost their lives on the way to Ethiopia's refugee camps with Mickey Leland. Our hearts go out to the families of these fine men and women.

The End Hunger Awards underscore a simple fact about America: We are a compassionate people, a nation of neighbors and neighborhoods; and America will never sleep well so long as a single man, woman, or child goes to sleep hungry or homeless, haunted or hurting. Hunger cuts across all nations and peoples. It's black, it's white, it's brown, and certainly it's cruel. And every time you feed a family—even a single man, woman, or child—along with nourishment you give them dignity and hope.

So, I salute the winners of the End Hunger Awards. And with that salute goes the gratitude of a nation to each of you for answering the call to provide this most basic of needs. Because of you, we are one step closer to a world without hunger.

And we all realize that winning the battle against hunger means improving the production and distribution of food. In recognition of that fact, I will now sign this proclamation declaring today World Food Day.

And before I sign the proclamation, let me again congratulate the winners and thank you for joining me here this morning. Bless you all, and keep up the great work.

Note: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of Agriculture Clayton K. Yeutter and Mark L. Edelman, Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Nomination of Daniel Howard Simpson To Be United States Ambassador to the Central African Republic

October 16, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Daniel Howard Simpson, of Ohio, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Central African Republic. He would succeed David C. Fields.

Currently Mr. Simpson serves as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon. Mr. Simpson joined the Foreign Service in 1966 and has served in various capacities overseas and at the Department of State, including staff assistant at the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, 1966–1967; training officer at the U.S.

Information Agency, 1967–1968; speechwriter for Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, 1968; political/economic and consular officer at the U.S. Embassy in Bujumbura, Burundi, 1968–1970; political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, South Africa, 1970–1972; and desk officer for Rhodesia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, 1973–1974.

Mr. Simpson graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1961), and he received a graduate certificate in African studies at Northwestern University in 1973. He was born July 9, 1939, in Wheeling, WV. Mr. Simpson is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Martin Lewis Allday To Be a Member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, and Designation as Chairman

October 16, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Martin Lewis Allday to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for a term expiring October 20, 1993. He would succeed Charles G. Stalon. Upon confirmation he is to be designated Chairman.

Since 1989 Mr. Allday has served as Solicitor at the Department of the Interior. Prior to this, he served as an attorney with the law firm of Lynch, Chappell, Allday and Alsup in Midland, TX, 1959–1988, and as managing partner of the firm, 1971–1983.

Mr. Allday graduated from the University of Texas Law School at Austin (J.D., 1951). He was born May 30, 1926, in Eldorado, AR. Mr. Allday served in the U.S. military, 1944–1946, and was awarded a Purple Heart. Mr. Allday is married, has three children, and resides in Midland, TX.

Final Order on Emergency Deficit Control Measures for Fiscal Year 1990

October 16, 1989

By the authority vested in me as President by the statutes of the United States of America, including section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Public Law 99–177), as amended by the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100–119) (hereafter referred to as "the Act"), I hereby order that the following actions be taken immediately to implement the sequestrations and reductions determined by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget as set forth in his report dated October 16, 1989, under section 251 of the Act:

(1) Each automatic spending increase that would, but for the provisions of the Act, take effect during fiscal year 1990 is permanently sequestered or reduced as provided in section 252.

(2) The following are sequestered as provided in section 252: new budget authority; unobligated balances; new loan guarantee commitments or limitations; new direct loan obligations, commitments, or limitations; spending authority as defined in section 401(c)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended; and obligation limitations.

(3) For accounts making payments otherwise required by substantive law, the head of each department or agency is directed to modify the calculation of each such payment to the extent necessary to reduce the estimate of total required payments for the fiscal year by the amount specified by the Director of the Office of Management and

Budget in his report of October 16, 1989.

(4) For accounts making commitments for guaranteed loans or obligations for direct loans as authorized by substantive law, the head of each department or agency is directed to reduce the level of such commitments or obligations to the extent necessary to conform to the limitations established by the Act and specified by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in his report of October 16, 1989.

All reductions and sequestrations shall be made in strict accordance with the specifications of the October 16th report of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the requirements of section 252(b).

This order shall be effective immediately and supersedes the initial order issued on August 25, 1989.

This order shall be published in the *Federal Register.*

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 16, 1989.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 7:18 p.m., October 16, 1989]

Remarks Following Discussions With President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea

October 17, 1989

President Bush. There have been many high-level visits between Washington and Seoul recently, proof that good relations are important to both countries. But today it's been my special pleasure to welcome President Roh and his Cabinet to Washington. Mr. President, I hope you and your lovely First Lady have enjoyed your visit to the White House as much as Barbara and I enjoyed our visit to the Blue House last February.

This has been a busy day of discussions with President Roh on a range of important bilateral, regional, and multilateral issues; and we've confirmed that the Governments and peoples of the United States and the Republic of Korea are resolved to promote and defend economic growth and democracy. Our discussions have been intense and meaningful, and our partnership has been strengthened.

So, let no one doubt that the United States stands by its commitment to maintain the peace and prevent the outbreak of hostilities on the peninsula. As I said in Seoul in February, U.S. forces will remain as long as both Governments and both peoples believe it is in the interest of peace. And of course, our forces will remain as long as there is a threat from the North. I understand that President Roh, when asked about the American presence in South Korea generally, answered with a colorful American phrase: "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." And, Mr. President, my sentiments exactly.

At the same time, our two nations aspire to lessen tensions between the North and the South. And this and the creation of the conditions that favor reunification can only be the result of the vision and tireless efforts of the Korean people. The United States applaud President Roh's creative diplomacy and supports his plan to create a commonwealth between the North and the South as a step toward reunification. President Roh's unification formula is based on principles that we share—independence, peace, and democracy—and it is my hope that the resumption of other forums of inter-Korean dialog will lead to institutions that will serve as a basis for eventual reunification.

But the division of Korea is merely a part of a great divide between all the nations of the world. And it is in the other half of the world, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, that momentous change is underway. President Roh and I are of one mind in dealing with this change. Simply put, we will seek to strengthen security and peace by engaging the Communist world in constructive endeavor. President Roh's *nordpolitik*, a diplomatic endeavor to reach out to Communist countries in Europe as well as in Asia, complements the policy of the United States. And, Mr. President, may I follow your practice and quote a few Korean sayings: "World peace is not a pavilion in the sky." "If beans grow where beans are planted, then surely peace will grow where peace is planted."

Just as South Korea is taking a leading role in diplomacy, so it has also become a major economic force. South Korea is now the world's 10th largest trading nation and America's 7th largest trading partner. Korean workers and companies have benefited from U.S. open markets, but American workers and companies deserve equal access to Korean markets. As I told the National Assembly in February, protectionism offers a false prosperity. It may seem to be the easy way out, but it's really the quickest way down. And trade, free and fair, is the way up for the consumers and the workers of both nations. And that's why I'm pleased to note the progress made in the past few years in reducing trade barriers. And we applaud these moves and expect continued improvement on the trade front.

And last, but not least, President Roh and I today discussed the dramatic changes occurring in Korean society and politics. Under his leadership, the Republic of Korea has moved toward greater democracy and respect for human and civil rights. And the history of our own country suggests that such change is hard won. But our history also suggests that the struggle for democracy is crucial to a nation's political and economic and moral development. President Roh, you have my highest respect and support for your goals, and I wish you well in your nation's efforts for continued peace and the growth of democracy and prosperity in your great Republic.

President Roh. Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, first of all I would like to convey to my American friends a message of warm friendship from the Korean people.

Today President Bush and I had very constructive and meaningful talks in which we reviewed the current international situation and discussed a wide range of issues of common interest. My meeting with President Bush this time, only 8 months after the meeting in Seoul last February, demonstrates how close and important the Korea-U.S. relationship has become. At today's meeting, President Bush and I reaffirmed that the traditional friendship and cooperation between our two nations remain firm and are growing stronger. Both of us shared the view that a new breeze of reform and openness currently blowing throughout the world is promoting reconciliation and harmony among nations and, thereby, spreading freedom in the Socialist world.

We noted the stark reality, however, that despite this encouraging trend of change, confrontation and tension have not abated on the Korean Peninsula. President Bush and I were of the same opinion that under such circumstances there should be no change in the current level of the Korea-U.S. combined defense capability. I feel reassured that President Bush reiterated the U.S. commitment to Korean security and that U.S. forces in Korea will remain as long as the Korean Government and people want them and as long as those forces continue to contribute to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula—which are, in turn, vital to the whole of northeast Asia. We share the view that both direct dialog between the authorities of South and North Korea and the building of mutual confidence through increased exchanges in various fields are essential to the resolution of the Korean question.

I explained to President Bush the Korean national community reunification formula, which is based on the principles of self-determination, peace, and democracy. President Bush reassured me of his deep understanding and full support for this new initiative. The Republic of Korea will continue its efforts to persuade North Korea to positively respond to our rational and realistic proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea in line with the global trend of openness and reconciliation.

President Bush and I share the view that an expansion of commerce in the spirit of free trade is essential to the economic development of the world, and we agreed to continue our efforts to that end. We found satisfaction in the fact that major trade issues between our two countries have been solved through mutually beneficial negotiations and that our bilateral trade is expanding in a more balanced manner. I emphasized to President Bush that in spite of many domestic difficulties, the Korean Government, with strong faith in free and fair trade, has been moving toward economic liberalization and market opening. Our two governments agree to exert concerted efforts to build a prosperous Asia-Pacific area by enhancing regional cooperation. We also reaffirmed our understanding that Asia-Pacific cooperation is not intended to create a new economic bloc or promote regionalism but should serve the practical interests of the nations in the region. With this in mind, we agreed to participate actively in the ministerial conference to be held in Canberra next month.

I commended President Bush for his leadership in addressing problems we are facing together, such as drugs, terrorism, and the environment; and I expressed the readiness of the Korean Government to participate actively in international cooperation in these areas.

Mr. President, the Republic of Korea is progressing toward a democratic society, promoting general welfare. Economically, it is pursuing openness along with stability. Politically, it is traveling on the road to a full-fledged democracy. Korea, commensurate with its continued economic and political developments, will assume new roles and responsibilities in promoting peace and prosperity in northeast Asia and, in a broader context, in further promoting East-West reconciliation and North-South cooperation.

I once again thank the U.S. Government and the American people for the warm hospitality extended to me and my party on this visit. Thank you very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 1:23 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. President Roh spoke in Korean, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Earlier, the two Presidents met privately in the Oval Office and with South Korean and U.S. officials in the Cabinet Room. They then attended a luncheon in the Residence.

Letter to Members of the Senate Appropriations Committee on Federal Funding for Abortion

October 17, 1989

Dear __________:

As the Senate begins consideration of H.R. 2990, the Conference Report accompanying the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Appropriations Bill for FY 1990, I want you to know that I will not sign the measure should it include language that expands Federal funding for abortion beyond that which has been current law since 1981.

My position on the issue of abortion is clear. I support a constitutional amendment that would reverse the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe* v. *Wade.* I also support a human life amendment with an exception for rape, incest, or where the life of the mother is threatened. I do not support Federal funding of abortions except where the mother's life is threatened.

As H.R. 2990 progressed through the legislative process, my senior advisors indicated that they would recommend I veto the measure if it included expanded Federal funding for abortion beyond the life of the mother exception. Although I wrote a letter to Members of Congress clearly expressing my concerns during consideration of the District of Columbia Appropriations bill for FY 1990, I nonetheless asked my senior advisors to take another look at this complex issue, particularly the role of public funds, consistent, though, with my position as stated above.

This decision is one that I have not reached easily or lightly. Many citizens and Members of Congress were consulted as this question was reviewed. Abortion is a difficult, often painful, and very personal decision for all Americans. It is made even more difficult when the underlying issue is whether the government—and ultimately the American taxpayer—is asked to pay for abortions and under what circumstances. Since 1981, the Federal Government has determined, I think wisely, that taxpayer funds should be used for abortion in only the most narrow of circumstances: where the life of the mother is endangered. If abortion funding were expanded to include other circumstances, it would be difficult to limit to the few cases of actual rape or incest, and could have the unintended consequence of allowing the taking of countless other lives of unborn children well beyond the few cases argued as reasons for the proposed legislative change.

My intense personal concern for those women who are victims of the crimes of rape and incest is as strongly felt as my position on abortion. Rape and incest are crimes of violence which must not go unpunished, and those convicted of such crimes must be brought to justice.

The question raised by H.R. 2990, however, involves whether the Federal Government and American taxpayers should be forced to pay for the termination of an unborn child's life in the case of rape or incest. That such a child may have been conceived through an unconscionable act of violence makes this question difficult and, indeed, agonizing; it does not, however, alter the basic fact that Federal funding is being sought that would compound a violent act with the taking of an unborn life. And in the absence of perfect legislation that would reconcile these difficult issues, if I have to err, I prefer to err on the side of human life.

For these reasons, should H.R. 2990 reach my desk with language expanding Federal funding of abortion, I will veto the measure and return it to the Congress.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Senators Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, Tom Harkin of Iowa, Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania.

Remarks at the Republican Governors' Association Annual Dinner

October 17, 1989

Thank you, Chairman Hayden. Thank you, Mike, Governor, for that gracious introduction. And my congratulations go to you for your effective tenure and the success on this dinner and, of course, to your successor, John Ashcroft, the Governor of Missouri. And I'm just delighted to be here with both of you. And, Lee, it's always good to see you here. I'm very proud of our national chairman. He's doing an outstanding job in broadening the base of our party.

I want to thank the members of my Cabinet for being here. We have a good Cabinet—outstanding men and women of ability. We have a real team, and I think that is understood and appreciated around this country. I'm proud of them all, and I'm just delighted they're here with me tonight.

I want to thank the Chaplain of the Senate, Chaplain Halverson, for his invocation. Eight years I was Vice President, and that meant I was the President of the Senate. And though I had known Dick Halverson before, while—it was there that I heard him, and I'm just delighted that he's with us tonight. I don't want to start singling out additional members of the White House staff who are here, but I do think it's appropriate to mention my Chief of Staff, a former Governor, John Sununu. He's out there somewhere. He's gone!

And I'm very pleased that one of our retiring Governors—retiring, meaning leaving office—Tom Kean, will be the part of our team as the head of the Advisory Committee on the President's Points of Light Initiative Foundation, the whole voluntary effort that I'm determined to see successful. And so, Professor Kean, wherever you may be, before you go on, thank you. It's very important, and thank you for doing it. I'm also sorry that my good friend and fellow Texan Governor Clements could not make it tonight. You may not know this—I expect Tom Loeffler does—but the Dallas paper reported last week that Bill Clements was dining in a restaurant when a holdup and shootout occurred right in front of him. The most remarkable part of all, however, is that not once through the whole ordeal did he put down his hamburger. [*Laughter*] And I'm not sure if that was Texas courage or hunger or the need for a new pair of glasses or a hearing aid. [*Laughter*] But nevertheless, you talk about trauma.

As you all know, I'm not an alumnus of this organization, but over the years as I've worked with the Governors, I have come to fully appreciate the responsibility that you are shouldering and the leadership that is provided at the State level. And I'm sure there are times when federalism seems to be a mixed blessing. It's not possible for a Governor to shy away from the hard decisions. But to sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need, and to set a course for the future is to know a special kind of satisfaction. And for that reason, I believe we can—indeed, that we must—as chief executives take responsibility, join forces, and make common cause of building a better America.

And that is why we came together in Charlottesville at an historic summit—only the third of its kind in the history of this country. And we came together with your Democratic counterparts—and I salute them for the nonpartisan way in which they approached it—in open, wide-ranging, and creative sessions to seek a new direction in education. And in the end, we agreed to an historic compact, a Jeffersonian compact, if you will, to set national goals, to allow for greater flexibility, more creativity, and then to be accountable for the results.

And we could achieve this because in Charlottesville we put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment, and our kids before ourselves. And America simply faces too many of these long-term challenges for us to act only as Republicans or Democrats or conservatives or liberals. And still, in spite of that, there is a Republican approach to the challenges we face, and we have proven time and again that the Republican approach is the best approach.

Now, I consider this a matter of record, a record that includes 83 months of economic growth and more than 20 million new jobs. A few years ago when our opponents said that a tax cut would hurt the economy, we cut the taxes, and it did the opposite. And when our opponents said that a stronger defense would make the Soviets more militant, we revitalized our Armed Forces, and the Soviets met us at the negotiation table.

In short, whatever has worked at the Federal level happened only because Republicans and enlightened Democrats in Congress joined forces to make it work. And so, the bottom line is this: Throughout the 1980's, the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. This is no less true at the State level. And while Republicans are leading the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identity crisis. And after the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't quite bring themselves to admit that Republicans were right. And nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin D. Roosevelt on partisan matters, but the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents fits the liberal Democrats so well today. Remember the story of the unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a scotch plaid. [*Laughter*] And this is precisely what we've got to do—[*applause*]—it's precisely what we have to do in the 1990 election: to keep the focus on the issues and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates. For the national and State elections of the 1990's will not just be a battle of the century, it will be the first battle for the 21st century.

We have proven time and again that our party can keep the White House; but to win a majority of Governorships, State offices, seats in Congress, we've got to roll up our

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sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. And we must be more competitive; we must rededicate ourselves to the nuts and the bolts of grassroots politics as our opponents do. And as we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals: first, to move toward our rightful place as the majority party of Governors. As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the Governorships has become one of the most critical national goals of our party. Our second goal is to recapture the United States Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition.

But the key to all three goals is the first: elect more Republican Governors. It is no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House of Representatives as we became a minority in State government. The Founding Fathers intended the House to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. And instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about our son Neil as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. He's 34 years old—born on January 22d, 1955, and 3 weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not once in his lifetime has he seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties—not one time. And think of all the millions of men and women across America in their twenties and thirties who has never known true two-party competition in the House.

Well, will the House remain static for another 34 years? Yes, but only if Republicans passively accept it. Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in the States that compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. And as Republican leaders, you can veto these gerrymandering schemes and take our message to the voters of your States by declaring that this form of voter discrimination must end.

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the Governorships of America. America faces tough problems, problems that require more than Federal solutions. And they require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the States are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis foresaw a time when a single courageous State may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country. To borrow a phrase, the States are becoming these laboratories of democracy, with each State endowed with freedom—freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

In an era of tight resources, necessity, the mother of invention, has also proven to be the mother of creative politics, of policies. You're following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican Governor, who said that our national greatness is not what we have that will make us a great nation, it is the way in which we use it.

Dozens of States are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century. But to be creative, you've got to have freedom. You tell me the Federal Government must not tie your hands, must not mandate your programs, must not dictate your policies. And I hear you, and I am ready to work with you to ease the Federal control and mandates over the States.

The States are at the forefront precisely because the first instinct of our Governors is not to look to Washington but to the combined strength of the public and private sector. And much has been written about how Governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it's due.

But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republican Governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs that work. The people know this. And come November 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their State government: They will then vote Republican.

It's been a great pleasure for Barbara and me to be here tonight and a great pleasure to speak to you tonight. But due to the Gramm-Rudman sequester, I have to cut my remarks by 5.3 percent. [*Laughter*] So let me leave this with you tonight—one thought: To win big, you must think big. And Republican Governors are already thinking big—thinking big, thinking ahead. And you are the planners and the prophets and the managers and visionaries and the dreamers and the doers. And you are the ones I look to, to join me in a partnership to win the future.

So, this is our vision. We are going to be the party that leads the States. We're going to be the party that leads Congress. And then we will be the party that leads America into the 21st century. Thank all of you Governors for being here tonight, and thank those of you who were supporting this noble quest.

Thank you, and God bless you. And God bless the United States.

Note: The President spoke at 8:38 p.m. in the Presidential Ballroom at the Capital Hilton. In his remarks, he referred to Mike Hayden, the association's chairman; H. Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee; and former Representative Tom Loeffler.

Nomination of Don R. Clay To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

October 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Don R. Clay to be Assistant Administrator, Office of Solid Waste, of the Environmental Protection Agency. He would succeed J. Winston Porter.

Since 1986 Mr. Clay has served as Deputy Assistant Administrator for the Office of Air and Radiation at the Environmental Protection Agency. Prior to this, he served as Director of the Office of Toxic Substances at the Environmental Protection Agency, 1981–1986; Deputy Associate Executive Director for Engineering Sciences at the Consumer Product Safety Commission, 1976–1981; Director of the Office of Program Planning and Evaluation at the Consumer Product Safety Commission, 1974–1976; and Deputy Assistant Commissioner for Planning and Evaluation at the Food and Drug Administration, 1972–1974. In addition, Mr. Clay served as a group leader for the Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia (Nelson Commission), 1971–1972; executive vice president of Resource Allocation, Inc., 1970–1971; and program director of Research Management Corp., 1968–1970.

Mr. Clay graduated from Ohio State University (B.S., 1960; M.S., 1960). He was born June 26, 1937, in Washington Courthouse, OH. Mr. Clay served in the U.S. Army, 1961–1963. He is married, has two children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Continuation of Joel Edward Haggard as United States Representative to the Columbia River Interstate Compact

October 17, 1989

The President today announced that Joel Edward Haggard will continue to serve as the United States Representative to the Columbia River Interstate Compact.

Since 1985 Mr. Haggard has served as an attorney and sole practitioner in Seattle, WA. Prior to this, he served as a partner with the law firm of Haggard, Tousley and Brain, 1978–1984; sole practitioner, 1977; partner with the law firm of Houghton, Cluck, Coughlin and Riley, 1975–1976; and an associate with the law firm of Houghton, Cluck, Coughlin and Riley, 1971–1974. In addition, he has served as an engineer and management consultant with the King County Department of Public Works in Seattle, WA, 1969–1971; research engineer in the aerospace division of the Boeing Co. in Seattle, WA, 1968; nuclear engineer for Westinghouse Corp. in the Bettis Atomic Power Laboratory in Pittsburgh, PA, 1963–1967; and a special instructor in nuclear engineering at the University of Oklahoma, 1962.

Mr. Haggard graduated from the University of Notre Dame (B.S., 1961) and the University of Washington (J.D., 1971). He received a master of nuclear engineering degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1963. Mr. Haggard was born October 10, 1939, in Portland, OR. He is married, has three children, and resides in Seattle, WA.

Remarks on the San Francisco Bay Area Earthquake and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters

October 18, 1989

The President. I have just a quick comment on the west coast, because as daylight breaks there in California, I want the citizens of the San Francisco Bay area and its neighbors first to know that our hearts are with them as they face this terrible tragedy. And words can't adequately convey our sentiments, I know, but I can say that we will take every step and make every effort to help the bay area in its hour of need.

Up-to-the-minute information is coming in here and to FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency]. I was just on the phone—and apologize to my friends from the Hill for keeping them waiting—with the Vice President, who is out there. Daylight's breaking—they're about to take a helicopter tour over the area. The Secretary of Transportation is out there—flew most of the night—and we're working with State and local officials. John Sununu [Chief of Staff to the President] has been in touch yesterday evening and again today to ensure that the relief effort is coordinated and effective as possible.

FEMA is doing a good job. They're out front; they're trying to respond. There have been some planning in advance for the San Francisco area, and we just want to be sure that that planning is implemented. Thank goodness for organizations like the Red Cross, these local volunteer organizations that are already swinging into play out there. Community police, the fire fighters working around the clock—our hearts go out to them; our gratitude goes to them as well.

So, I'd like to take this opportunity and ask all of you to follow up to ask the American people to help and support those organizations in every way possible. They responded when this recent Hugo hurricane hit—these volunteer organizations. And once again, we're going to turn to the American people to help those in need. So, so far, I think, from an organizational standpoint, people are moving in the right direction. And we're going to follow it very, very closely from here.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any sense of how extensive the damage is, particularly outside of the Oakland-San Francisco area?

The President. Well, we're just beginning to get reports in. And it's as reported very thoroughly on the television: the death toll seems to be mounting. And we are concerned, but it's hard to put a total number on it at this point. In fact, I've seen none in the estimates, and that's, I think, prudent—no point going out there with inadequate data.

Q. There's a lot of interest out there in when you may be ready to sign this disaster declaration. Do you have a sense right now for the timing?

The President. I've already signed it.

Q. You have?

The President. Yes. That was taken care of.

Q. Are you going out there, Mr. President?

The President. I probably will, but I don't want to get in the way. I think the inclination is to go to the scene. We've got the Vice President there and Sam Skinner. But as we all know, there are certain security constraints connected with this job, and the last thing we want to do is clutter things up. But I do want to make a trip out there, and I probably will.

Q. How dangerous is the situation out there with possible aftershocks?

The President. Well, again, I don't want to heighten the concern in any way, but I think that those concerns have been adequately expressed by the scientists.

East Germany

Q. Can you tell us what you know about what's happening in East Germany today?

The President. Well, I know that there's been a change in the East German GDR party structure, and Honecker being replaced by Egon Krenz. Whether that reflects a change in East-West relations, I don't think so. I don't think it does, because Mr. Krenz has been very much in accord with the policies of Honecker. So, it's too early to say; but there is dynamic change taking place in Eastern Europe and, it now appears, in the GDR. But whether this step is a step towards more openness or not, I think it's way too early to say, and there's nothing in the record that would indicate that it is.

And so, with no further ado, thank you all very much, and we've got to get to work.

Note: The President spoke at 9:39 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. An earthquake that registered 6.9 on the Richter scale hit the San Francisco Bay area at 5:04 p.m. Pacific time on October 17.

Remarks to National Distinguished Principals Award Recipients

October 18, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Secretary. One of the joys of my job is working with our Secretary of Education, Dr. Cavazos. And we're in sync; we agree on the priorities. And thank you very much for presiding today. To Sam Sava, the executive director of the National Association of Elementary School Principals, welcome to the White House, sir, and to my friend Paul O'Neill, to whom I will refer in just a minute.

I'm delighted to welcome this distinguished group to the White House. I know there's one educator here today whose thoughts are focused on his kids and schools back home, Ray Tolcacher, superintendent of Windsor Union School District in San Francisco. Where is he? Right over here. One of the reasons I've kept you all waiting is our concerns in dealing with a few little things regarding this situation in the bay area. And we just hope that your kids and your schools and all the families are safe and sound, and I know it's a matter of national concern—this disaster that hit yesterday. I want you to know also that we will do whatever we can to help. I'm going from here over to FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency], the emergency center, and I've talked this morning to our Vice President and to Sam Skinner [Secretary of Transportation], who flew all night to join Dan Quayle out there. And we're working closely with the State officials. So, it is a matter of grave national concern.

I expect your students are all thrilled that you're in Washington. [*Laughter*] And you all, I think, have demonstrated that you have mastered a job that most people couldn't begin to cope with. Imagine being CEO, Paul, of a corporation where the rank and file average age is about 8—[*laughter*]—and half of them don't bring their lunch money. [*Laughter*] And you juggle all this, everything from substitute teachers to bus schedules, and many of you still find time to get into that classroom every single day. And there's always energy for something extra, whether it's Jane Wakukawa getting out with the crossing guards every morning to talk to parents that are walking their kids to school or Anthony Link and Sally Liechty lecturing at colleges in their communities after the school day is over.

And that's what puts you at the head of the class. And that's what makes your schools the most successful, because more than any other factor, what sets a school apart is you, the principal. And the simple fact is, under our system of education there is no substitute for a strong principal, one who gives students and teachers a sense of direction, and one who helps develop through them a sense of learning for the children and learn the lessons in character that apply in and out of the classroom. Character is shaped by all of you.

And I know for you and your family and friends this is a proud day. It should be—all those years of hard work and dedication paying off—and you've earned all the recognition that's going to come your way. And enjoy it, because when you get back, you know what it's going to be like. [*Laughter*] No, but educators from schools all over your State are going to want to know, we hope, the secret of your success. Share it with others. Each of you is a case study in what does work, and we have to learn from you in order to make all our schools better.

And what works is what matters. And you all know how deeply—I hope you do by now—how deeply Barbara and I both care about the quality of learning in our classrooms. And as you know—and Larry [Cavazos] alluded to this—I asked the Governors from each State to meet with me at that education summit for 2 days of intense discussions there in the beautiful setting, the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. And we came out of that summit in a very united way—Democrat, Republican, liberal, conservative, whatever. We came out with a new sense of resolve, with a new consensus on what we have got to do to strengthen our schools. And the Governors and I agreed that we've got to work together to raise overall performance and cut the tangle of redtape that keeps you and your teachers from doing the best possible job.

And that does mean expanded—I heard this over and over again when I first got to be President and began hearing it from Dr. Cavazos, but I've heard it from so many people and all of the Governors—expanded flexibility on the State and local level, greater choice, more power in the hands of parents and their children to decide which schools and what kind of education is right for them. And I am convinced that choice can spur innovation and educational excellence. And we aren't going to tell you what works best from Washington—that was the clearest message I got out of that conference. Just the opposite: The whole point of flexibility and choice is to see that decisions affecting our schools are made where the interest and expertise is the greatest, right there in your schools and in your communities.

And as all of you know, our schools and our communities prosper most when they join together in common cause, when one of the lessons our children learn is community consciousness, the importance of getting out of the classroom and getting involved in community service. And of course every community is a rich source of expertise and support for our schools. And that's why I'm also pleased to single out today my dear friend, one of the busiest men in America, Paul O'Neill, to announce his appointment to serve as Chairman of the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee. This Committee, the first created in my administration, includes leaders from business—and here is Paul, head of Alcoa—from business and labor, educators at every level, State and local officials, as well as representatives from the media.

And Paul has served in top positions in government before, and in the private sector, and he and I have been talking about this since before I became President. He is deeply concerned about helping to bring quality education to all Americans. We've discussed the work that he's doing at Alcoa to enhance the literacy of the work force, of the people that work at Alcoa. I am confident that under his dedicated leadership, this Committee will not be just one more advisory committee, but this Education Advisory Committee will provide us with an abundance of excellent advice. And I know Paul's going to leave here today with a greater appreciation of the difference that first-rate principals can make.

One final point: As a nation, we do need to give greater recognition to the role that principals and teachers play in our society. And that means greater rewards. And it means greater respect from the community; it means greater recognition of the best in the business. And that's why I've invited you today. It's an example to others. You are the best, and you know what it takes to make our schools even better.

And so, I want to thank you for setting an example for kids to admire and especially for other educators to emulate. My congratulations to every one of you. My thanks for making a difference for every single child who walks into your schools. Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you so much for coming.

Note: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Jane G. Wakukawa, principal of Kaala Elementary School in Wahiawa, HI; Anthony E. Link, principal of Maple West Elementary School in Williamsville, NY; and Sally Liechty, principal of Emma C. Moulton Elementary School in Des Moines, IA. An earthquake that registered 6.9 on the Richter scale hit the San Francisco Bay area on October 17.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on the San Francisco Bay Area Earthquake

October 18, 1989

The President. I believe effective Federal effort under the leadership of FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency]—25, more or less, Federal agencies coordinating their work to try to help in this disaster in San Francisco. So, we got an up-to-date briefing on where things stood. But I had an opportunity to thank the men and women of FEMA and the volunteer—there's an enormous volunteer effort that adds to and supplements the work of the professionals.

Fortuitously, they had had a drill on a disaster of this nature, an earthquake disaster, not so many weeks ago, and they've been through a lot of the procedures that are now being followed. And in a sense, if there's anything good out of a disaster of this nature, it is that the Agency was well prepared to task the component agencies to be effective. And we talked to the representative of the Governor of California, who was highly appreciative of the work that FEMA is doing.

So, I think the machinery is working. We've made very clear we want to be as responsive as possible on behalf of the Federal Government. And they're still in a sorting-out process in terms of the total damage. So, that's about where we stand.

Q. What is the extent of casualties?

Q. What are you sending?

The President. Well, right now it's people to assess damage, and then obviously we follow on with assistance to families. Part of the emergency preparation has got to be being sure that Federal hospital facilities, for example, like the Veterans Affairs Department, be ready to receive people.

And one encouraging news is that—take that one, for example—they are not being overwhelmed by requests to take people in right now. So, maybe we can take some encouragement in terms of the total number of injured, but we're not sure yet. That's part of the problem.

Q. Sir, will you be going to San Francisco?

Q. What is the latest on casualties?

The President. Well, we don't have a figure. They were using a figure roughly of 250. But then I think the Lieutenant Governor has indicated it might not be that high, they told me. But there's no certainty. That's the problem. So, it's dangerous to get into making those predictions until houses have been visited, the part of the bridge that fell lifted, and then we'll have a much better idea.

Q. Are you going to San Francisco, sir?

The President. I probably will. But as I indicated earlier at the White House, it is important that this emergency machinery operate with total efficiency. And I want to be considerate of the fact that when I do go someplace it could be slightly disruptive, so I will have the timing that it will not get in the way of people that are busily doing their job right now.

Q. Will this be a better, faster——

Q. Will you be excusing Federal employees like you did with [Hurricane] Hugo?

The President. I don't know what the plans are for that right now out there. I think many of them are not able to get to work.

Q. What about troops on standby for any——

The President. They are. General Smith gave us a briefing on what the military has done. Certain Guard units have been mobilized. There's helicopter capacity available. And so, the military from the very start tied into this, Secretary Cheney instructing General Smith to give full cooperation. So, those assets are available to help.

Q. How quickly can Federal money get to the people who need it, Mr. President?

The President. The what?

Q. How quickly can the Federal money get to the homeless and people who need it immediately?

The President. Well, it can get there quite quickly. But that leads me to say we work very closely in that regard with the States. And I've been told that they are working quite effectively. Governor Sununu, in touch with them yesterday evening, just reminded me that they are doing a superb job on assessing the needs. But the Federal Government can move right in behind that.

Q. Is it going to be quicker than the response, sir—and better—to Hurricane Hugo this time?

The President. Well, I hope there will be less carping. I thought the response to Hugo was very good. And this gives me an opportunity—an appropriate place—to say that I am very grateful to the men and women of FEMA for what they did in Hugo, whether it was on the mainland or whether it was in the Virgin Islands or Puerto Rico. But I guess you can never avoid all criticism. But FEMA then responded very promptly, and I can assure you they're responding very, very promptly now. I think they took a bad hit on that other one from some quarters. But right now, I think people are giving them full support in South Carolina, North Carolina, as well as the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, too.

Q. Why does FEMA still not have a Director, sir?

The President. I don't know the answer to why they don't have a Director, but they've got a very effective Acting Director and team. And that's the thing that matters, especially in a disaster of this nature.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at Federal Emergency Management Agency headquarters, following a tour of the facility. In his remarks, he referred to Maj. Gen. James Smith, Director of the Directorate of Military Support at the Department of Defense. An earthquake that registered 6.9 on the Richter scale hit the San Francisco Bay area on October 17.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the National Medals of Science and Technology
October 18, 1989

Secretary Mosbacher and Secretary Sullivan, Dr. Bromley, and award-winning recipients and other distinguished scientists, ladies and gentlemen and friends: first, a welcome to the White House. And on behalf of every American, thank you for your magnificent efforts on behalf of this nation and, indeed, the whole world. It's an honor to address this singularly diverse and distinguished group of Americans and to present America's highest honor in the areas of science and technology: the National Medal of Science and the National Medal of Technology.

Three decades ago the National Medal of Science was created by Congress, and its purpose was to recognize individuals for their outstanding contributions to knowledge in the physical, biological, mathematical, or engineering sciences. And then 9 years ago the National Medal of Technology was established. Its purpose was to recognize scientists and engineers for projects that improve the well-being of the United States through the development or application of technology.

Over the past several decades these contributions and projects have helped make America a richer and better place. And new types of grain and fertilizers have spurred greater crop yields. Diagnostic technology has helped combat disease. And progress in biology and biotechnology has begun unmasking the secrets of heredity. And the work goes on through pioneers like you, for ours is a pioneering heritage, from Eli Whitney to Lee DeForest to the Salk vaccine for polio. And this year's 27 recipients of the Science and Technology Medals embody the best and brightest of that heritage, Americans inspired by the belief that the trailblazers of today will be the heroes of tomorrow.

Think just over our shoulder of just a handful of last year's recipients. Think of Edwin Land, who invented a plastic material that absorbed light of a specific polarization, or Maurice Hilleman, whose brilliant discoveries in basic research and vaccine creation are combating infectious disease, or Rosalyn Yalow, whose breakthrough diagnostic technique is helping to save thousands of lives.

And think, too, of how another of last year's recipients has been a trailblazer in the aircraft industry. Since the 1940's, Kelly Johnson has designed more than 40 aircraft, including the world's largest aircraft and highest flying jet. And he not only led their development programs but on the maiden flights was the flight test engineer himself, putting his own life on the line, if you will. Like each of you, Kelly Johnson has shown that progress often comes neither quickly nor cheaply. And it demands devotion, sometimes even danger; it knows adversity and pain. And like each of you, he knows that dreams realized make possible even bigger dreams.

So, today we celebrate dreams that you are making possible—dreams that will keep America competitive, raise our standard of living, improve our quality of life. And your dreams presage a new, golden age of information, understanding, and technology and show how creativity comes from the human heart and mind. And so, in closing, let me first salute your achievements and your commitment. Many of you have been teachers, and some have served in the Government, and all have shown that America has no natural resource more precious than her intellectual resources. And next let me promise you that our administration will do its part. And if I fall down, I expect my able Science Advisor [D. Allan Bromley], friend to all in this room, to dust me off and push me back into the game so I don't forget.

We know that scientific knowledge must be renewed and expanded. And so, we will continue the American tradition of strong, broad-based support for the basic research and R&D in the areas of science and technology. The approach is going to be well-balanced and fair, and it includes both large science and technology projects as well as small science principal investigator funding. In large science and technology, look at the opportunities ahead: the superconducting supercollider and the human genome initiatives or space station *Freedom*, which will lead us toward the stars. And then the small science potential is no less dazzling. We want to stay on the path to doubling the National Science Foundation budget—if Congress will cooperate—and give our youth a special incentive to excel in science, math, and engineering through our new program of National Science Scholars.

So, ladies and gentlemen, these priorities constitute an investment in our own future, strengthening the education which is crucial to that future. This investment in education is vital if America is to remain the leader in a very, very competitive world, both intellectually and commercially, and if science and technology are to uplift this generation, as you already have. You've done that. You've displayed your own contribution in a brilliant way. You've inspired generations to come, as you must. For you are, in essence, our true pioneers, dreaming the dreams that enhance our energy and health, medicine, and productivity, national security, and education.

Again, my heartfelt congratulations on behalf of each and every citizen to you for your contributions. And now it is my great pleasure to introduce the Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher, and my Assistant for Science and Technology, Dr. Allan Bromley, who will describe your achievements. I like my end of the bargain somehow: I get to present you with America's highest technological and scientific award, and I also get to shake your hands. So, thank you very much, and thank you for your magnificent contribution not just to our country but to the people around the world.

Note: The President spoke at 2:09 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Nomination of Bradley Paul Holmes To Be Coordinator for International Communications and Information Policy at the Department of State

October 18, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Bradley Paul Holmes to be Coordinator for International Communications and Information Policy at the Department of State, with the rank of Ambassador. He would succeed Sonia Landau.

Since 1986 Mr. Holmes has served as chief of the policy and rules division in the mass media bureau at the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as legal adviser for Commissioner Dennis R. Patrick at the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, DC, 1984–1986; associate with the law firm of Scadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher and Flom in New York, 1981–1984; law clerk for the Honorable Mary Johnson Lowe, U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of New York, 1979–1981; and an associate with Windels, Marx, Davies and Ives in New York, 1978–1979.

Mr. Holmes graduated from Dartmouth College (B.A., 1975) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1978). He was born September 14, 1953, in Boston, MA. Mr. Holmes resides in Falls Church, VA.

Remarks on Receiving the Report of the Vice President and Secretary of Transportation Samuel K. Skinner on the Earthquake Damage in the San Francisco Bay Area

October 19, 1989

The President. Last night I talked to Governor Deukmejian, who'd just gotten back and seemed to express appreciation for the all-out Federal effort. Of course, I'd like to take this opportunity to say that our hearts certainly go out to the victims of this disaster. And I will be going out there tomorrow to take a look, to provide encouragement to people.

Thank God for the volunteers. You talk about a Thousand Points of Light, but I'm told by the Vice President—I expect you agree, Sam—that the Red Cross and other volunteer agencies are responding with not only alacrity but with this concern for their neighbors that just exemplifies the best in the volunteer concept.

And so, I'm delighted to get your report, and I very much appreciate both of you going out there. I think it did signal very much of a concern on the part of the Federal Government. But we will stay on top of it; we will be in touch with the State officials, who in turn are dealing with the local officials there.

And I am confident—I'll tell you one of the good—that we're doing what we should do. One of the things that came up, and maybe you all heard it, is that they had had a major FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency] exercise and that several—I think you told me, Dan—several of the municipalities and communities that had exercises in anticipation, not of this disaster but of general earthquake problems. So, there was a preparation here that I think is very, very sound.

The Vice President. Voluntarism and preparation are the two important lessons.

Note: The President spoke at 9:03 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. An earthquake that registered 6.9 on the Richter scale hit the San Francisco Bay area on October 17.

Remarks to Members of the Natural Gas Supply Association

October 19, 1989

I want to salute my collaborators in our administration, Jim Watkins and Bill Reilly and Boyden Gray—well-known to everybody here, I am sure—and of course our own leaders of the association, Jim and Nick. And I see many suspects lined up, mostly on the front row here. [*Laughter*] I'm glad to see all of you, and welcome.

Years ago, this industry—I was going to say "yours," but as one who had a tiny interest in gas wells years ago, "ours,"—added an agent to natural gas that gave it a characteristic scent. And that was so that if there ever was a leak in someone's house, they'd have a better chance of detecting the leak. It doesn't work that way in the White House—[*laughter*]—so I would ask for your technological assistance.

About a year ago—over a year ago—I spoke to a group at Midland. And I said that I was proud that our administration had decontrolled oil prices, but that we hadn't yet been able to prevail in Congress to decontrol natural gas. Well, you know what happened. And everybody here were movers and shakers in seeing that the Congress took that long-overdue action, and the wisdom of the marketplace prevailed. After decades, literally, of some very shrill disagreements, we were able to eliminate an entire system of artificial price controls for one of America's cleanest energy sources.

Photographic Portfolio

Overleaf: A Karl Marx University
in Budapest ungary, July 12. ***Left:***
Meeting wi former President
Jimmy Cart in the Oval Office,
September ***Right:*** With Chief of
Staff Sunun nd Secretary of
Defense Ch y in the Oval Office,
December ***Below:*** At the NATO
summit me g in Brussels,
Belgium, D mber 4.

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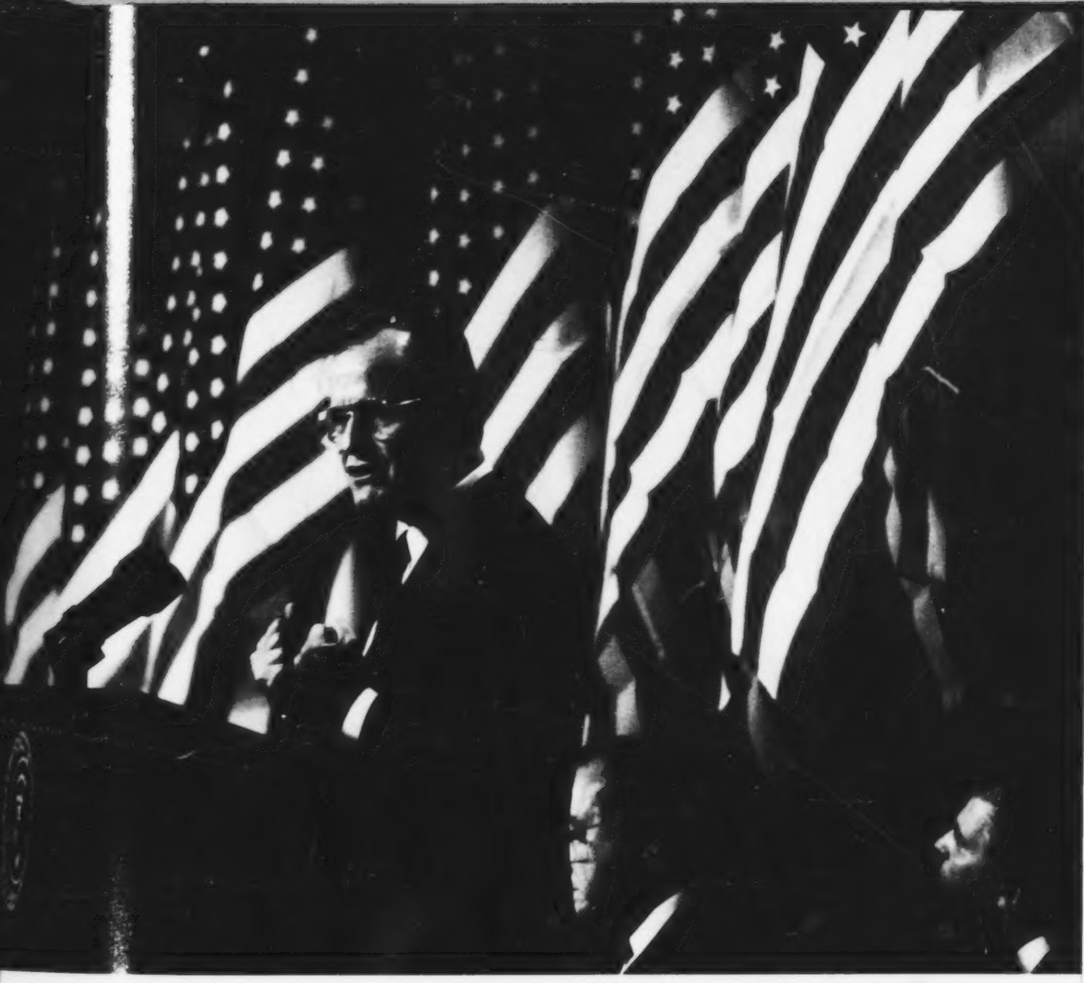
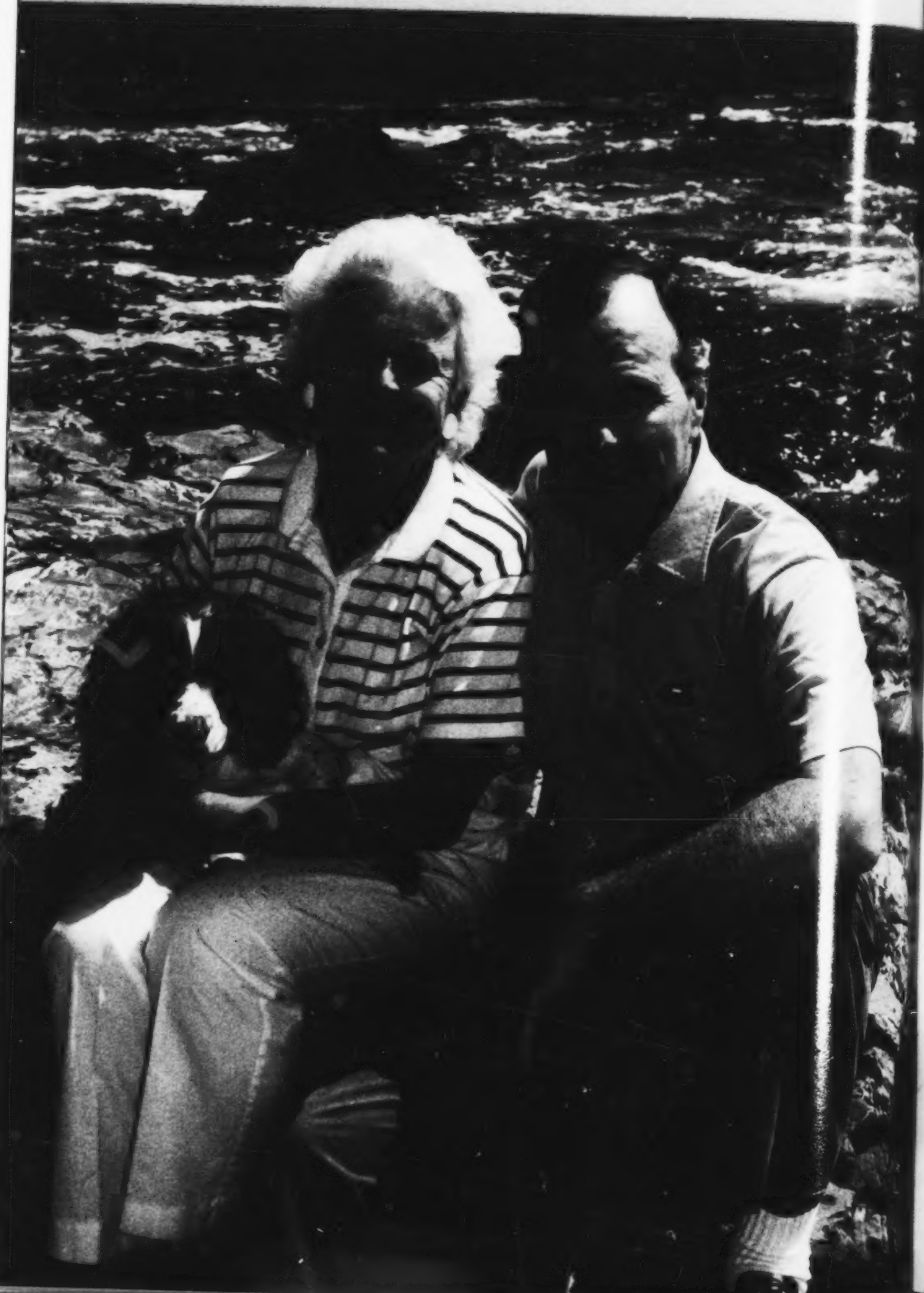
Above left: With Secret ry of State
Baker and Soviet Fore Minister
Shevardnadze on the C onnade at
the White House, Sept ber 21.
Below left: Signing the rug Abuse
Resistance Education I
proclamation in the R Garden,
September 13. ***Above:*** aking at a
fundraiser for congress nal
candidate Ileana Ros-L tinen in
Miami, FL, August 16. ***ight:***
Meeting with Soviet C rman
Mikhail Gorbachev abo d the
"Maxim Gorky" in Mal
December 3.



THE PRESIDENT'S
EDUCATION SUMMIT
WITH GOVERNORS
THE PRESIDENT

Above: At the education summit meeting in Charlottesville, VA, September 28. ***Left:*** Addressing the National Baptist Convention in New Orleans, LA, September 8. ***Right:*** Touring earthquake damage in Santa Cruz, CA, October 20. ***Overleaf:*** At Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, ME, August 8.



And that was this administration's first major energy initiative, and in my view, it was a very good one—good for developing domestic energy resources that are absolutely essential to our national security.

I hope that I'll be a President that can move world peace forward; I feel very strongly about it. But I'm going to keep my eyes open. I don't like the ever-increasing dependency on foreign sources of energy; I don't think it is good. And I know our Secretary, who is taking a comprehensive look at a national energy policy, agrees that we've got to become less dependent. And that means not only more hydrocarbons but it also means a safe, sound use of other energy sources. I salute Jim for his persevering in the face of a lot of criticism in terms of the nuclear field, for example. We need multisources.

And certainly we are not going to turn our back on natural gas, which has such enormous promise for the future. I say that the initiative was a good one because I think it was good for, as I mentioned, developing domestic sources. It was good for consumers who were going to enjoy reliable energy at reasonable prices over the longer run. It was good for Bill Reilly's pet rock, which is the environment, and he and Boyden have worked very closely on this with the Secretary. And it is very good for that because it can only benefit from the broader use of clean-burning natural gas.

Some of you were there in the East Room when we signed the legislation decontrolling natural gas—the Natural Gas Wellhead Decontrol Act. But again, I see others that might not have been there. And I just want to thank all of you for your efforts on it, because I think by what we did—and I use that term purposely here—was to build diversity, flexibility, economy, and security into the energy picture.

Natural gas is going to be—I see no way that it can continue to be anything other than vital to our domestic energy security. With growing difficulties in oil and gas leasing and difficulties in siting nuclear plants, we're going to depend more than ever, as I say, on balanced energy sources. In addition to decontrolling it—the wellhead—it's also going to demand that we pave the way for a broader use of natural gas, and I expect you'll be hearing about that in a minute.

As you know, I sent a bill to rewrite our Federal Clean Air Act to Capitol Hill. And I want to be sure everybody here understands it, because I understand that there's some controversy about that. But today there is some good news: The bill has been reported out of subcommittee relatively intact. And that's the first time the subcommittee has produced a bill in several years. It's good news for clean-burning fuels, and it's good news for cleaner air.

Even those who may be off in a different branch of the hydrocarbon business—we need their support in getting behind an idea which whose time has come, and that is clean air for our most heavily impacted cities. We've got to work together—not just with the natural gas but with the oil sections of our hydrocarbon business—to clean up our environment. We set a tough standard for air pollution in this bill, and we don't care which fuel can meet it as long as it's met. We support harnessing the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment.

So, I want to thank you and Bill Reilly and his EPA staff for all the hard work that you've done so far. And now let's double our efforts and try to get a bill as soon as possible so the American people can start the nineties as the "clean air decade."

You know, I think in the political arena for too long environmental matters were seen as the property of one political philosophy, or one political party, maybe. And that isn't the way it ought to be. It transcends political ideology, and it transcends political party—the need to protect our environment. So, here we go on a specific, and I'd love to have your support as we push to make the nineties the "clean air decade."

No question that your industry is going to be in the forefront, a vital part of this picture—not, obviously, as the sole solution, as I've said, but as a part of this comprehensive strategy. I always think of the natural gas business as future-oriented. You understand that we can't wait for the next energy crisis and that a secure future demands that we plan now. And that's why Jim is engaged in this coming up with a comprehensive national energy strategy for the Nation.

For that to succeed, it's obviously going to have to be bipartisan. There's no question about it; it is going to have to be. I guess that responsibility falls on the four of us and others in our administration to see that we conduct ourselves in a manner that attracts broad support.

In the coming months, we're going to need your guidance, and we're going to need your thoughts on all of this. We do not claim to have all the answers. We've got a general direction in mind, which as I say will encourage in every way possible the use of clean-burning fuels, but we need your help and guidance.

With gas prices set by market forces and new technologies offering new uses for this fuel, natural gas is on the verge of reaching its fullest potential as an economic, clean, efficient source of energy. So, I came over here to thank you very much for the way in which you've worked with us. I have not detected a change in your frankness—[*laughter*]—something that I've learned from in all my political life and hopefully was a part of when I was in the drilling business, a modest factor in the producing business. Oil and gas people are known for their forthright way of expressing themselves, and I haven't seen that change any, nor do I suggest that it change. But we need your help, and we need your advice.

And I am absolutely determined that when I leave office I'm going to leave it with a strong energy base so we're less dependent on foreign sources. And I'm equally determined that when I leave office I'm going to at least be able to say that, working with others, we have done something to contribute to our precious environment. And the two objectives need not be contradictory. So, to achieve these two ends, I look forward to working with you, and I'm grateful for what you have already done.

And now I will get out of the way and let you hear from the experts. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of Energy James D. Watkins; William K. Reilly, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; C. Boyden Gray, Counsel to the President; James A. Middleton and Nicholas J. Bush, chairman and president of the Natural Gas Supply Association, respectively.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Felipe González Márquez of Spain

October 19, 1989

The President. It is a pleasure to have Prime Minister González and the Spanish delegation as our guests in the United States. Our discussions at the NATO summit in May were an excellent start to a dialog that we've continued in Washington. As before, our talks have been friendly; they have been constructive and another sign that our bilateral relations, our partnership, if you will, is healthy and growing stronger.

We discussed extensively the ways in which the West can best support the historic reforms transforming Eastern Europe, especially in Poland and Hungary, and our hope that these reforms will lead to a Europe whole and free. I informed Prime Minister González of the steps that the United States has taken to support this economic reform and democratic change in Poland and Hungary. And I told him about my request that Congress approve $200 million in economic stabilization grants to assist Poland in implementing its bold, new reform program—the U.S. contribution to Poland's $1 billion request. And I hope that all of the major industrialized democracies will also contribute to this request. I also explained that the United States will soon be extending the most-favored-nation status to Hungary on a continuing basis, making it the first Eastern European nation to ever receive such treatment. This will strongly encourage trade and investment in Hungary.

Prime Minister González and I agreed that the futures of Poland and Hungary depend on sustained Western action, coordinated with the IMF and the World Bank as part of a long-term economic recovery program. We discussed the important progress made by the 24-nation Group for Economic Assistance to Poland and Hungary, which has already met three times under the chairmanship of the EC [European Communities] Commission and has encouraged the commitment of hundreds of millions of dollars in new assistance to both countries. We also agreed that Spain's successful transition to this strong and flourishing democracy makes it a powerful model for Eastern European countries now attempting similar transformations.

We also reviewed ways in which we can help sustain the growth of democracy in Latin America, an area of traditional concern to both our nations, an area where our distinguished guest today has enormous respect.

And we exchanged views on the serious international challenge the drug menace presents to consumer and producer nations alike. And we agreed on the need to give President Barco and the brave people of Colombia our full backing in their struggle against the narco terrorists.

Our talks also included progress in arms control negotiations, while underscoring the need to keep our mutual NATO defenses strong.

Throughout our discussions, there was a shared belief that Spain is emerging with a new vitality not just in Europe but in the entire world scene. In supporting democratic change in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere, I am convinced that Spain can play a unique role, for Spain provides that world with a very special example.

Prime Minister González, you have said that your nation is both a very old country and a very young country, an authoritarian government reborn as a constitutional democracy, a sheltered state-dominated economy now reoriented to the market and prospering. So it's no exaggeration to say that Spain today is living a renaissance of liberty, prosperity, and culture. And it now seems that the role of Spain as the mother of so many nations provides a model of political and economic reform, a move away from the dead hand of state control toward greater freedom and opportunity and advancement.

Mr. Prime Minister, I commend you for your idealism, and I value your partnership. So, thank you for your visit to these shores. I hope the rest of your visit goes well and that you have a very safe visit back to Spain.

Welcome, hail, and farewell.

The Prime Minister. I would like to begin by expressing my great sorrow for the recent events in California and express the solidarity that Spain feels for the people who suffered there.

First of all, I should like to thank President Bush for his kind words and for the welcome and hospitality that has been extended to me and the Spanish delegation.

We have had an opportunity to hold talks which I consider to have been very productive. And I'm sure that my meetings during the next few hours will be equally fruitful. We have discussed matters of common interest, both of an international nature and in the bilateral level. I'm pleased to say, as President Bush has also mentioned, that there has been wide agreement between us regarding the favorable progress of events since 1983, when I last made an official visit to Washington.

When reviewing the international situation, we agreed that the prospects today are encouraging. We talked about the progress of events in central and Eastern Europe with realism and hope. We also underlined the importance of making the greatest possible effort in disarmament and arms control talks, which are currently being held in different fora. We reviewed the milestone of 1992 from two points of view—a special relevance for the relations between our two countries—the completion of the European single market and the commemoration of the quincentenary of the discovery of America, with all that this implies for relationships between both sides of the Atlantic in the political, cultural, scientific, and technical fields. Regional conflicts have also been very present in our talks, especially those of the Middle East and Central America and in general, Latin America's prospects for advancement in democracy and economic development while facing problems such as the external debt and drug traffic.

Insofar as bilateral relations are concerned, we have confirmed their excellent state as well as our mutual wish to enhance and further strengthen them. We have also been able to confirm that we are now undoubtedly in a new stage in the dialog, in cooperation between Spain and the United States.

I should like to conclude by telling you that I've conveyed an invitation from His Majesty the King to President Bush to make an official state visit to Spain. And, please, don't lose that opportunity to visit us, Mr. President.

The President. Thank you. Thank all of you. Well, shall we wander on out here?

Note: The President spoke at 12:24 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. The Prime Minister spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Earlier, the President and the Prime Minister met privately in the Oval Office and with Spanish and U.S. officials in the Cabinet Room.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Political Reform in Hungary

October 19, 1989

Yesterday the Hungarian Parliament passed a series of constitutional amendments that mark a further dramatic step toward democratic change. These amendments provide for free and open elections and guarantee the freedoms of speech, assembly, and worship enshrined in our own Bill of Rights. Indeed, Hungarian legislators and scholars visited the United States several times to study the American Constitution and Bill of Rights, which they saw as models for their own constitution.

These changes signify an historic break from the one-party state toward multiparty democracy, symbolized by the alteration of the country's official name from the Hungarian People's Republic to the Republic of Hungary. The United States welcomes these new steps, undertaken peacefully and through parliamentary means, and we take pride in the fact that in this bicentennial year of the Bill of Rights, that living document has helped inspire democracy in Hungary. We are inspired that the idea of freedom is putting down new roots in Eastern Europe and pledge our continued strong support for this historic process.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the Economic Sanctions Against Panama

October 19, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

1. I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report of April 6, 1989, concerning the national emergency with respect to Panama that was declared in Executive Order No. 12635 of April 8, 1988. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

2. Since the last report of April 6, 1989, there has been one amendment to the Pan-

amanian Transactions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 565 (the "Regulations"), administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control ("FAC") of the Department of the Treasury. On August 31, 1989, FAC added Appendix B to the Regulations, which comprises a list of persons identified with and acting on behalf of the Noriega regime in Panama. No funds or other assets or credits may be transferred to the Noriega regime from the United States or from U.S. persons and their controlled Panamanian entities in Panama. The Panamanian officials named in Appendix B are also subject to this prohibition.

With this report, I am enclosing a copy of the amendment to the Regulations, 54 *Fed. Reg.* 36272 (Aug. 31, 1989).

3. FAC has issued 34 licenses pursuant to section 565.509 of the Regulations, enabling U.S. persons and Panamanian juridical entities controlled by U.S. persons that owe funds to the Government of Panama to credit the funds (with appropriate interest) to a blocked reserve account on their books, or to deposit the funds in a blocked account with a commercial bank. This procedure serves as an alternative to payment of the amounts owed into a blocked account at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. As of September 20, 1989, the licensed reserve accounts had been credited with $126.3 million in funds denied to the Noriega regime.

4. FAC continues to monitor compliance with the Regulations and to advise affected parties of their obligations under the program. Denial of cash to the Noriega regime and its supporters through strict compliance with the sanctions program by all U.S. persons is the primary objective of the FAC enforcement effort. Several significant enforcement actions have taken place since the last report:

On March 27, 1989, FAC issued a blocking order instructing a U.S. bank to freeze the account of an organization in Houston that had performed unauthorized inspections of Panamanian-flag vessels in the United States and other consular transactions on behalf of the Noriega regime. All fees generated by these activities were determined to contain an interest of the Government of Panama ("GOP"). The Regulations block all property or interests in property of the GOP located in the United States and prohibit all transfers with respect to that property.

In June 1989, an FAC audit of the lockbox arrangement handled for the GOP by a U.S. bank revealed that a number of foreign U.S. dollar items deposited with the bank remained uncollected despite due presentment of the obligations to the correspondent banks in Panama. These intended payments by U.S. companies had never reached GOP Account No. 2 at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. By August 1989, as the result of FAC compliance efforts, one U.S. firm and its Panamanian affiliate had made replacement payments of $303,000 into Account No. 2; a second U.S. firm and its Panamanian subsidiaries requested and received a Treasury license to open a blocked reserve account for amounts owing; and a third U.S. company agreed to transfer fresh funds to Account No. 2 to cover its outstanding obligations to the GOP.

On June 28, 1989, the U.S. Customs Service in Miami seized a U.S.-origin helicopter blade valued at $30,000 for an attempted exportation to a consignee in Panama who intended to provide the equipment to the Panamanian Defense Forces. The merchandise was seized for a violation of the Regulations as an attempted unlicensed transfer of property in which a GOP interest existed.

In August 1989, an FAC investigation revealed that the New York office of the Directorate of Consular and Maritime Affairs of Panama had engaged in vessel inspections and other unauthorized consular functions on behalf of the Noriega regime. On August 10, 1989, FAC took action that resulted in the blocking of $373,915 held in three accounts of the Directorate at a U.S. bank as property in which there was a GOP interest.

On August 29, 1989, following further investigation, FAC issued another blocking order to a second U.S. bank and initiated other measures resulting in the freezing of seven organizational accounts of the Directorate of Consular and Maritime Affairs of Panama and several individual accounts containing over $140,000 in which a GOP interest existed. Additionally, FAC notified the Directorate that all tangible assets of the office were considered blocked under the Regulations. Further actions were taken to close the Directorate's office in New York.

On August 31, 1989, FAC published a notice in the *Federal Register* that listed the names and agencies of 26 ministry-level officials, 17 members of the Strategic Military Council, and 114 senior officials of autonomous agencies of the Noriega regime. Review of these names in consultation with the Department of State had resulted in a determination that the listed individuals act or purport to act on behalf of the regime. Financial transfers to these regime officials from the United States and from U.S. persons and their controlled Panamanian entities in Panama are prohibited.

On September 1, 1989, I announced that, as a consequence of General Noriega's actions to prevent the candidates chosen by the Panamanian people to take office, Panama was as of that date without any legitimate government, and the United States would not recognize any government installed by Noriega. Our Ambassador will not return, and we will not have any diplomatic contact with the Noriega regime. The United States will continue to take other steps, including the tightening of measures to deprive the illegal regime of funds that belong to the Panamanian people, in support of self-determination and democracy, and to counter the threat posed by General Noriega's support for drug trafficking and other forms of subversion.

On September 11, 1989, FAC sent out over 150 letters notifying U.S. businesses in Panama of my September 1 statement announcing the decision to enforce more strictly the prohibitions of the Regulations against the flow of hard currency to the Noriega regime. The letter restated certain requirements of the Regulations, emphasized that U.S. businesses must cease all prohibited payment practices, and warned of potential enforcement actions for violations.

On September 20, 1989, FAC published a notice in the *Federal Register* listing the names of a prominent Panamanian politician and 13 commercial firms located in Panama that the Noriega regime allows to conduct transactions for or on behalf of Cuba. These 14 names were added to a list of 117 names of Cuban front companies known to be operating in Panama. Any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States is prohibited from engaging, directly or indirectly, in any transactions involving any property in which there exists an interest of Cuba. The listing of these names as Specially Designated Nationals of Cuba in Panama has the effect of transferring the full force of the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba to the designated persons and firms, and underscores U.S. resolve to counter Cuban commercial activities in Panama that channel funds to the Noriega regime.

On September 22, 1989, FAC sent letters to U.S. companies believed to be in violation of the Regulations, ordering them to cease and desist from the proscribed activities and to bring themselves into full compliance with the sanctions program. U.S. persons who violate the prohibitions on payments to the Noriega regime and its officials are subject to corporate criminal fines of up to $500,000 per count, individual criminal fines of up to $250,000 per count, and imprisonment of willful individual violators for up to 12 years. In addition, FAC may impose administrative civil penalties of up to $10,000 per violation.

To date, FAC enforcement and compliance efforts have denied over $325.8 million to the Noriega regime. As of September 19, 1989, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York held $8.6 million in GOP Account No. 2 and $161.4 million in GOP Account No. 3. The funds contained in GOP Account No. 1, consisting of blocked Panamanian government assets located in the United States on April 8, 1988, have been exhausted to pay expenses of the Panamanian embassy and consulates in the United States until their closure on August 31, 1989, when President Delvalle's term expired. Blocked GOP deposits at 11 domestic banks accounted for $29.2 million denied to Noriega. Blocked tangible property of the GOP on August 28, 1989, totaled $213,000.00. A total of $54.7 million had been paid into blocked reserve accounts, while blocked reserve account licenses issued by FAC to 34 U.S. firms accounted for another $71.7 million in blocked liabilities to the GOP.

5. The objective of Administration policy remains support for a return to civilian constitutional rule and the development of an apolitical military establishment in Panama. In furtherance of our policy, the Administration has imposed economic sanctions against the Noriega regime. Our judgment remains that the root cause of the current crisis is the fact that the Panamanian people have lost confidence in a political system widely perceived as corrupt, repressive, and inept. A genuine Panamanian resolution of the political crisis is necessary to restore confidence in the Panamanian economy, a precondition to the return of economic stability and growth in Panama. Accordingly, our efforts have been directed at supporting Panamanian efforts to resolve the underlying political crisis as rapidly as possible.

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from April 6, 1989, through September 20, 1989, which are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the Panamanian national emergency are estimated at $374,500, most of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Enforcement, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, and the Office of the General Counsel), the Department of State, the Federal Reserve Board, the National Security Council, and the Department of Defense.

7. The policies and actions of the Noriega regime in Panama continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against Panama as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 19, 1989.

Continuation of David M.L. Lindahl as Director of the Office of Alcohol Fuels at the Department of Energy

October 19, 1989

The President today announced that David M.L. Lindahl will continue to serve as Director of the Office of Alcohol Fuels at the Department of Energy.

Since 1985 Mr. Lindahl has served as the Director of the Office of Alcohol Fuels at the Department of Energy, and has served as a Federal representative at the National Advisory Council for Environmental Technology Transfer at the Environmental Protection Agency, 1988–present. Prior to this, Mr. Lindahl was a specialist in energy policy at the Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress, 1972–1985, and a Federal representative for the National Petroleum Council, 1978–1980.

Mr. Lindahl graduated from Indiana University (B.S., 1967) and Western Michigan University (M.A., 1968). He was born August 6, 1944, in Fort Wayne, IN. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in Fairfax Station, VA.

Nomination of Donald E. Kirkendall To Be Inspector General of the Department of the Treasury

October 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald E. Kirkendall to be Inspector General at the Department of the Treasury. This is a new position.

Since 1988 Mr. Kirkendall has served as a senior adviser with the Financial Management Association of Government Accountants in Alexandria, VA. Prior to this he served as Deputy Inspector General at the Environmental Protection Agency, 1983–1988. In addition, he served in various positions at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, including Assistant Inspector General for Audit, 1981–1983, and management positions, 1974–1981. Mr. Kirkendall served in various auditor positions at the U.S. Air Force Audit Agency, 1963–1974.

Mr. Kirkendall graduated from Wright State University (B.S., 1972) and American University (M.P.A., 1981). He was born May 20, 1939, in Continental, OH. Mr. Kirkendall served in the U.S. Air Force, 1959–1966. He is married, has one child, and resides in Silver Spring, MD.

Message to the Congress Transmitting an Alternative Sequester Report for the Department of Defense for Fiscal Year 1990

October 19, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 252(c)(2)(C)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, I hereby transmit an alternative sequester report for the Department of Defense, as recommended by the Secretary of Defense, for Fiscal Year 1990, together with a proposed joint resolution that provides for adoption of the report.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 19, 1989.

Exchange With Reporters During a Tour of the Earthquake Damage in Oakland, California

October 20, 1989

Q. Mr. President, what's your impression?

The President. Well, I'm deeply moved by this, deeply moved by it—sad in some ways, and yet very stimulated by the team effort. You heard from the Congressmen, from the Governor, from Senator Wilson, from the mayor. And then you start talking to the local officials, the police officials and the sheriff's department, and the Red Cross. God bless the volunteers and our military. I'm very proud just of what I'm told by the officials—the military just pitching in and doing.

And so, you have feelings of contradiction: one of great sadness and one of genuine appreciation for the way this community is pulling together—this area of the State and, I'd say, the country. I think you've got a lot of people out there rooting for you. You've got a lot of them rooting for you. We'll see what we can do to be a part of the answer.

Note: The President spoke at 11:51 a.m. near Interstate 880, which was damaged by an earthquake that hit the San Francisco Bay area on October 17. Representatives Ronald V. Dellums, Tom Lantos, and George Miller; Gov. George Deukmejian; Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy; San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos; Alameda Mayor Chuck Corica; Oakland Mayor Lionel J. Wilson; and State Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Jr., accompanied the President. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Santa Cruz, CA.

Exchange With Reporters During a Tour of the Earthquake Damage in Santa Cruz, California

October 20, 1989

Q. Can you tell us a little bit about what you think you're able to do? We know you've heard a lot about money today. You've heard billions—different figures. Give us some sense of what you can do.

The President. Well, I think that FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency] will move very rapidly. I asked them to work closely with the local authorities—the Governor [George Deukmejian] on to the mayors—to get a figure. But in the meantime, the main thing is that there not be a lull.

I've been very pleased with what I'm told is extraordinary cooperation. And it's not just the Federal role cooperating—it's the State; it's the county; it's the volunteers. God bless those volunteers—when you hear that there's an enormous Red Cross effort in this relatively small community, just an outpouring.

I'll tell you one very touching thing was that this town, this community, spent $18,000 just in volunteer contributions to South Carolina just a handful of weeks ago. And here they are stricken. And I hope that the American people will respond with exactly the same compassion that this community showed to a State all the way across the country.

And so, for me, the lessons are manifold. I guess the most emotional thing was talking to the father—well, first to the doctors and then to the father of the little boy whose life was saved on the crushed freeway when the doctors went in and had to amputate his leg to get him out to the hospital. And I talked to the dad and talked to the doctor. And so, there's this human dimension that's brought home much more clearly by coming here.

But in terms of what it will cost, I don't know. But the Federal Government will work with these other entities—the government entities, private entities—to see that the suffering is alleviated and restoration begins. And I'm confident that that will happen. I was talking to Senator Wilson and Governor Deukmejian coming over here, and they feel that FEMA is moving and moving promptly. I haven't had a chance to ask the mayor [Mardi Wormhoudt] about it in this community, but we've got to get these disaster centers open and take the claims, reduce the bureaucratic redtape that sometimes goes with them. And I'm confident we can do that, but I can't give you a total figure.

Q. Democrats are prepared to introduce legislation on Monday calling for $2½ billion in immediate assistance to this area.

The President. I don't think it's a partisan thing. I don't know whether—any people who are introducing legislation as Democrats. Somebody may have an assessment of what they think it will cost, but I'm willing to take a look at it and see. The Federal Government will respond, is what I'm saying. But I don't look at anybody making an effort at this juncture on a disaster of this magnitude as a partisan thing.

Q. Congressman Mineta says he thinks it will take $5 billion or $6 billion in Federal money.

The President. He'd have a good insight. We'll just have to wait and see.

Q. Are you willing to go above the Gramm-Rudman limits if——

The President. I'm willing to do what's needed to be done. But it's going to take a lot of hard—look, what I don't want to do is start making estimates when the Federal Government doesn't have the information from which to make those estimates. But a man's on the spot, like Norm Mineta, and a great concern—be very interested to see how he reaches that figure.

Q. You're calling for private people to send in contributions like they did to Hurricane Hugo. It sounds like maybe there's a ceiling on just how much the Government could do, and you'd like to——

The President. No, there's no ceiling on the compassion of the American people. And that's the point. And when you look at private efforts just in what we've seen today, you can't put a price tag on that kind of caring.

But I'll say this, that if it weren't for the Points of Light, for these volunteers, the bill to some level of government would be way, way, way higher than it is today. Because neighbor helps neighbor; friend helps friend; people reaching across and tries to lift up those that are hurt—I don't know how you put a price tag on it, but that is the American way. And it's been that way, and it always will be that way. And so, I would take this opportunity to encourage people to support the Red Cross or the Salvation Army effort that we saw up in the bay area. And there's no way you can put a price tag on it. It comes from the heart.

Any others?

Q. Congressman Mineta, have you been able to put a pricetag on it?

Representative Mineta. It's very tough to do right now. We have teams out that are beginning to estimate the damage, and I've got to tell you the damage figures are going up almost hourly. We started off around here at $350 million; now we're close to $800 million in damages in this area alone. So, I suspect that we're going to be just in excess of a billion dollars in damage right here. I think the President's right: We've really got to get an accurate assessment of what these damages are before we put a number.

Q. Is the money out there?

Representative Mineta. Well, as we all know on the budget, we fight for the money wherever we can try to find it. But when it comes to this kind of emergency, we're going to find it.

The President. The State is doing a superb job. The Governor—give the man credit and his people he works with. I mean, they have reserve funds, and now they're prepared to go try to get more. So, it isn't simply the Federal Government. And without committing the mayor, I expect she'll do her best.

Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:25 p.m. as he toured the Pacific Valley Mall, which was damaged by an earthquake that hit the San Francisco Bay area on October 17. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks. Following his remarks, the President traveled to San Jose, CA.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following a Tour of the Earthquake Damage in the San Francisco Bay Area

October 20, 1989

The President. Let me just say that it's been a very moving experience touring these devastated areas. And first, I'd like to ask the Governor of the State to say a word, and then our Senator, Pete Wilson, a brief comment by our Secretary of Transportation. The FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency] leader, Mr. Grant Peterson, is with us, too, to take your questions. And then I'll just have a comment at the end.

Governor Deukmejian. Well, from the

very beginning, all of the governmental agencies have been working very cooperatively together. And they have met the immediate emergency response needs. And we are just delighted that the President not only has sent Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner out here earlier in the week but now that he, as the President, has come here himself today.

And on behalf of all of the people in California, on behalf of all of the local government officials, as well as the people who have been working night and day to be of assistance, we want to express our deep appreciation to you, Mr. President, for coming out here to take a firsthand look and for your pledge of all-out support by the Federal agencies as we go forward now and try to get people's lives back to some semblance of normalcy.

Senator Wilson. Mr. President, we are enormously grateful to you for taking the time and making the effort to come out and personally visit and see the site of the tragic, tragic earthquake and to make clear the compassion that you have demonstrated to these crowds this morning. I think their reaction to you indicates their gratitude and speaks volumes. We are very grateful for the fact that you have pledged your support. The cooperation has been extraordinary. And as you have learned yourself firsthand today by visiting with the rescue workers, volunteers as well as the professionals from both State and local governments, these are people of whom we are very proud.

This is a tragedy, but it has brought out the very best—the people of California—especially those here in the bay area. And we are very grateful that you could take time to come, sir, and see it yourself.

The President. I've asked Congressman Norm Mineta, who has been asked by the Speaker to coordinate matters for this large California delegation and the interests of that delegation, to say a word here.

Congressman?

Representative Mineta. Thank you very much, Mr. President. We are really gratified that you have taken the time to be here. Despite the human tragedy that you have been able to see and experience on this visit, we know that in terms of the long-term aspects the transportation disaster is going to be one that's going to have to be overcome. The fact that you have recognized that and sent Secretary Skinner out here to see this, so that we might be able to make those kinds of preparations to get everything back into order, is something that we are heartened by. And from my perspective as chairman of the committee that deals with highways and bridges and mass transit, Mr. President, I pledge you my support in terms of cooperation in order to get the job done.

Thank you very much.

The President. Well, I'd be glad to take some questions. But I will simply repeat that this matter is of national concern. I want to be sure to properly salute those volunteer agencies and those individuals that are giving of themselves just because they care, they love somebody. And that made an impression on me today, seeing those Red Cross workers. At the last stop, there were five paid Red Cross workers and, I think they said, 1,000 volunteers—or maybe it was 100—but in any event, just manyfold people working and helping out.

The most touching moment—I was asked about that at the last stop—when this doctor, this marvelously heroic doctor, and his associate told me of pulling a kid out and having to amputate his leg to get him out of this crushed car. And then I had the opportunity to talk to the dad who was at the bedside of this 6-year-old boy. And I had a chance to tell him that the American people were rooting for him, to tell his dad that we all care. And there's 1,000 of those kinds of incidents, I'm sure, that I'm not even aware of.

But it's been a very moving day, and we do want to help.

Q. Mr. President, now that you've seen the devastation, is this the kind of a cause that's worth American taxpayers or California taxpayers to pay more taxes for to fix?

The President. We're going to do what is necessary to fix it. And I've talked to the Governor about that and about whether he would have to raise additional revenues. But the Federal Government, working with these others, has a responsibility. And so, we will do what is necessary to fulfill our Federal responsibilities, just as I expect the State will, the local government, and the volunteer efforts as well.

Q. Speaker Foley, sir, puts that Federal responsibility at $2½ billion, he said, at a minimum. Will you support that appropriation?

The President. I need to know what it is. I'm interested in talking to him about how he reached the figure. I was just talking to Congressman Panetta, who is one of the Congressmen from the area. He said it's very difficult for him to even give me an estimate. But I don't think we know the answer to the question—what the amount is going to be. But I have great respect for the Speaker, and I'm sure he had some scientific way of arriving at that. But what I've learned is that the figures just keep piling up, so we don't yet know the answer.

Q. Mr. President, how long do you think it will be before the Federal Government will be able to put a fairly firm estimate on how much money they'll need to provide?

The President. It's not a Federal Government estimate. It has to be from all areas. It has to come in from these communities. They can't begin to tell you in these local areas what it's going to take on the freeways—or how many lives were lost there even, yet. So, we don't know yet. So, I don't know—either of you can help on the timing on when we might have a total estimate?

Secretary Skinner. Well, the President has directed that we put this at a top priority. Everybody is working virtually day and night. We'll be working with the House and the Senate, and the Senate scheduled a hearing on Monday. But some of the things we can identify, and as the President indicated, some of them we just have to work further on—the numbers. But we are making emergency monies available right now for these next few days, and then we're going to move just as fast as we can. That's the boss's order.

Q. Mr. President, didn't the mayors whom you met with each tell you that it's going to cost at least, minimum, $1 billion in each various city—for a minimum of $3 billion—in your briefing this morning?

The President. No, they didn't tell me that, but they're right here. We can ask them what they think if you'd like to. And when I leave, ask the question. But I don't think that was covered on the briefing. I think they're all recognizing that their figures are a little soft at this point. But I don't recall each one saying the figure's $1 billion; they didn't.

Q. Mr. President, have you accepted Secretary Skinner's offer to be in charge of the relief efforts?

The President. He didn't make such an offer, but I'm thinking of tapping him for such an effort. He's a good man and cares a lot. The Transportation Department has major responsibilities. So, when I get back I'll make that decision. One of the mayors, and I think the Governor, felt that it would be very useful to have a—I was going to say a czar—but somebody who would be the single point man, you might say, to pull all the resources of the Government together.

Having said that, I have great confidence in FEMA, and I was very, very pleased with the initial response to the FEMA action and at the way FEMA has responded. And I'm proud to say that and to speak up for the volunteers and professionals at FEMA. They are doing a very good job. But it might well be that we'll want a Cabinet officer to be the total coordinator.

Q. Mr. President, where would these billions of dollars come from, given the budget deficit problems?

The President. We'll have to wrestle with that, won't we, when we get into the budgeting process.

Q. Mr. President, you said no redtape. Will you have a legislative package that will propose doing away with redtape to a greater extent than now? What else can you do?

The President. No, there won't be such a package. There will be just an ongoing effort to do away with redtape.

Q. Mr. President, would you resist any attempts to impose new taxes to pay for the disaster relief here in this area?

The President. I am going to do what is necessary to have the Federal Government fulfill its obligation.

Q. Is that a yes, Mr. President?

The President. I am going to do—let me repeat it for you because you couldn't hear it. I am going to do what is necessary for the Federal Government to fulfill its obligations under the law.

Any others? Thank you. We're heading home. And may I say to the various mayors and to the speaker who—Willie, come over here. Now, you're uncharacteristically shy, standing in the background. [*Laughter*] And to the mayor of Alameda and to the mayor of Oakland, my sincere appreciation for all your time. And I hope I didn't misquote you when I said that you felt there had been, at least up to this point, good cooperation at all levels; and we want to do our part. But I'm grateful to you all for being with us today. And we will try very hard to join you in helping to alleviate the suffering and helping to get these communities back on their feet.

Thank you all very much. And you guys, I understand you may see a game. Are you guys friends? [*Laughter*] Come over here just a minute, both of you, and say hello.

Note: The President spoke at 1:18 p.m. on the tarmac of Moffett Naval Air Station in San Jose, CA. In his remarks, he referred to State Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Jr., Mayor Chuck Corica of Alameda, and Mayor Lionel J. Wilson of Oakland. An earthquake struck the San Francisco Bay area on October 17. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Nomination of Edward S. Walker, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates

October 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward S. Walker, Jr., of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Arab Emirates. He would succeed David Lyle Mack.

Since 1988 Mr. Walker has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. Prior to this he served as deputy chief of mission in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He has studied at the Royal College of Defense Studies in London. In 1982 he became the Executive Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of State. He was a special assistant to the personal representative of the President for the autonomy negotiations between Israel and Egypt, 1979–1981, and chief of the political section in Damascus, Syria, 1977–1979. Mr. Walker joined the Agency for International Development as a management intern in 1966 and the Department of State as a Foreign Service officer in 1967.

Mr. Walker graduated from Hamilton College (A.B., 1963) and Boston University (A.M., 1965). He served in the U.S. Army, 1962–1965. He was born June 13, 1940, in Abington, PA. He is married, has two children, and resides in Arnold, MD.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

October 21, 1989

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2990, the "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and

Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990."

I have informed the Congress on numerous occasions that I would veto legislation if it permitted the use of appropriated funds to pay for abortions other than those in which the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. Most recently, I reiterated my position and the reasons therefor on October 17, 1989, in a letter to Members of the Senate. The limitation I proposed is identical to the one included in this appropriations bill, by a bipartisan majority, since 1981. This year, regrettably, the Congress has expanded the circumstances in which Federal appropriated funds could be used to pay for abortions.

In addition to unacceptable abortion language, this legislation underfunds the Pell grant program, weakening the Nation's commitment to expanding opportunity for higher education. At the same time, this legislation provides unnecessary advance funding for State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants.

Further, the Congress has failed to provide needed flexibility in the use of HHS discretionary funds to combat HIV/AIDS—one of America's highest public health priorities.

I am, therefore, compelled to disapprove H.R. 2990.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 21, 1989.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Signing of the Bill Providing Assistance for Free and Fair Elections in Nicaragua

October 21, 1989

Today the President signed into law H.R. 3385, a bill to provide assistance for free and fair elections in Nicaragua. This legislation represents another step forward in our efforts to promote democracy in countries that have been deprived of political and economic freedom. Around the world, the tide of democracy is advancing as more and more authoritarian and totalitarian regimes realize that human progress is inseparable from the principles of liberty.

In many of those countries—including Chile, the Philippines, Poland, and Paraguay—the United States, through the National Endowment for Democracy, made a difference by supporting democratic institutions. We did it because it was right. We did it because all of us benefit as freedom expands. And we will continue to support them when the forces of democracy look to us for help.

With the funds provided for in this legislation, the National Endowment for Democracy and other organizations will work to strengthen democratic institutions in Nicaragua so that truly free and fair elections may be held. In this way, we hope that Nicaragua will join other countries that have made the transition from repression to freedom.

The passage of this bill is a tribute to the bipartisan leadership of both Houses of Congress and an indication of strong bipartisan commitment to democratization and peace in Central America. Regional peace cannot be separated from democratization, as the Central American accords themselves make clear. This bill, by supporting democratic institutions in Nicaragua, will contribute to peace in the entire region.

Note: H.R. 3385, approved October 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101–119.

Statement on the Rescue of Buck Helm in Oakland, California
October 21, 1989

Barbara and I join all Americans in expressing our joy in the news that this afternoon workers at I–880 in Oakland rescued a victim from Tuesday's earthquake. The miraculous recovery of Buck Helm is a tribute to the thousands of relief workers and volunteers who have been working so tirelessly in the bay area. I am delighted to know that the efforts of some of the heroic workers I met yesterday have now been rewarded with the saving of another life.

Statement on Signing the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act
October 23, 1989

Today I signed into law H.R. 2788, the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act.

I am pleased that the Act includes funding for many programs important to the environment. In particular, the Act finances Federal land acquisition for conservation and recreation purposes, as I recommended in my February 9th budget. Many nationally significant natural and cultural resources will be protected by these appropriations. Furthermore, the Act strikes an important balance between protecting the environment and recognizing national and local economic concerns, as in the case of the spotted owl compromise. I commend the Congress for these actions.

I have reservations with two provisions of the Act: those dealing with extension of coverage of the Federal Tort Claims Act to private contractors, or their employees, serving Indian tribes; and those dealing with restrictions on oil and gas leasing and exploration on the Outer Continental Shelf. These reservations have been described in more detail in Statements of Administration Policy and other communications from officials of my Administration.

Notwithstanding these reservations, I have signed the bill because its benefits—particularly the treatment of many environmental, conservation, and energy-related issues important to the Nation—outweigh my reservations.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 23, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2788, approved October 23, was assigned Public Law No. 101–121.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Agreement for National Reconciliation in Lebanon
October 23, 1989

The President welcomes the news that the conference of Lebanese Parliamentarians in Taif, Saudi Arabia, has resulted in an agreement for national reconciliation in Lebanon. We commend the Arab League's Tripartite Committee for its important role in facilitating this agreement. The President congratulates the Lebanese Deputies for their courage and statesmanship, which have yielded an extraordinary opportunity to bring lasting peace to Lebanon. This is the first step toward restoration of a sovereign, unified, and independent Lebanon, free of all foreign forces. The President calls upon all concerned in Lebanon and in the international community to join the United States in supporting the process of peace and reconciliation launched by the Taif agreement.

Appointment of Frederick D. Nelson as an Associate Counsel to the President

October 23, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Frederick D. Nelson to be Associate Counsel to the President.

Since 1988 Mr. Nelson has been a litigator with the law firm of Taft, Stettinius & Hollister in Cincinnati, OH. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Assistant Attorney General (1986–1987) and special assistant to the Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice (1985–1986); majority counsel, Subcommittee on Criminal Law, Senate Judiciary Committee (1983–1985); and summer litigation associate with the law firm of Calfee, Halter & Griswold in Cleveland, OH (June 1981 and August 1982).

Mr. Nelson graduated from Hamilton College in Clinton, NY (A.B., 1980), and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1983). He was born in Lakewood, OH, on October 19, 1958.

Appointment of Christopher du Pont Roosevelt as a Member of the Roosevelt Campobello International Park Commission

October 23, 1989

The President today appointed Christopher du Pont Roosevelt to be a member on the part of the United States on the Roosevelt Campobello International Park Commission. He would succeed Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Since 1985 Mr. Roosevelt has served as president, publisher, and member of the board of directors of Oceans Magazine Associates, Inc.; and as chairman and chief executive officer of Cruise Passenger Network, Inc., since 1988. Prior to this, he served as president, chief executive officer, and trustee of the Oceanic Society, 1974–1985; Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, 1971–1974; and associate attorney with Cadwalader, Wickersham and Taft in New York, 1968–1971.

Mr. Roosevelt graduated from the University of Virginia (B.A., 1964) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1968). He was born December 21, 1941, in Philadelphia, PA. Mr. Roosevelt is married, has three children, and resides in Armonk, NY.

Appointment of Five Members of the President's Advisory Committee on the Points of Light Initiative Foundation

October 23, 1989

The President today announced the five members of the President's Advisory Committee on the Points of Light Initiative Foundation. The Committee has been charged with reporting to the President within 45 days of the Committee's first meeting on the legal structure of the Foundation and the legislation needed to establish the Foundation. The five members of the Advisory Committee are as follows:

Gov. Thomas Kean. Thomas Kean is Governor of New Jersey and will serve as Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee. Governor Kean was first elected to the statehouse in 1981. Born in New York City on April 21, 1935, Governor Kean graduated from Princeton University and subsequently earned his M.A. from Columbia University. He taught political science at Rutgers University and worked as a commentator and reporter for the New Jersey Nightly News program.

While in office, Governor Kean has proven to be an innovator in education reform, economic recovery, and environmental issues. After having inherited a substantial budget deficit, the Governor's budgets have consistently shown surpluses fiscal year after fiscal year. Through his Environmental Trust Fund, he has made New Jersey a national leader in the environmental movement. In 1985 Governor Kean established the Office of Volunteerism in New Jersey. This past June, in response to President Bush's call to make community service national policy, Governor Kean started the Garden State Initiative. He has served as chairman of the Education Commission of the States as part of his national leadership role in reforming and improving the school systems.

Edward A. Brennan. Mr. Brennan is chairman and chief executive officer of Sears, Roebuck and Co. and the chairman of the board of governors of the United Way. He joined Sears in 1956 as a salesman in a Madison, WI, store. After 30 years with Sears, he attained his present rank.

Mr. Brennan serves on the boards of directors of AMR Corp., Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., and the Sears-Roebuck Foundation. He is a member of the President's Export Council, the Business Council, the New York Stock Exchange Listed Company Advisory Committee, the Business Roundtable, the Conference Board, and the business advisory council of the Chicago Urban League. He is also a member of the boards of trustees of DePaul University, Marquette University, Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's Medical Center, and the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry. Mr. Brennan is a 1955 graduate of Marquette University with a degree in business administration.

Norman A. Brown. Dr. Brown is currently president and chief programming officer of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in Battle Creek, MI. The foundation, established in 1930 to "help people help themselves," has distributed more than $1 billion in support of programs in the fields of agriculture, education, and health. Before joining the foundation, Dr. Brown served on the faculties of Michigan State University and the University of Minnesota. He was the State 4-H director in Michigan and the dean and State director of the Minnesota Extension Service. Dr. Brown's international experience consisted of directing a Peace Corps program in the Philippines, work in agricultural education in Algeria, and consulting for 10 years in Latin America and the Caribbean for Partners of the Americas. His experience in the field of voluntarism has included such diverse activities as trustee of the Michigan State University Foundation; director of Independent Sector, a national organization of the nonprofit and philanthropic sector in the United States; chairman of the board of a trust for a new international college of agriculture for the humid tropics in Costa Rica; and member of a local board of education. In addition, Dr. Brown is the president of the Michigan-Dominican Republic-Belize Partners of the Americas. Dr. Brown received his bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees from Michigan State University.

Frances Hesselbein. Mrs. Hesselbein has been the national executive director of the Girl Scouts of the USA since 1976. In the 77-year history of Girl Scouting, Mrs. Hesselbein is the first chief executive officer chosen from within the ranks of the organization.

Mrs. Hesselbein serves on the individual investor advisory committee to the board of directors of the New York Stock Exchange and on the board of governors of Josephson Ethics Institute. She is a member of the top 17 national agency executive directors of the United Way of America, a member of the editorial advisory board of "Nonprofit Management and Leadership," Case Western Reserve University, and a member of the director's resource council of the National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation. Mrs. Hesselbein was the first woman to receive the National Professional Leadership Award, given by the United Way of America, as well as the first entrepreneurial woman award for excellence in not-for-profit management. She also has received the Distinguished Community Service Award from

Mutual of America Life Insurance Co. Mrs. Hesselbein is a volunteer on two college boards of trustees: Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA, and Allentown College of St. Francis de Sales, Allentown, PA. She is also on the board of visitors of the Peter F. Drucker Graduate School Management Center at Claremont College Graduate School in Claremont, CA.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Mr. Jordan is currently a senior partner in the Washington, DC, office of the law firm of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld. From 1972 to 1981, he was president of the National Urban League. Mr. Jordan has received many awards in recognition of his accomplishments, including, in 1977, the Alexis de Tocqueville Award of the United Way of America, a special tribute to his leadership in the field of voluntarism. He has authored a weekly newspaper column which has appeared in over 300 newspapers; broadcast commentaries on current issues for the Westinghouse broadcast network; and has been a frequent guest on major national television broadcasts, including "Meet the Press," "Issues & Answers," and "Face the Nation." Mr. Jordan is a trustee of the Ford Foundation, governor of the New York Hospital, a member of the board of directors for the United Way of America, the former chairman of the board of trustees for the Atlanta University Center (recently retired), and the chairman of the National Academy Foundation. Mr. Jordan was reared in Atlanta, GA, where he was born on August 15, 1935. He received his B.A. from DePauw University in 1957 and graduated from Howard University Law School in 1960.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Excellence in Science and Math Teaching Awards

October 24, 1989

Welcome to the White House on this glorious fall day. I'm sorry if I'm just a little bit late. I was sitting in there trying to solve a few quadratic equations. [*Laughter*] Somewhat more difficult than balancing the budget, I might say. And then I thought it might be appropriate to have a moment of silence in memory of those substitute teachers back home. [*Laughter*]

It really is a pleasure to have you all here. And to Erich Bloch, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and to my colleague, confidant, Dr. Bromley, our Science Advisor, and to the outstanding teachers we honor today—you've taken one of the Nation's most vital and yet too often unappreciated tasks. And because you've committed yourselves to excellence on the frontlines of American education, you really do represent our best hope for the future.

So many Americans remember a special teacher who made a quiet but crucial difference in their lives. And it might have been the teacher who brought math to life explaining ratios by using the gears of a bicycle, or maybe it's a teacher who revealed the powerful drama in the life of a single cell or who sparked speculation about the expansion of the universe. Of course, those of us who haven't been to school in a while get our scientific understanding from those Gary Larson cartoons—[*laughter*]—like the one where, after detailed calculations, Einstein discovers that time is actually money. [*Laughter*]

Now, you've seen all the surveys about American students' poor performance in scientific knowledge compared to their peers around the world. We've all seen them. We agonize over them. And it is a serious problem, but you are not just complaining about it. You're doing something about it, and you're showing that excellence is not just possible in American education—it ought to be the norm. And you and the outstanding teachers across the country that you represent are creating centers of excellence in classrooms of every kind, setting standards for the rest of the country to follow, and creating exceptional students.

This year a high school student from Denver named Steven Gubser won the 20th International Physics Olympiad in Warsaw. When the United States began competing in the tournament in 1986, some thought that our students wouldn't really have a chance against students from Europe and the Far East. But our teams have consistently distinguished themselves, capped by this gold medal performance. This is the standard of excellence that America's students and teachers should aspire to and that more can attain. Our problem is not that we don't have American students excelling at science and math—we just don't see enough of them. Of course, there were a few outstanding students in my time. I had a friend who was so smart once that he knew how to convert meters to gallons—[*laughter*]—in his head.

The work of outstanding teachers like yourselves has a profound impact not just on the students you teach but on the Nation as a whole. And the link between science and technology and our standard of living is stronger today than ever before. At a time when our international position in certain key industries is being challenged, we face impending shortages of qualified scientists and engineers. So, your work is helping to meet a crucial need, a national need.

Not every student will be a physics olympian or make a career as a scientist, but growing numbers will have jobs based on new technologies: farm workers producing genetically engineered crops; auto workers involved with robotics, cybernetic systems, electronic controls; service people maintaining computers and telecommunication systems. It'll be new skills and the ability to learn them quickly and adapt that will be crucial to their future and America's future.

When I met with the Nation's Governors in Charlottesville last month at that educational summit, they told me, as the business community continues to tell me, that a clear consensus is emerging on the crucial need to improve math and science education in this country. And that's why we're establishing a National Science Scholars program for top math and science students across the country. And for students of all abilities we're working to set national goals for math and science education. We're going to be looking to you for advice and guidance on those goals and the steps we can take together to attain them. I want to encourage you to work with this administration, and certainly with the Governors in the 50 States, to refine our approach to math and science education. All of you as teachers know the larger role that education plays in a free society.

Every student in America, even those who don't choose technical careers, will need enough scientific and mathematical understanding to make decisions about the technologies of the 21st century. You understand the importance of a literate and informed citizenry, and you're acting on that understanding and for the sake of every student you teach every day.

You know, a few minutes ago I said that all of us—just about all of us—can think of special teachers, teachers that touched our lives forever. But it's also true that the greatest minds in science and mathematics were inspired and directed by teachers of their own, and that's worth remembering. What you're doing today has the potential to unleash the genius of an entire new generation. And for all that you've done and all that you will continue to do, we three here—and I expect I speak for the two distinguished scientists that join us, but I know I speak for Dan Quayle, our able Vice President, and Barbara, who is so committed to helping you all, especially in the field of literacy—for all you've done, we want to just thank you and congratulate you and urge you to keep it up. And may God bless this vital work that you do. Thank you so much for coming to the White House.

Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to D. Allan Bromley, Science Advisor to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy.

Appointment of Charles R. Henry as a Member of the Committee for Purchase from the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped

October 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Maj. Gen. Charles R. Henry, USA, as the Department of Defense member of the Committee for Purchase from the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped. He would succeed Daniel W. McKinnon, Jr.

Since 1988 General Henry has served as Deputy Director for Acquisition Management of the Defense Logistics Agency in Alexandria, VA. Prior to this he served as the Army's Competition Advocate General in the Secretary of the Army's Office, 1984–1988.

General Henry graduated from Middle Tennessee State University (B.S., 1959), and he received juris doctor and master of law degrees from Wilson College. In addition, General Henry received the Distinguished Service Medal. He was born October 3, 1937, in Horse Cave, KY. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in Springfield, VA.

Appointment of Daniel W. McKinnon, Jr., as a Member of the Committee for Purchase from the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped

October 24, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Rear Adm. Daniel W. McKinnon, Jr., USN, as the Department of the Navy member of the Committee for Purchase from the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped. He would succeed Edward Keith Walker.

Since 1988 Rear Admiral McKinnon has served as Commander of the Naval Supply Systems Command and Chief of Supply Corps at the Department of the Navy. Prior to this he was Deputy Director for Acquisition Management of the Defense Logistics Agency, 1986–1988. He was Vice Commander of the Naval Supply Systems Command, 1984–1986; Assistant Commander for Inventory and Systems Integrity for the Naval Supply Systems Command, 1983–1984; and Director of Supply Corps Personnel, 1982–1983. In 1980 he assumed command of the U.S. Naval Supply Depot, Subic Bay, Philippines.

Rear Admiral McKinnon graduated from the University of Missouri (B.S., 1956) and received a master's degree in business administration from the University of Michigan. In 1987 he served as a member of the President's Committee for Purchase from the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped. He was born April 26, 1934, in St. Joseph, MO. He is married, has one child, and resides in Annandale, VA.

Remarks to Members of the Institute of International Education

October 25, 1989

It's 8 years later, and I'm still 10 minutes late. [*Laughter*] But thank you very much, Dick, and distinguished Dr. Henry Kaufman. And I know I should say thank you to one of our own, Sichan Siv, over here, your former manager of Asian and Pacific programs and now a key member of our administration. And let me also say it's a delight to be among the supporters—I recognize many of you—of the Institute, the IIE. And then I had opportunity to greet some of the students that are here from foreign lands.

Let me tell you how I came to know of your achievements and, through that, appreciate what you do. Barbara and I were—we moved down to Houston from Midland and were raising our family. And we have many fond memories of those days, but among our fondest is the delight of having young men and women from so many countries joining us for conversation and supper at our home. And we became involved with the Institute as a host family through Alice Pratt, whose dedicated work there is now being carried on by Fentress Bracewell down in Houston. I don't know whether Fentress is here, so I haven't spotted—oh, here he is, right here in front. Delighted to see you. But it was Alice who taught us how rewarding it is to show a young foreign friend the way through the academic, business, and social maze of a vibrant American city. And because of Alice, we learned that by seeing our country through another's eyes, we could almost be like tourists in our own home.

And today at the White House, when Barbara and I dine with foreign visitors, our guests are rarely students. Rather, they are often foreign leaders and Presidents and Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries and Ambassadors. But we've noticed something that makes us think back to our Houston days: Many of our foreign guests once worked and studied in the United States. I was most impressed, Dick, by just that menu you read off there of how these kids come and then move into positions of leadership. And this is bound to be of benefit not just to the United States but to the other countries as well.

But you do more than bring the world to America: you open the cultures of the world to our people as well. Mark Twain said that the "broad, wholesome, charitable views of men and things cannot be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the Earth all one's lifetime." Thomas Jefferson, our magnificent education President, enhanced such a broad, wholesome, and charitable view when he left the Piedmont, his beloved Piedmont of Virginia, to represent the American cause in France. And in more recent times, many Americans have had the liberating experience of living abroad. Certainly, Barbara and I felt transformed by the time that we spent living in China, a time when we sometimes traveled those dusty streets, always on our bicycles. But it was tremendous experience—days we'll never forget. And of course, we learned a lot about the Chinese people. Most of all, we learned an awful lot more about ourselves. And every American who lives abroad returns home with a new perspective and, I believe, a deeper feeling for our own country.

Your Institute promotes just exactly this kind of understanding through 249 programs, assisting more than 10,000 people from 155 countries every year. Innumerable are the new friendships made, incalculable the good will that is generated.

When your organization was founded 70 years ago, there was a belief that the exchange of students, scholars, and professionals from country to country would promote peace and understanding. Some regarded that ideal as hopelessly naive. Well, now we know that that's not true. It is true that international exchanges are not a great tide to sweep away all differences, but they will slowly wear away at the obstacles to peace as surely as water wears away a hard stone.

And I am honored to be here. I would simply add: Keep it up. We are living in perhaps the most exciting time of change certainly in the nuclear age, and maybe in terms of the entire history of the United States, as we look at what's happening particularly in Eastern Europe, as we see what's happening in Asia, see what's happening, indeed, in the Soviet Union itself. And I can tell you that the interaction that we had with this wonderful organization makes me feel a little more confident as I wrestle with these problems. But far more important than that, I think, is that the insight that the kids that come here get into our great, free, wonderful country.

So, I'm grateful to you. I wanted to come over and thank you all very, very much for what you're doing. Please keep it up. And God bless you all. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Richard Krasno, Henry Kaufman, Alice Pratt, and Fentress Bracewell, president, chairman of the board, former director of the Houston office, and chairman of the southern regional advisory board of the Institute of International Education, respectively; and Sichan Siv, Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the Economic Sanctions Against Nicaragua

October 25, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since my last report of April 21, 1989, concerning the national emergency with respect to Nicaragua that was declared in Executive Order No. 12513 of May 1, 1985. In that order, President Reagan prohibited: (1) all imports into the United States of goods and services of Nicaraguan origin; (2) all exports from the United States of goods to or destined for Nicaragua except those destined for the organized democratic resistance; (3) Nicaraguan air carriers from engaging in air transportation to or from points in the United States; and (4) vessels of Nicaraguan registry from entering U.S. ports.

1. The declaration of emergency was made pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*, and the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1601, *et seq.* This report is submitted pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c).

2. The Office of Foreign Assets Control (FAC) of the Department of the Treasury issued the Nicaraguan Trade Control Regulations implementing the prohibitions in Executive Order No. 12513, effective May 7, 1985; 50 *Fed. Reg.* 19890 (May 10, 1985). There have been no amendments to these regulations since my last report.

3. Since my report of April 21, 1989, fewer than 30 applications for licenses have been received with respect to Nicaragua, and the majority of these applications have been granted. Of the licenses issued in this period, some authorized exports for humanitarian purposes, covering donated articles beyond the scope of the exception to the export ban, to assist in the rebuilding of houses and churches that were destroyed by Hurricane Joan in 1988. Certain licenses authorized the export of equipment to *La Prensa,* the major opposition publication in Nicaragua, as well as to other opposition press groups. A license was also issued to the United Nations that authorized the export of certain equipment for use by the U.N. Observer Mission in verifying the electoral process in Nicaragua.

4. Since my last report, the Department of the Treasury completed two significant enforcement actions. A U.S. organization, which has been engaging in unauthorized imports from Nicaragua in protest of U.S. policies in Central America, agreed to cease its illegal trade activities. This agreement followed issuance of a warning letter sent to the group in March 1988 by the United States Attorney and the execution of a search warrant covering the organization's offices by the U.S. Customs Service.

In April 1989, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Puerto Rico, a U.S. shipowner whose oil tanker had been seized on two separate occasions by the U.S. Customs Service for unauthorized transshipment of aviation fuel to Nicaragua settled a civil forfeiture action against the vessel by paying $125,000, including a $10,000 civil penalty under the regulations.

5. The trade sanctions are an essential element of our policy that seeks a demo-

cratic outcome in Nicaragua by diplomatic means. The Sandinista regime made numerous commitments to democratization and national reconciliation when it signed the Esquipulas Agreement in 1987. The Government of Nicaragua reiterated these commitments on February 14, 1989, at Tesoro Beach, El Salvador, and, in addition, promised to hold free, fair, and honest elections in February 1990 under international observation. I do not believe that current conditions in Nicaragua justify lifting the trade sanctions. If Nicaragua fully implements its Esquipulas commitments to democratize; holds free, fair, and honest elections; undertakes genuine national reconciliation; and ends its support for subversion in the region and its close security ties to the Soviet bloc, the emergency that prompted the imposition of the trade sanctions would largely be resolved.

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the period from May 1, 1989, through November 1, 1989, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the Nicaraguan national emergency are estimated at $197,715, all of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Customs Service, as well as in FAC and the Office of the General Counsel), with expenses also incurred by the Department of State and the National Security Council staff.

7. The policies and actions of the Government of Nicaragua continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against Nicaragua as long as these measures are appropriate and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on expenses and significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c).

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 25, 1989.

Nomination of Allan V. Burman To Be Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy at the Office of Management and Budget

October 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Allan V. Burman to be Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy at the Office of Management and Budget. He would succeed Robert P. Bedell.

Since 1988 Dr. Burman has been Acting Administrator of the Office of Federal Procurement Policy in the Office of Management and Budget; and Deputy Administrator of the Office of Federal Procurement Policy, 1986–1988. Prior to this, he was chief of the Air Force branch of the national security division at the Office of Management and Budget, 1981–1986; Federal executive fellow at the Brookings Institution, 1980–1981; and coordinator for research and development programs of the Air Force branch of the Office of Management and Budget, 1977–1980. He was also a special assistant to the Director of Defense Education in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1975–1977.

Dr. Burman graduated from Wesleyan University (B.A., 1966), Harvard University (M.A., 1968), and the George Washington University (Ph.D., 1983). He was born August 30, 1944, in Bristol, CT. Dr. Burman is married, has one child, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Remarks to Participants in the Prime Time To End Hunger Campaign

October 25, 1989

Polly, thank you very much. What we want to do is get out and hear you, so it works out just perfectly. And I'm just so pleased you're here. Good afternoon and welcome to the White House. Polly referred to it, but we've got these stars from some of the most popular shows on television: "thirtysomething," "Roseanne," "Head of the Class," "Mr. Belvedere," and "Knots Landing." And you represent a combined market share that any politician would envy. [*Laughter*] And there are plenty of top people from the networks here: Warren Littlefield, NBC; Philip Beuth, ABC; Peter Tortorici, CBS; George Bush, USA. [*Laughter*]

The serious fact is that, through your shows, all of you reach millions. And there is a lot of power in that. Think about the commercials that stick in our minds, the shows we watch every week and we'll never forget, and the way what happens on the screen can sometimes change our lives.

One story—you may have heard it—about the hit show "Happy Days." The star of that show, the Fonz, was certainly not a fellow who led the life of the mind. But in one episode, in order to impress a potential girlfriend, the Fonz hit on a way to cultivate a more intellectual image. He took out a library card. There were quite a few Fonz watchers out there, and the first few weeks after that show, there was a 500-percent increase in the number of young people taking out library cards across the country. And that is just one small manifestation of the power of TV.

It's time—prime time—to end hunger and drug abuse and homelessness, as Polly was talking about. And that's why this new effort has such enormous potential. For the first time ever, NBC and CBS and ABC have joined forces. And you couldn't have chosen a worthier project than a campaign promoting community service. This past summer when I announced my Points of Light community service initiative, I said that my aim was to make community service central to the life and work of every individual and every institution in America, from the largest corporations right down to the neighborhood softball team.

Let me say today that network television is one institution that is really taking this challenge to heart. The days when TV and the movies glorified violence and drugs and crime are fading. And in place of these negative images, we're seeing a more positive message of caring, of compassion, and of hope. Prime Time to End Hunger is just the kind of media initiative that I'm talking about. Whether it's hunger or one of the many other challenges that faces us today, you're reaching out to help other people in need. And the first 3 weeks of December you're going to tackle some of our nation's most serious problems: hunger, homelessness, illiteracy, drug abuse. And we all know television can do more than entertain: it can educate. And your programs can help shape the way each of us thinks about the least fortunate among us.

Television provides a window into the homes of millions of Americans every single night. And all of you are part of this force that's shaping—helping shape—a new generation. From the comfort of our homes and the company of our families, your shows are going to make us think, and think hard, about people who are hungry, homeless, those without hope—and how we can help them. That's a service to every community across America, a service of the highest kind. And I know you've heard me say many times before that from now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. Well, these shows can be catalysts to greater community involvement, shows that convince each person who is watching—everyone—that they've got what it takes to reach out and to help someone in need. I know this is one time we all hope that life will imitate art.

Today, I want to thank you and everyone associated with your programs and the Prime Time to End Hunger Network.

You've got a message that we've got to get out to all Americans. And I wish you the best, and I hope that every TV set in America is tuned in to your shows those first 3 weeks in December. Thank you for your outstanding commitment, and God bless you all. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:14 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Polly Draper of "thirtysomething"; Warren Littlefield, executive vice president, prime time programming, NBC; Philip R. Beuth, vice president and executive producer, morning programming, ABC; and Peter Tortorici, vice president, planning and scheduling, CBS.

Nomination of Frances D. Cook To Be United States Ambassador to Cameroon

October 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frances D. Cook to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cameroon. She would succeed Mark L. Edelman.

Ms. Cook is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor. Since 1987 she has served as Director of the Office of West African Affairs at the Department of State. Prior to this, Ms. Cook served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau for Refugee Programs at the Department of State, 1986–1987; as the consul general for the United States consulate general in Alexandria, Egypt, 1983–1986; and as Ambassador to the Republic of Burundi, 1980–1983. She was the Director of the Public Affairs Office at the Department of State, 1978–1980.

Ms. Cook graduated from the University of Virginia (B.A., 1967) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1978). She was born September 7, 1945, in Charleston, WV. Ms. Cook currently resides in Washington, DC.

Interview With Latin American Journalists

October 25, 1989

War On Drugs

Q. Mr. President, you know that the problem in Colombia is the fighting of—this drug problem. And the newspapers in Colombia are very much in front of this thing.

The President. Yes.

Q. And we are fighting very strongly. We have been suffering a lot. But there is a concern in our country that in the United States there is not enough control and enough punishment on the consumption and distribution of the drugs.

The President. Yes.

Q. I personally had an experience just 2 weeks ago. I was in New York. I was invited to the Waldorf Astoria for dinner. And the person who invited me came to the Grand Central and walked from the Grand Central to the Waldorf Astoria, and in that short walk, four people offered him drugs. So, I say, why does this happen? Is it in the United States that there is not enough control and enough punishment, enough action in that way? So, what can you tell our readers about that?

The President. Mr. Cano [Luis Gabriel Cano, El Spectador, Colombia], first, I strongly supported what President Barco said when he called attention of the world and certainly the United States to the consumption problem. We have no argument with that—he is right. And what I am trying to do in our new antidrug strategy is to go after not only the criminals that sell drugs to your friend in those two blocks but the people that use it. We're coupling with that an all-out education program that is not just government but private sector as well.

And I might say that it isn't just, regrettably, one country, the United States, that is a user. What concerns me and other leaders is that it's going not only into some countries in our own hemisphere, South America, but all through Europe. And I asked the Soviets if they had a problem with it, and it's everywhere.

But I think when President Barco, my respected friend, pointed out, look, you've got to do something about consumption, he was right. And I've used that in speaking to leadership groups in this room and in others to try to encourage support for our antinarcotics program, which still does have strong support in our country, and for the legislation we need, getting tougher on the people that sell it, and for the education, of educating against being a user.

Argentine Economic Reforms

Q. Mr. President, Argentina is trying to restructure its highly inefficient economy. And that implies some degree of social tensions. And President Menem was here recently to explain some of these goals. What was your perception of these goals and these problems? And what do you think the U.S. can do to assist or help a country like Argentina dealing with these economic and social problems?

The President. In the first place, I was most impressed with President Menem—not just here when he came to visit but at the United Nations when we sat together and had a chance to have a quick meeting. I think there's been a universal respect for what he's tried to do. He came out of one political background, and he has broadened the appeal not just to have support in the Argentine but in the United States as well.

I told him we want to work with him on the debt problem. I realize it isn't easy because Argentina does have a very large debt. But the elements of the Brady plan are there, and they can be very helpful to him. We want to encourage and be helpful in privatization, and I think there's ways that we can encourage investment in Argentina, given these political reforms. So, it's across the board; it isn't just one program.

But the thing that's impressed me is the toughness of the man and his willingness to make the tough decisions on getting his economic house in order and, indeed, what he's doing on the political front.

So, I think you'll see a whole new relationship between Argentina and the United States. This is on my mind because the Argentinian Ambassador [Guido Di Tella] presented his credentials yesterday, and well, he really said just about what I'm saying here in terms of the feeling in Argentina about the United States. And I want to encourage as many of our top people to go there as possible; work closely with the finance people, the environment people, the military, whatever it is. So, we have a new era bilaterally; and I think, universally, there is a respect for what he's trying to do.

Chilean Democratization

Q. Mr. President, in countries returning to democracy, like Chile and so many others, what is the importance of the following three threats: first is subversion; second, the tensions in the military suspected of violation of human rights; and third, the economy and the foreign debt?

The President. Just to comment on each of those?

Q. Yes.

The President. Subversion: nobody is interested in doing anything other than to help stop possible subversion. Because as Chile moves towards its elections within the next few weeks, this is a very significant development; and it is one that, in my view, can result—speaking as President of the United States—in better relations with our country.

On the military violations, this obviously is a matter where the people of Chile and the Government and everybody else has to respond. There's not much we can do about it. But I do not want to see in any country a military subvert the will of the people when democracy is on the move in this hemisphere—a general answer to a specific question.

And then the third one was what?

Q. The foreign debt and the economy.

The President. Foreign debt? Well, of course, Chile has been out in front of other countries in managing its economy, in spite of its difficulties in some areas. We talked about the politics, the political problem. But Chile, because of its—I wouldn't say economic miracle, but they have done far better. And the elements of support from the international institutions—and again, on the Third World debt or their debt problems—are in place pretty much in Chile. So, I'm somewhat optimistic about their being about to cope financially, at least as we see it from the United States. I think people see that Chile has done very well, relatively speaking.

Soviet Arms Shipments to Nicaragua

Q. Mr. President, in spite of superpower negotiations on regional issues, Soviet-bloc arms continue to pour into Nicaragua. From January 1st to September 30th of the current year, there were 55 shipments, valued at over $400 million—State Department figures. What does your government plan to do about this? And do you plan to bring this up at the coming summit in San José?

The President. I'll bring it up every chance I get. And what we're trying to do is educate our friends in Europe and people who strongly support democracy all over the world that this is happening. I think people don't believe it. And it's true.

Secondly, we will continue to work with the Soviet Union. We had a little argument—not argument, but they felt we had challenged their word—on this whole question, as you remember, not so many weeks ago. And we weren't doing that. We were pointing out the totality of the shipments, which are in the range that you've just outlined here.

So, we will make clear every chance we get to the Soviets that that is not in their interests, and certainly we view it against the security interests of the United States, and we view it against the tide in terms of democracy. Why should that military clique, who at one point were espousing their own Marxist beliefs, deny, through having a military force far bigger than is required and bigger than any of its neighbors, the will of the people?

So, it's a combination of these things. And I will be pleased to discuss it in Costa Rica; in Washington, DC; or anyplace else. And I think there's a little more understanding now in our country about it, but not as much as there should be, see, because the regime keeps denying this, you see.

Situation in Nicaragua

Q. Mr. President, according to the Tela accords, which were signed recently by the five Central American Presidents, the Nicaraguan resistance must be demobilized and voluntarily repatriated by December 8th. With the economy of my country in terrible shape, Honduras is insisting that the resistance leave its territory by this date, December 8th. If the resistance does not want to return voluntarily to Nicaragua, for whatever reason, will the United States take them? And will you take this up with President Azcona when you meet with him in San José on Friday?

The President. There were two conditions under Tela: one was voluntary repatriation, and I think the other was to democratic conditions, or something of that nature. And so, those two are the sine qua nons of demobilization, it seems to me. And so, I can sympathize; and, yes, I'll be glad to discuss it further with President Azcona. I understand it does cause some differences, but I do not want to push for anything other than voluntary and then demobilization into democratic conditions.

So, I think the major objective here should be to see that these elections are free and fair and that opposition—and, yes, we'll help with repatriation on those conditions, absolutely; we will help. But I must insist that all of us in this hemisphere—and I will try to insist on this—do what we can to be sure that these elections coming up in Nicaragua are free and fair and that the opposition has a chance to take its case to the people. And I'm not just talking about 3 minutes on television at midnight. I think there's got to be a very fair presentation of the opposition case.

So, I don't want to sound insensitive to what's happened, to the burden on Honduras. I am sensitive to it and am perfectly prepared to discuss it further with President Azcona. We discussed it when he was up here. But we're getting close now in terms of time, and these elections are the key to a lot of things.

War on Drugs

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. There have been reports of the United States concentrating troops along the Mexican border for drug interdiction matters. A, can you confirm that for us? And, B, given the nature of our border and the fact that Mexico uses a substantial part of its own army for the same purposes, would you like to see an operation on the border constrained to the border of Mexico and the United States designed to break up drug traffic and arms traffic coming from the United States into Mexico?

The President. I'd like to see the utmost cooperation between the military. I'm not sure that I'm prepared to endorse a joint force, and I'm not sure Mexico—President Salinas—would want that. But I should tell you, we have reached a new level of cooperation because of the courage of the new President of Mexico. And in terms of our interdiction, what you may be thinking of is not a deployment of U.S. troops but using the National Guard in some areas on exercises to try to stop drugs from coming in.

The more cooperation we have with Mexico along the lines you're talking about to interdict—whether it's illegal arms going one way or illegal drugs coming another—to have that border policed and peaceful, the better it is. But I am very encouraged by the cooperation we're getting all up and down the line from the Salinas administration, and I hope they're encouraged, because this is indeed a two-way street.

And as one who feels very close to Mexico—as you know, my grandchildren are half-Mexican, and this one is one that's real close to my heart. And I don't want to propose anything nor will I support anything that looks like an abuse of U.S. power. The way to do it is to work cooperatively with the Salinas regime and the officials in the military, *policia*, whatever it is, to accomplish the ends that both countries want. So, we will try. And I'm not suggesting we don't have border problems. We do; Mexico does with us. But the level of cooperation has really stepped up. And our visit with the President here—I think the more my high officials—my Cabinet people that saw him, the more impressed they were.

Q. Mr. President, in Peru we have two extremely serious problems: the economic crisis and the terrorist subversion. They limit and complicate any effective action which may be taken with regard to the drug traffic. In this respect, what will be the principal proposal of cooperation of your government in our joint battle against the drug scourge?

The President. Well, we have made some proposals on antinarcotics that affect Peru and affect Bolivia. But I think the way to answer that question is to say I enthusiastically look forward to participation in this so-called Andean drug summit, and we're going to be trying to set the—along with—as invitees and invitors. We said earlier we thought this was a good idea. Now we've had official invitation from Bolivia and Colombia and Peru. And I think to really definitively answer your question we've got to have that meeting, because I don't want them to be making proposals that just go counter to the culture in Peru. And I want them to understand, though, how strongly we feel about it and how prepared we are to help them.

So, we've made some proposals, and as you know, we've helped in the past, principally in Bolivia on helicopters and spraying. But I don't want to go further than that now until we have this summit. There's no point in having it if we have our minds already made up. I've got to hear from them. We've got to have a hemispheric answer, not just a U.S. proposal on it.

Oil and Gas

Q. Mr. President, ex-Secretary Schlesinger, writing in the Washington Post this morning, pointed to the increasing consumption of oil by the U.S. and the increasing dependency, as a result, on the Gulf region. Now, I know that, as a former oilman, you must be aware of the very large reserves in the hemisphere of heavy oil. What would be your ideas regarding the possibility of a hemispheric preference arrangement to decrease your dependency on the Gulf?

The President. I would be very wary of interjecting myself, our government, into the market. I'd be concerned about that. I can see the security argument that some might make, and it's valid. You have Mexico; you have the enormous resources in Lake Maracaibo in Venezuela; Colombia has some production. And you can make a case that there's more for the security interest of the United States in giving preference. My problem with it is it distorts the market, and it artificially could raise the price to the American consumer, or you could start regional conflict—not military but economic conflict between the producing countries.

And Saudi Arabia and, to some degree, Kuwait and Iran dominate the international oil market. And if we move to preferences, if we move to regional compacts of this nature, I think you could set off a price war that would damage the economy not just of the—of every producing country. And that would work opposite of increasing prices here, but it would not be good for the economies that need to optimize their revenue from oil and gas. And I'm talking about Mexico, and I'm certainly talking about Venezuela.

But I share Jim's—I didn't see this article, but I share his concern about my country becoming ever increasing [dependent] on foreign sources. And that's why I've tasked Jim Watkins, our able Secretary of Energy, to come up with a national energy policy. And it won't just be hydrocarbons: It will be more use of domestic—of gas, I'm sure. It will be a vital industry in oil, but it will be alternate sources as well. We are not going to back away from nuclear power in this country.

War on Drugs

Q. Mr. President, in Peru and my country, Bolivia, there are thousands of people working in the coca leaf fields because they don't have any other source of income. Unless there is a serious commitment from rich countries to help to create jobs—through investments, for instance—the narco traffic problem probably won't change. Mr. President, do you think that the United States Government would consider the possibility to initiate and encourage investments in those countries to try to change the entire situation for every——

The President. Julio [Julio Cesar Duran, El Diario, Bolivia], we certainly consider that. Again, that's a subject that I want to discuss with your new and, I'd say, very impressive President. Again, I had a good meeting with him. And I don't want to prejudge this so-called Andean drug summit, but we recognize that many of these small peasant farmers are dependent on coca crops. I also recognize that the business has gotten pretty good for them—better than it used to be because more people, especially in my country, are using the damn stuff. So, we don't want to do—I'm not sure it's just supply and demand that's working there.

But we've got to be openminded about alternative cropping. We've certainly got to be openminded about trying to get business opportunities that would take some of these farmers and get them involved in something other than producing coca. So, I'm openminded, but again, I don't want to prejudge the summit.

Brazil-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, as you know, we will have Presidential elections in Brazil in 3 weeks. And the U.S.-Brazil relations have become a major issue in the political campaign. What I would like to know is your expectations regarding this election and what the new President, that will be elected by the people for the first time in almost 30 years, could expect from the U.S.?

The President. Let me answer your question, but let me ask for clarification. How has the U.S. become an issue in the election? Just so I can respond.

Q. These recent trade disputes and environment and so on.

The President. Okay. Well, first, this is an enormous country. And the heartbeat is democracy, I'm convinced of that; that hasn't always been the history. I think that's the heartbeat in Brazil. So, the United States should stand ready, as we have with Argentina, to see what comes out of the election—clearly, not be involved in the election—and then stand ready with a friendly country—and I think we do have friendly relations with Brazil—to iron out what has cropped up as difficulties, be it in trade or something else. And so, I would just say: Look, you've got a new regime. What do you stand for? What kind of relations do you want with the United States? And we're ready—we are ready to deal with you. And Brazil faces horrendous debt problems, too.

One area that's been a little contentious has to do with the forests and with the environmental implications of that on global warming. And at first, I think there was a disconnect between Brazil and the United States, but now I don't think we're very far apart. We had a good talk with President Sarney in New York about this. And I think when we were talking about environmental set-asides he thought I was talking about intervention into the sovereignty or diminishing the sovereignty of Brazil. And heaven's sakes, we're not interested in that. We are interested in this concept of global warming and in working with Brazil in a constructive way.

So, I think we've ironed out what might have been major misunderstandings. Without knowing who wins the election and what that person stands for, I'd have to wait and see. I would simply go back to Argentina, when some were predicting, I think we would all recognize, great difficulties if President Menem won the election. We had a lot of sophisticated guys telling me, hey, this would be not good for me, for the United States, for our country. It turns out to be just the opposite. So, we can't prejudge. We've all been through campaigns; we've listened to campaign rhetoric—espoused a little myself from time to time. But look at the facts; look at where we're going. And we want to do that with Brazil, and we will.

War on Drugs

Q. Mr. President, the drug fighting—it's a matter of survival in Colombia and a way to defend our democracy. The Colombian Government established a reward of 100 million pesos to the person that provides any information in order to catch the big drug traffickers. However, they move to other countries, and the action has not been effective yet. We feel like if they are caught the drug problem is going to fall down a lot. Has the United States Government, through any international organization, considered the possibility of setting up a better and more attractive reward?

The President. I hadn't thought about the reward possibility. Maybe our Department of Justice has. So, I should hedge a little bit on that.

Bob [Robert Gates, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs], do you know?

Mr. Gates. No, sir. I'd be glad to——

The President. What we have done is set up—or are in the process of setting up much more cooperation with others in terms of the problem itself. In the first place, we have, I want to repeat, a great respect for what President Barco is doing against a lot of tough forces and against—good God, here you guys are in the newspaper business, and just for printing the truth and standing up against this, you've been firebombed and had great difficulty. So, we can identify with that. So, I think it's going to be—everyone knows our stance on extradition, and I understand it's not a particularly popular stance in some areas in Colombia. But the administration, President Barco, has been very good about that.

Whether the reward—I know we have some rewards, but whether it applies to this or not, I'd have to get you an answer. Marlin, if you would—I'm embarrassed to say I don't know the specific figures. And there isn't, on my desk, a proposal to increase the rewards. If there was some feeling on the part of President Barco, on other leaders in the hemisphere, that this would be useful, I can guarantee you I would give it fast consideration, because we have got to show that we're doing what we can against consumption—your point—and that we want to cooperate in every way possible to bring these people to justice.

Q. Mr. President, the drug cartel has sent various messages to the Colombian Government and to the Colombian Congress seeking some sort of dialog to end the war. In their last message 2 days ago, they even proposed that this subject should be put to a referendum. They have specifically offered to dismantle all their operations, to retire completely from the business, and to eliminate drug trafficking from Colombia. What would be your reaction if the Colombian Government would eventually agree to this dialog?

The President. I would let the Colombians make their determination on how they want to treat problems in their own country. But I would be very wary of taking the word of an indicted drug dealer. I would be extraordinarily worried about that because I don't think they keep their word. I think these are people that—the background on some of them, you know—well, were common criminals until they got into the lucrative business of poisoning the kids not just in the United States but in Colombia as well and every other country as well. So, I'm not sure the Colombian officials need free advice from me, but I would be very wary about that negotiation. And I think that the Government of Colombia has been very wary about that kind of negotiation because they know the kind of people they're dealing with.

Q. Mr. President, Colombia's war on drugs can only be sustained if the country's economy is strengthened. Eighty-seven million dollars, which was given to our country basically in military equipment, is a welcome aid. We were very grateful for your help. But we feel that in order to maintain the proper political attitude of the Colombian people towards drugs much more for the country's economy is needed. Could you consider—and perhaps the meeting at the Andean summit might be the place to give, eventually, discussion to this—would you be able to consider a type of Marshall plan for countries such as Colombia that are decidedly and deeply involved in the war on drugs?

The President. Well, again, I would be willing to consider anything. And I hate to cry poor mouth—we are living under constraints on the economic side that I wish we weren't living under. But we did discuss with the President of Colombia the egregious effect that the coffee agreement has had on the overall economy and, thus, the resources available to help fight narcotics. So, we told him, look, we're going to try to help reinstate this agreement. It is not a popular thing in this country because people think, hey, I'm going to have to pay more for a cup of coffee; but we ought to go the extra mile here in trying to help Colombia. And so, it's with that in mind—on that one facet of the problem I think we can try to help.

But, look, if there's some bold plan that can come out of this summit that will help in the areas that produce it—and then Colombia, which has both production and has become this factory, really, for these people—we should be openminded about it and go the extra mile to try to help on the economic because I do see the connection. We don't just say, look, you do something about these drugs—crime, criminals, explosions, arms—and then forget the economy. We're not going to do that. But I've got to stop a little short until I know what the view of these leaders will be when we get there.

President Ortega of Nicaragua

Q. The celebration of the 100 years of Costa Rican democracy will make you coincide in our country with Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega.

The President. I've thought about that. [*Laughter*]

Q. Is there a possibility that you will be meeting—or would you be willing to meet—President Ortega in Costa Rica, and what topics would you be willing to discuss with him?

The President. No. We're there as guests of President Arias. And there's no meeting planned. Certainly there will be interaction. This is a multilateral approach, coming there to salute democracy. I find it somewhat ironic that Mr. Ortega is there to salute democracy, but nevertheless, so be it; that's good.

We want to have a tribute to 100 years of Costa Rican democracy, and what we don't want to do is inject a lot of regional tensions into their meeting. But I'm going to be polite, charming—[*laughter*]—and if I had an encounter, it would be very firm because I don't see why that one Sandinista regime is swimming against the tide, as Chairman Mao used to say. Why not? The aspirations in our hemisphere, in all these countries, is for democracy; and you see it happening all the time—just heard about it around this table by your very questions. And Marx's star is fading—not just in this hemisphere but look at Eastern Europe, look around the whole world—and human rights are rising up, and pluralism is coming on.

So, let the Nicaraguan people speak to this question. They don't need George Bush telling them how to do it. Let them speak to it and be sure that the opposition has every opportunity to take their case to the people of Nicaragua. But it's not going to help to have me go through this once again with Mr. Ortega. I had a chance to do that in Brazil. He knows how I feel about it, and everybody knows we have a tense relationship. So, I don't want to act like we're waltzing around there in great harmony, because we're not. And there are so many ways that they can prove that they want to join the family of nations in this hemisphere—stay with it, and stop subverting El Salvador in the process would be a good way to begin. We stopped a major shipment of arms—interdicted the other day going into El Salvador.

So, I have no agenda with Mr. Ortega. And as he takes a step that might lead to democracy, great, I'm for that; but we're not going to solve any problems there in Costa Rica. I'm there as the guest of the country, guest of President Arias. I wish Mr. Ortega had been there when Arias was sworn in, and I'll tell you why. I realize that the United States has varying degrees of problems in our own hemisphere for a lot of historic reasons. Maybe you were there this day I'm talking about. I represented the United States as Vice President. You had 30,000 people in a stadium in the capital. Remember that day?

Q. The national stadium.

The President. The national stadium, exactly. And what you did was to go in there, everybody lined up behind their flag. And I'm saying to myself, I don't know what kind of reception I'm going to get—the U.S. Stars and Stripes and the Vice President of the United States—I know we've got good relations with Costa Rica, but a lot of other countries represented. I swear to God, to the day I die I'll never forget the reception for my country. It wasn't me—they didn't know who the hell I was—but marching in behind the Stars and Stripes with our little delegation, and people were cheering, and it was democracy. It overlooked any kind of regional differences, and it was so moving and touching. And when the Nicaraguan representative walked in there, they were whistling and giving it the old cheer that you give when some guy gives you a bad call in a soccer game.

And it said something. I'm standing, listening very carefully to this—what are the people trying to say?—and it's not "we love you, North Americanos" or anything like this. It was democracy. And it made a profound impression on me. And I don't think there's going to be an occasion for that kind of thing. But if Mr. Ortega had been there instead of his representative, Vice President Ramirez, he would have heard this, and he would have sensed it. He would have understood what the Costa Ricans were talking about when they had this peaceful transition—yet again the will of the people being exercised.

Sorry to end with a lecture, but it's a good ending point because we're not going down there to have some battle with Mr. Ortega. I'm not uptight about his being there. But I'm there to celebrate the Costa Rican democracy, 100 years of it, and to join other democratically elected Presidents in saluting the democracy of this country—and recognizing that it hasn't been easy for Argentina or Brazil or some countries to come out of a different kind of a past, even though the people probably never lost their confidence in democracy. Chile is a good example.

And so, that's what we're going there for. And I just hope that it doesn't get cluttered up by the photographers that work for you guys wanting to see a picture of me and Ortega together. That has nothing to do with democracy in Costa Rica—nothing.

Thank you guys very much, all of you.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. Mr. President, on Mr. Noriega—we each asked our question. Will you answer one question on Noriega?

The President. Yes, be delighted to. He isn't my favorite character, but what is it? [*Laughter*]

Q. You've been criticized in this country—politically and some of the media—for the way you reacted in the coup in Panama.

The President. Yes.

Q. You said that you acted according to what you felt.

The President. I wasn't criticized by any of the Presidents of the countries around this table, I noticed—not one.

Q. Right. But some of the media in this country and some in Congress——

The President. We've got a lot of hawks out here; we've got a lot of macho guys out there that want me to send somebody else's kid into battle. And what I will do is prudently assess the situation at the time, and I've seen nothing in terms of intelligence or fact coming in later that would make me have done something differently. And that doesn't mean that under some provocation or some denial of our rights as the United States of America, that I'd be afraid to use force. But for these instant hawks up there to—those doves that now become instant hawks on Capitol Hill, they don't bother me one bit because the American people supported me by over 2 to 1, and I think I sent a strong signal to the countries represented around this table that we are not going to imprudently use the force of the United States.

If somebody lays a glove on an American citizen there in the Canal Zone or where we have certain treaty rights, then we've got a different story.

Q. Will you participate in the next uprising?

The President. And this man must be brought to justice. This man is an indicted drug dealer. And I haven't changed. You know, one of the hits they gave me is I said that we have no argument with the Panamanian Defense Forces. We don't. And some of our more sophisticated columnists, perhaps who you are referring to, say the minute the President says this, this implies that he's going to use U.S. force. Ridiculous. I'm not going to do that. But it doesn't imply I'm not going to use force. Look at the situation.

So, I'm not going to say what I'm going to do—force or no force—but there's no implicit guarantee that when some guy jumps up and causes a coup, that the United States is going to send in the SOUTHCOM [Southern Command] forces. So, we took a few hits on it, but not too much. I think it's come out reasonably well. But when I had the Prime Minister of Spain [Felipe González] here the other day, he understood it. And it's very important to me, I think, as it relates to this hemisphere that we all love so much, too.

But this man has to go. And I'll tell you what: The minute Noriega gets out of there, the minute he's gone—unless replaced by a tyrant, so I reserve that—but the minute he's gone, we have instantly improved relations with Panama. We have good relations with the people of Panama. And I'll be darned if we should sit here, as countries that respect democracy, and let this man beat up the Vice President, Guillermo Ford, beat the hell out of him and bleed him out there, to avert democracy. We're talking about the trend for democracy, and Panama is entitled to it. And it can't be superimposed by the United States, but they spoke in a free and fair election, and they are entitled to it. And I'm going to do everything I can from up here. I'm working with our colleagues in the hemisphere, Venezuelan President [Carlos Andres Perez] and others, to try to see that the will of the people is respected.

And Noriega is the fly in the ointment. Many of those Panamanian Defense Force officers were trained in the United States. They're not hostile to us, and we darn sure aren't hostile to them, but we are hostile to a man who aborts democracy and gets tied up in this international narcotics business.

Q. Will you accept a man named by Noriega as head of the Panama Canal Company, sir?

The President. What's his name? If he's named by Noriega——

Q. Will you support——

The President. ——that will give the poor guy—if he's supported——

Q. He's already named him. I don't know his name.

The President. Well, I don't know who it is, either, but I'll tell you, he doesn't have much chance of getting through the Senate. In our system, you've got to go up to the Hill to get something confirmed. And if he goes up under the mantle of Mr. Noriega, he'd get two chances—slim and none. Those are the chances.

Q. Will you support it, Mr. President—the next uprising? Will you support it?

The President. I can't say that. How do I know what it is? I want to see Noriega out, democracy in. And I would give support to something like that. But you can't give a carte blanche; you've got to know what the facts are. And that's why I did what I did in this last thing—or didn't do what some would have me do. The facts were quite different than some of the perceptions.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The interview began at 11:38 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President and Press Secretary. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the interview. The interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 26.

Remarks at a Ceremony Granting Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status to Hungary

October 26, 1989

Thank you. Please be seated. On this beautiful day at the White House, welcome. Secretary Baker and Secretary Mosbacher; Carla Hills, our able U.S. Trade Representative; I see our Secretary Derwinski and Watkins; Bill Reilly; Bruce Gelb. Mr. Teller, it's a delight to see you here, sir. And the distinguished Members of the United States Congress who are with us, welcome, all. I see the chairman of our Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Claiborne Pell, here, and Bill Broomfield. All of you, welcome.

It was my privilege to return to Hungary last summer and become the first American President to visit a nation that is so much a part of Europe and so much a part of America. I had a chance to discuss this just Monday when the new Ambassador came to the White House to present his credentials. And I welcome you, sir, and am just delighted you're here representing your country.

At Karl Marx University, before the very statue of Marx himself, I met students, teachers, and entrepreneurs who are making a bold break with the past. And in their bright faces I saw a burning idealism and a determination to escape the dead hand of ideology forever. And I pledged my strong support to this process of democratic change in Hungary. I said I would ask Congress to authorize $25 million and to establish a Hungarian-American enterprise fund, $5 million to open an environmental center for central and Eastern Europe in Budapest, and another $6 million for a wide range of cultural and exchange programs. I submitted these proposals to Congress in early September. We're working vigorously to ensure congressional action to make an American investment in Hungary's future.

And I also promised to stimulate American business investment in Hungary by extending the business insurance of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to Hungary. Ambassador Fred Zeder, the President and the CEO of OPIC, led a delegation to Hungary just 2 weeks ago to plan for operations to begin once the corporation receives the enabling legislation from the Senate. And last month, Secretary Bob Mosbacher led a major governmental and private investment mission to Hungary, encouraging steps toward new ventures.

Hungary's already starting to enjoy tangible results of our commitment to support reform. Just in September, an American corporation purchased 100 percent of a Hungarian trading firm, the first such total acquisition in Eastern European history. And this is just one example of many new American ventures within Hungary.

I also said that the Peace Corps will make its first European mission to Hungary to teach English in every county of that nation. Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell recently led a delegation to Hungary to plan this mission. Bill Reilly, the EPA Director, and Bruce Gelb, next to him, our USIA Director, have also led missions to Hungary to develop and implement our environmental and cultural exchange programs.

In Budapest, I also said that as soon as the Hungarian Parliament passed emigration legislation then under consideration that I would notify our Congress that Hungary meets all the emigration criteria under U.S. law. That would qualify Hungary for most-favored-nation treatment. And I am pleased to say that on September 26th Hungary fulfilled its part of the bargain, and I'm here today to fulfill our part of the bargain.

Before me are three documents, one advising the Secretary of State that I've determined that Hungary meets our emigration criteria; the others informs each of the Houses of Congress. And with my signature, these documents will grant Hungary the most liberal trade treatment possible under U.S. law, making it the first country subject to the Jackson-Vanik amendment ever to be granted a waiver from annual reviews of its emigration practices. But you see, we feel that today's action represents something far greater than a mere trade agreement. It signals the recognition that a quiet revolution is taking place in thousands of shops, farms, and factories. It signals the rebirth of Hungary as an entrepreneurial nation.

Our measure will, of course, grant these new Hungarian entrepreneurs access to the largest single market in the world; but the peoples of America and Hungary are exchanging more than blue jeans and fine wines. We're exchanging ideas and ideals that can only be the shared province of free peoples. The documents I'm about to sign refer to the Republic of Hungary. Just 3 days ago, on the anniversary of the 1956 revolution, Hungary scrapped the title "People's Republic," that symbol of the one-party system imposed on Hungary after World War II. And it is this new Hungarian Republic that has adopted a bill of rights inspired by our own Constitution to guarantee freedom of the press, assembly, and religion.

And Americans watch these acts of national courage with wonder, admiration, and something more—a willingness to help. So, we're not passive observers. We are active supporters of reform. Let no one doubt our commitment to freedom's success in Eastern Europe. For we know that we are privileged to participate in a very special moment in human history: we're witnessing an unprecedented transformation of Communist nations into pluralistic democracies with market economies.

In Budapest, Radio Free Europe is broadcasting from its first bureau in Eastern Europe. It's a remarkable thing. And in Warsaw, a dissident who once languished in prison now presides over their Parliament—incredible. In East Germany, hundreds of thousands of courageous men and women march arm in arm through the streets of Leipzig to make a peaceful stand for freedom—inspiring. It is in these amazing scenes that we see a portrait of the indomitable spirit of man. Throughout Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself we see evidence of the ascendancy of freedom. We see signs of a new Europe which no one need fear, a Europe whole and free. And as we witness this historic tide of freedom, riding at the crest is one nation, the people of the Republic of Hungary. And to them I say: We admire you, we support you, and we welcome you as friends of freedom.

Thank you. And now it is my pleasure to sign those historic documents granting Hungary continued most-favored-nation treatment.

Note: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Energy James D. Watkins, scientist Edward Teller, and Hungarian Ambassador to the United States Peter Varkonyi.

Message to the Congress on Trade With Hungary

October 26, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit the documents referred to in Subsections 402(b) and 409(b) of the Trade Act of 1974 ("the Act"), 19 U.S.C. 2432(b) and 2439(b), with respect to the consistency of the emigration laws and policies of the Republic of Hungary with the criteria set out in Subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of that Act, 19 U.S.C. 2432(a) and 2439(a). These documents constitute my decision that a waiver of Subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Act will no longer be required for the Republic of Hungary.

I include as part of these documents my Determination that the Republic of Hungary is not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of Subsection 402(a) or paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of Subsection 409(a) of the Act. I also include information as to the nature and implementation of the emigration laws and policies of the Republic of Hungary and restrictions or discrimination applied to or against persons wishing to emigrate, including those persons wishing to emigrate to the United States to join close relatives.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 26, 1989.

Presidential Determination No. 90–3—Memorandum on Trade With Hungary

October 26, 1989

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Under Subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974—Emigration Policies of the Republic of Hungary

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93–618, hereinafter "the Act"), I determine that the Republic of Hungary is not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of Subsection 402(a) of the Act, 19 U.S.C. 2432(a), or paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of Subsection 409(a) of the Act, 19 U.S.C. 2439(a).

You are authorized and directed to publish this Determination in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

Note: The determination was printed in the "Federal Register" of November 6.

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters on Signing a Bill Making Continuing Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1990 and Providing Disaster Relief

October 26, 1989

The President. Let me just thank this delegation, congressional delegation from California—its two distinguished Senators and Members of Congress, those most interested in this disaster relief. And I've signed this bill that provides $2.85 billion in Federal disaster relief for the victims of the earthquake and also the hurricane on the east coast.

And I would simply say again that our hearts go out to the victims. And we are hopeful that this action, taken with great speed and compassion by the Congress, will send a signal that all of us, crossing party lines, care very much about this.

And so, I appreciate those of you who have impressed on us the importance of quick relief. I appreciate those who took the time to be with me and help me understand this—feelings of the people out there. And lastly, I really do want to thank again—this is government action, but in its totality it cannot exceed the action of private citizens who are pitching in to help neighbors and friends out there. And I got that message loud and clear from all of you, and I think it's so true.

So, I will go forward and do this, and I'm delighted that you all came down.

Q. Some of the Californians say they think that more money would be needed. Do you anticipate this will be the end of it?

The President. What was that, Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News]?

Q. It was Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press].

The President. Oh, it was Rita—blaming her. [*Laughter*]

Q. And what I said was, do you think that this will be enough?

Q. Will there be more if it's needed, Mr. President?

The President. I pledged to do what we need to do, and I think we've made a great—got this done.

Note: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. H.J. Res. 423, approved October 26, was assigned Public Law No. 101–130. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Statement on Signing a Bill Making Continuing Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1990 and Providing Disaster Relief

October 26, 1989

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 423, a continuing resolution that continues to fund most Federal Government activities through November 15, 1989, and provides $2.85 billion in disaster relief funding.

The $2.85 billion in additional disaster relief funding included in the resolution would be used primarily to help the State of California recover from the severe earthquake that struck last week. The additional funds would also be used to provide further assistance to victims of Hurricane Hugo and other Presidentially declared disasters.

Of the $2.85 billion provided, $1.1 billion would finance the disaster relief activities of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. The Federal Highway Administration would receive $1 billion to assist in the repair of Federal and State roadways. The Small Business Administration would receive an additional $500 million for disaster loans, and its authority for making such loans would be increased to $1.8 billion. The remaining $250 million is made available in an unanticipated needs account to address, as needed, the consequences of these recent natural disasters, such as repairing damage to Federal facilities.

The resolution also extends the authority of the current continuing resolution through November 15, 1989. I have concurred with this action for a number of reasons. I recognize that the Congress needs additional time to address satisfactorily my veto of the FY 1990 Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act and my upcoming veto of the FY 1990 District of Columbia Appropriations Act. Moreover, with only two of the 13 regular appropriations bills enacted into law, I have decided not to force the shutdown of important Federal Government operations as a consequence of congressional inaction. Since this resolution maintains the status quo for only an additional 21 days and since most of the remaining FY 1990 appropriations bills will have completed conference action this week, I have decided to support this extension.

Given the current status of congressional action, I believe it is reasonable to expect that the Congress should complete final action on the remaining FY 1990 appropriations bills before the expiration of the resolution.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 26, 1989.

Note: H.J. Res. 423, approved October 26, was assigned Public Law No. 101–130.

Remarks Announcing Proposed Legislation on Food Safety and Pesticides

October 26, 1989

In the first place, I'd like to thank the leaders in Congress on the agricultural side for being here very much.

We're all aware of news stories over the last several months alleging the presence of dangerous levels of pesticides in the food supply. Last March those news stories focused on the pesticide alar in apples. And more recently there were several news stories on EDBC, a pesticide used on fruits and vegetables. And these stories have fueled the public concern about cancer risks and, more important for us, have called into question the Government's ability to ensure a safe supply of food for our citizens. We have the safest food supply in the world—I'm absolutely convinced of that—and we're going to keep it that way.

It is true that some of the public's perception is based on valid concerns about the Government's slow and cumbersome process for removing pesticides from the market. And that's why we're here today: to announce a major new initiative by our administration on food safety, a proposal to ensure that America's food supply remains the safest in the world. We need to amend our current food safety laws to speed the process for removing pesticides from the marketplace to protect public health and the environment without being either unreasonable or impractical. And we've been working cooperatively, I might add, with all of you for several months on a number of issues to improve the Government's ability to deal effectively with these pesticides. The proposals that we have set before you represent a consensus carved out after several months of discussions. Secretary Yeutter, Secretary Sullivan, Administrator Reilly are here today to convey wholehearted agreement on these issues.

I've asked the leaders of Congress here from the congressional committees—whose committees do have jurisdiction over food safety to join us today at this announcement. And I also plan to ask them for their help and cooperation in enacting these proposals into law in an expedited manner. We're going to have a detailed briefing for the press by senior administration officials in the press room immediately following this meeting.

But again, I'm grateful to you, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Chairman, and the other ranking minority members and others, for being here with us today. Thank you very much for coming. And thank you all. And then we will now have a little discussion about this.

Note: The President spoke at 1:25 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Representative E. de la Garza, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee; and Senator Patrick J. Leahy, chairman of the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed Legislation on Food Safety and Pesticides

October 26, 1989

In order to improve the Federal Government's ability to protect American consumers and the environment from potential dangers posed by the use of pesticide chemicals, President Bush today proposed a comprehensive program to enhance food safety for all Americans. The President's plan calls for major revisions to the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA) and to the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (FFDCA).

In the FIFRA, the President's revisions will streamline EPA's ability to remove potentially hazardous pesticides from the market, and enhance the Agency's enforcement program to ensure the safe use of pesticide chemicals. In the FFDCA, the President would eliminate a longstanding inconsistency in the law governing pesticide residues in foods and establish a negligible risk standard for such residues. The President's plan is designed to eliminate unacceptable risks to the public health and to provide for more orderly regulation of pesticides and their use.

Although the need for reform in this area has been widely recognized, the sensitivity of the issues involved has long divided the affected private interests as well as the Federal agencies charged with administering the laws. This has contributed to difficulties the executive branch and the Congress have had in dealing with this matter.

President Bush's plan was developed with input from the private sector and from all the relevant Government agencies. The result is a sensible approach to complex and contentious issues which takes into account the varied private interests and represents an unprecedented consensus among the Federal agencies involved.

The President's plan will.

- Establish a periodic review of all pesticides and terminate the ability to use pesticides for which manufacturers have not provided adequate data on safety.
- Improve the definition of what is considered an imminent hazard posed by a pesticide and allow more rapid utilization of regulatory authority to remove from use pesticides that are so designated.
- Simplify and make more effective the process of canceling the use of a pesticide found to be harmful to public health.
- Improve enforcement by increasing the penalties for misuse of pesticides and providing more authority for EPA to conduct inspections and collect necessary information on the distribution, use, and testing of pesticide products.
- Establish scientifically sound threshold tolerance levels for pesticides in or on food, identifying a negligible risk level below which public health is not threatened. While this plan specifically addresses pesticide residues, the principle of negligible risk, based on scientific determination, is one which has wide applicability.
- Provide for national uniformity in the tolerance levels which are established following a review of the latest scientific evidence, and in accordance with new procedures, with the possibility of waivers justified by special local circumstances such as unusual food consumption patterns.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

Four goals underlie the President's food safety proposals and the means for accomplishing them.

• *Protecting the Public's Health.* The plan will prevent harmful exposure of the public to pesticides in the food supply.

• *Improving Regulatory Certainty for the Agricultural Sector.* The plan will simplify and make more workable the regulation of pesticide use in agriculture, thereby assisting farmers in knowing and following food safety laws.

- *Strengthening the Oversight of Pesticides and Their Use.* The plan will assure that unsafe pesticides are not used and will speed the development of safe alternatives.
- *Building Public Confidence.* The plan will enhance public confidence in the safety of America's food supply, and will assure consumers that it will remain safe in the future.

These proposals will improve the Government's ability to remove from the market pesticides posing threats to human health and the environment. The administration's interagency discussion of food safety has identified and addressed seven principal issues. These issues, together with the President's proposals, are summarized below.

FEDERAL INSECTICIDE, FUNGICIDE, AND RODENTICIDE ACT PROPOSALS: STREAMLINING THE SUSPENSION, CANCELLATION, AND REREGISTRATION PROCESS

Termination of Registration: Cancellation, Failure To Establish Continued Eligibility

Under current law (and not changed by these proposals), a registered pesticide chemical may have its registration terminated either temporarily (suspension) or permanently (cancellation). EPA also has general authority to suspend registrations for failure to provide required data. In addition to current suspension authority, the President's plan specifies that:

A. Registrants should bear responsibility to ensure that EPA is provided with data and information necessary to permit EPA to determine, in light of the then-applicable standards for new pesticide registrations, whether a cancellation proceeding in a given instance is warranted. Data should be provided within prescribed timeframes: Following first registration, 19 years for pre-1984 registrations, and 15 years for 1984 and later registrations. Thereafter, every 9 years.

B. If a registrant fails to provide EPA with the data and information required by applicable regulations or guidelines within a reasonable time after it is due or requested, EPA should be authorized to order temporary termination (suspension) of the registration.

Definition of Imminent Hazard

Under current law, EPA has authority to suspend a registration if it is found to pose an imminent hazard to health or to the environment. Current suspension authority has a very high risk threshold that can rarely be sustained and has little practical utility regardless of the nature or immediacy of the risk. The President's plan proposes that an imminent hazard be redefined to exist in either of the following circumstances:

A. When continued use of the pesticide during the period required for cancellation poses a substantial risk to the environment or to human health based on lifetime risk and the risk of continued pesticide use (1) exceeds the risk posed by the substitution of alternative pesticides or other available pest control methods or (2) in the absence of alternative pest control methods, exceeds the adverse effects of any pest which would have been controlled by the pesticide during the period required for cancellation; or

B. When continued use of the pesticide causes a less than substantial but significant risk to health or the environment, which in light of the reasonably available facts and circumstances is unreasonable, taking into account the price and availability of raw agricultural commodities and processed foods.

Simplification of the Cancellation Process

Under the existing cancellation process, there is first an administrative review process in which the registrant fully participates. Then, if requested, a formal adjudicatory process with a full de novo evidentiary hearing before an administrative law judge (ALJ) may be pursued. Finally, the registrant may also seek a full judicial review.

The President proposes to simplify the process, and in lieu of the middle step (the full de novo evidentiary hearing before an ALJ), the President's plan would require EPA to publish (in the *Federal Register*) notice of, and the grounds for, its intended action. The process would include an opportunity for the registrant and others to make written submissions during a specified comment period (typically 60 days).

The EPA Administrator could also hold an informal public hearing on the issue during the comment period. There would be no requirement that anyone be forced to testify or respond to cross-examination.

If the registrant requests such a public hearing, the EPA Administrator should hold the hearing unless the Administrator determines a hearing is not warranted and the registrant is not prejudiced thereby.

Consultation Within the Government

Current consultation among EPA, USDA, and HHS primarily occurs in the form of written comment during the cancellation process. The President has decided that closer consultation throughout the process would be beneficial. Accordingly, the President's plan would require appropriate consultation among EPA, USDA, and HHS prior to issuance of cancellation and suspension orders, and at such other times as may be agreed to in a memorandum of understanding.

Such a memorandum of understanding would specify the points in the process at which consultation should occur and would stipulate how consultation should be accomplished. Such consultation would be for the benefit of the administration's implementation of its programs and would be subject to oversight by the Executive Office of the President. As such it would not be the subject of judicial review.

Enforcement

Finally, the President's plan proposes to amend FIFRA to strengthen penalties, recordkeeping requirements, and provisions regarding entry onto premises for inspection and sampling.

Enhanced enforcement provisions are appropriate because violations of FIFRA, which involve misuse of dangerous chemicals, result in harms that are similar in nature to, and equally as serious as, violations of other environmental statutes. Those violations result in penalties, both civil and criminal, that are much more severe than FIFRA currently provides. Most environmental statutes (Clean Water Act, Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, Superfund, and the Safe Drinking Water Act) have been revised in recent years to strengthen civil and criminal enforcement provisions significantly. Primarily, they provide felony penalties for knowing violations of the acts and for knowing endangerment offenses. They also have expanded civil and administrative penalty provisions.

The President's proposed FIFRA provisions would apply to pesticide producers; testing facilities; and persons who sell, distribute, or commercially apply pesticides. Private applicators, such as farmers, would be required to keep records of their use of restricted-use pesticides and could be inspected for cause. Farmers and others who only use general-use pesticides would not be required to keep records, but could be inspected for suspected violations or when the Agency or States are seeking information as part of an inquiry into specific environmental or health problems.

Maximum allowable civil administrative penalties would be increased from $5,000 to $25,000 per day for violations of provisions governing sales, distribution, or commercial use. EPA will be able to take mitigating factors into account in determining whether a warning or lesser penalty is appropriate, as current law provides. Private applicators who violate FIFRA while using a restricted-use pesticide would be subject to a maximum first time penalty of $1,000. Knowing violation of the act would be raised to a felony for most parties (e.g., registrants, distributors, pesticide testing facilities) and a new knowing endangerment offense would be established for all persons subject to the act. Knowing violations by private applicators would remain misdemeanors unless they constitute knowing endangerment.

The statutory provisions granting primary enforcement authority to the States would not be altered.

FEDERAL FOOD, DRUG, AND COSMETIC ACT PROPOSALS: TOLERANCE SETTING AND UNIFORMITY

Establishment of Tolerance Levels: Standards and Implementation

Current law is not consistent because the usual process of tolerance-setting based on risk assessment is precluded in one particular situation, namely residues of a carcinogen in processed foods. Read literally, the Delaney clause imposes a zero-risk standard in this case. This means that no substance which causes cancer in humans or animals can be deemed safe for use in any amount, no matter how insignificant the risks to health or how great the costs to society. In light of current scientific ability to measure residues in minute amounts, a strict interpretation of the Delaney clause poses a virtually impossible standard.

The President's plan proposes that, for pesticide residues in food posing carcinogenic risks, FFDCA should be amended to eliminate the Delaney clause and add a tolerance threshold at or below which the public health is not threatened. The term which sets the standard for this new threshold is "negligible risk." The President's plan sets forth the following:

A. There should be a tolerance level for pesticide residues in food below which it is deemed that the public health is not threatened, thus permitting a pesticide which satisfies this requirement to remain in use. The tolerance level for various carcinogenic chemical substances should be established based on a predicted risk level as stated below. (This de minimis risk level replaces the concept of zero risk for cancer contained in the Delaney clause.)

1. *Standard.* The level of risk below which public health is not threatened is a level that is found to be negligible. Under appropriate regulatory risk-assessment procedures, this translates into a statistical risk level at or below a range of risk of 10^{-5} to 10^{-6} based on lifetime exposure.
2. *Implementation and enforcement.* In implementing and enforcing this standard, EPA, in consultation with USDA and FDA, should describe through rulemaking or other formal guidance the following:
   a. The process and procedures through which the specific tolerance level determinations are to be made; and
   b. The nature and types of human carcinogens to which the standard will be applied. This could be in terms of the existing carcinogen classifications that relate to animal and human carcinogenicity, or in other terms.

B. In order to establish a tolerance in cases when the level of human-health risk is greater than negligible, the EPA should be required to consider the following factors:

1. Whether the risk to human health or the environment is greater from the uncontrolled pest than from the dietary risk posed by the pesticide chemical residue;
2. Whether the risk to human health or the environment is greater from alternative methods of pest control than from the dietary risk posed by the pesticide chemical residue;
3. The economic costs to consumers, including effects on price, availability, and quality of food;
4. The economic effects on producers, whether they be gains or losses, including changes in prices or production; and
5. Whether reasonable efforts are being made to develop either an alternative method of pest control or an alternative pesticide chemical for use on such commodity or food.

National Uniformity: When Applicable

Under current law, States may set tolerances for pesticide residues in food that are lower than those established by EPA. When States have done so, it has been a source of real concern to the food distribution industry and a source of confusion to consumers. Inconsistent tolerances could have significant adverse impacts on the ability of the United States to participate in international trade of raw agricultural commodities and processed foods. The President's plan has the following approach:

National uniformity should be provided by statute for chemical tolerances established pursuant to the reregistration process described under the 1988 amendments to FIFRA. Any State or local standards applicable to the same chemical substances must be identical to Federal standards, provided that a State may enforce a more stringent standard if it has obtained a waiver from EPA pursuant to published procedures and criteria. Waivers will be permitted only when warranted by special local circumstances. States could enforce more stringent standards for old substances that have not undergone reregistration.

Note: Background material on pesticide use and registration was not printed.

Statement on the Flag Protection Act of 1989
October 26, 1989

On June 21, 1989, the Supreme Court in *Texas* v. *Johnson* held unconstitutional a Texas statute prohibiting flag desecration. The Court reasoned that, under the principles of the First Amendment, a State could punish a person who desecrates the flag to communicate a message only if the State had a compelling reason to do so. The Court held that the Government's interest in preserving the symbolic value of the flag is not compelling.

After a careful study of the Court's opinion, the Department of Justice concluded that the only way to ensure protection of the flag is through a constitutional amendment. Pursuant to that advice, I urged the adoption of such an amendment.

After several months of debate about how best to protect the flag from desecration, the Congress has forwarded to me H.R. 2978. The bill provides for a prison term of up to 1 year for anyone who "knowingly mutilates, defaces, physically defiles, burns, maintains on the floor or ground, or tramples upon" any United States flag.

While I commend the intentions of those who voted for this bill, I have serious doubts that it can withstand Supreme Court review. The Supreme Court has held that the Government's interest in preserving the flag as a symbol can never be compelling enough to justify prohibiting flag desecration that is intended to express a message. Since that is precisely the target of this bill's prohibition, I suspect that any subsequent court challenge will reach a similar conclusion.

Nevertheless, because this bill is intended to achieve our mutual goal of protecting our Nation's greatest symbol, and its constitutionality must ultimately be decided by the courts, I have decided to allow it to become law without my signature. I remain convinced, however, that a constitutional amendment is the only way to ensure that our flag is protected from desecration.

George Bush

The White House,
October 26, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2978 became law on October 28 and was assigned Public Law No. 101–131.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1990
October 27, 1989

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 3026, the "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1990."

I informed the Congress earlier that I would veto this bill if it permitted the use of appropriated funds to pay for abortions other than those in which the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. The limitation I proposed is identical to the one included in the District of Columbia Appropriations Act for 1989 (Public Law 100–462).

This year, regrettably, the Congress has expanded the circumstances in which Federal funds could be used to pay for abortions. Moreover, unlike Public Law 100–462, H.R. 3026 would also permit payment for abortions with local funds, which under current law must be appropriated by the Congress. Thus, H.R. 3026 would not restrict the use of such funds for abortion in any way.

I am, therefore, compelled to disapprove H.R. 3026.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 27, 1989.

Advance Text of Remarks Upon Departure for the Centennial Celebration of Costa Rican Democracy in San José

October 27, 1989

This morning we are traveling to San José, at the invitation of President Arias, to celebrate a century of democracy in the Republic of Costa Rica. As with our trip in July, when we traveled to Paris to commemorate their bicentennial, we will carry with us the warm congratulations of the American people to a nation that has been both a good friend, a good neighbor, and a pillar of democracy.

Three years from now, we will celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first great voyage of discovery; 8 years after that, the beginning of a new century. As we approach these landmarks, the people of the Western Hemisphere have strongly affirmed their democratic ideals. In nation after nation, courageous people voted new leaders into office and marked the end of autocratic rule. Today many who blazed the path to democracy are transferring the people's mandate to elected successors. Costa Rica is no longer one of a few lonely democracies. Indeed, today there are only a few lonely holdouts against the sweep of democracy through this hemisphere.

I believe history will show that this hemisphere's democratic resurgence helped set the stage for today's electrifying changes in the Communist world. When people replace dictatorships with popular rule across an entire continent, the world takes notice. The news is irrepressible and inspiring for those with democratic dreams of their own. Here in the Americas, we have the opportunity to create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere, where free markets and the marketplace of ideas can prosper hand in hand.

And so, we journey today to advance this new world of freedom and to salute the traditions of a nation and a people that, in many ways, represents the model for our entire hemisphere. Thank you, and I hope you all have a pleasant weekend.

Note: The President spoke at 6:22 a.m. on the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base, Camp Springs, MD. The remarks as delivered were not released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony in San José, Costa Rica

October 27, 1989

Mr. President, thank you, sir. And it is a great pleasure for me to be here and to greet all who are here to celebrate democracy in Costa Rica. Gathered before us is one of the wonderful traditions of this great country: the tradition of greeting foreign visitors not with the guns of military salutes but with the cheers of those schoolchildren.

And I think you have another marvelous institution, that is a band that can play "The Star-Spangled Banner," a difficult anthem, without a flaw.

A few years ago, I was privileged to attend the inauguration of President Arias. And the stadium where the celebration was held was filled to capacity. And when our United States delegation entered behind the United States flag, the Costa Rican people rose to their feet, and the arena erupted in cheers. And they were cheering for the friendship between our countries, and they were cheering for democracy. And this welcome today also has me deeply moved and very proud.

They asked me, why are we coming? We are back in San José to honor a nation, Costa Rica; a leader, President Oscar Arias; and an idea, democracy. On behalf of your neighbors in the United States, I congratulate the people of Costa Rica on the 100th anniversary of your democracy. The Costa Rican model is an example and an inspiration in Central America, to this entire hemisphere, to the world: a nation in which the people rule through the ballot box, a nation whose economy is being freed from the shackles of the state and whose people are sharing in the fruits of economic growth, a nation that lives in peace with its neighbors because it threatens none with aggression or subversion.

One hundred years ago, the constitutional democracy that we honor today was the exception in the Americas. Today it is the rule. And today the nations still oppressed by what John F. Kennedy, speaking here in San José, called the last vestiges of tyranny can be counted on one hand.

I believe we can do more. I believe we must do more. I believe we can create here in the Americas the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. And I also believe that the Americas can become the model for the rest of the world for a true partnership between the developed and the developing world, where trade is free, prosperity is shared, and the benefits of technology are harnessed for all.

Mr. President, in that regard, I join you in celebrating the announcement you just made regarding the debt. I salute those private interests in the United States that cooperated. I salute our leaders who worked with yours to achieve this marvelous example of what cooperation can bring. And I congratulate Costa Rica on this significant step.

And lastly, I do believe that here in the Americas we can and will unite to confront and defeat the new slayers of the democratic dream—the narco traffickers who poison our children, murder elected officials, and wage war on civil society.

I believe that the democratic leaders of the Americas are reaching out to the United States, just as we are to them, offering a new partnership of mutual respect and mutual responsibility. And I'm here in San José to make it clear to the democratic leaders of this hemisphere that we embrace this new partnership.

To you, President Arias, my esteemed friend, and to all the officials who have made these arrangements, I express to you my gratitude on the one hand and my joy at being here on the other. Thank you very, very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10 a.m. at Juan Santamaria International Airport.

Exchange With Reporters in San José, Costa Rica, on the Situation in Nicaragua

October 27, 1989

Q. Do you regard the Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega as a popularly elected leader, sir?

President Bush. We're here to salute democracy. And I want to see Nicaragua become a democratic country, and I don't want to see them swimming against the tide of democracy that is sweeping this hemisphere and that we're saluting here today—100 years of Costa Rican democracy.

Q. But you don't regard him as a popularly elected leader?

President Bush. I want to see a free and fair election in Nicaragua, and I think most of the leaders here today want to see that. And they want to see the army be under the control of the elected leaders, and they want to see the Nicaraguan people have what others have—not all, but most—a chance to have democratically elected leaders.

Q. What is the chance of that? Why do you say that?

President Bush. Because look at the whole world, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]. And the forces of democracy are on the move. We're here today to salute Costa Rica's—a lot of kind of sophisticated people don't quite understand why all of us are getting together. What we're doing is symbolizing the importance on democracy. And one or two that are swimming against the tide—maybe we'll get a chance to tell them how important democracy is.

Q. Will you tell them?

Q. Well, you said you expect to see a hemisphere without——

President Bush. You all are looking for some kind of fight. I'm here to celebrate democracy. You're just trying to get me into a big slugging match here. Come on. I'll let you know if there is one.

Q. President Arias, do you feel that Ortega is swimming against the tide?

President Arias. Well, if the elections he plans to hold are free and fair and give equal opportunities to all the political parties, then he will be swimming along the tide—or with the tide.

Q. What do you think the chances are of that happening?

President Arias. I think that the eyes of the world are on Managua now. And there is a lot of pressure for the Sandinistas to hold those elections as free and fair as possible. It's not easy because that country is not used to free elections. They haven't had free elections in more than 100 years, but there is always a beginning, and we all hope that beginning starts on the 25th of February, when those elections are held.

Q. Are you going to tell Ortega that?

President Arias. I've told him that many, many times.

Q. President Bush, will you get the opportunity to tell him that as well?

President Bush. Tell him what?

Q. Tell him that this is an opportunity for him to have free and fair elections.

President Bush. Well, I think the United States position is well-known on that. Absolutely, I'll tell the world that.

Q. Will you tell him——

President Bush. We'll let you know, Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News]. We'll let you know.

Q. Mr. President, have free elections in Nicaragua been preempted?

President Bush. Come on, we've got to get to work here.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:25 a.m. at the Hotel Cariari, prior to a meeting with President Oscar Arias Sánchez. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the exchange.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra in San José, Costa Rica

October 27, 1989

President Bush and President Ortega met momentarily while entering the opening session this morning. The two shook hands in a friendly manner. President Ortega mentioned that he had met President Bush a few years ago and that they had discussed some of their problems. President Bush responded that they could have the same discussions today, about free elections and bringing democracy to Nicaragua. Both Presidents then proceeded to their seats for the opening session.

Nomination of the United States Alternate Executive Director and the United States Director of the Inter-American Development Bank

October 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to the Inter-American Development Bank:

Albert W. Angulo, to be United States Alternate Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. He would succeed Larry K. Mellinger.

Mr. Angulo serves as owner of Argent Consultants in Houston, TX. Prior to this he served as vice president for corporate finance and marketing at Worley Engineering, Inc., in Houston, TX.

Mr. Angulo graduated from Lehigh University (B.S., 1959) and Temple University (M.B.A., 1968). He was born August 5, 1936, in Madrid, Spain. Mr. Angulo served in the U.S. Army, 1957 and 1961. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in Houston, TX.

Larry K. Mellinger, to be United States Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. Mr. Mellinger has been serving in this position since November 1988 by recess appointment.

Prior to this Mr. Mellinger served as senior vice president and chief financial officer for the Gruma Corp. in Los Angeles, CA.

Mr. Mellinger graduated from the University of Kansas (B.A., 1967) and the American Graduate School of International Management (B.S., 1968). He was born April 28, 1944, in Bakersfield, CA. Mr. Mellinger is married, has two children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Edmund DeJarnette, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Tanzania

October 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edmund DeJarnette, Jr., a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Republic of Tanzania. He would succeed Donald K. Petterson.

Since 1986 Mr. DeJarnette has served as head of inspections at the Office of the Inspector General in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Ambassador to the Central African Republic, 1983–1986, and deputy chief of mission in Dakar, Senegal, 1980–1983. In addition, he served in the Personnel Bureau at the Department of State, 1978–1980; in the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, 1977–1978; as deputy chief of mission in Libreville, Gabon, 1975–1977; as Peace Corps Director in Quito, Ecuador, 1973–1975; as Deputy Regional Director for the Peace Corps in Latin America, 1972–1973; and as Associate Peace Corps Director in Quito, Ecuador, 1970–1972.

Mr. DeJarnette graduated from the University of Virginia (B.A., 1959; LL.B., 1963) and George Washington University (M.S., 1978). He was born January 15, 1938, in Richmond, VA. He served in the Coast Guard Reserves, 1960–1968. Mr. DeJarnette is married, has two children, and resides in Ashland, VA.

The President's News Conference in San José, Costa Rica
October 28, 1989

First a statement, and then some questions. I'd be glad to respond.

Together with the other democratic leaders of the hemisphere, I've just met with the leaders of the political opposition in Nicaragua and Panama. And here in Costa Rica, saluting 100 years of democracy, these discussions, sponsored by Costa Rica's main political parties, serve as an especially fitting tribute to the spirit of the occasion and the spirit of the times. And these courageous leaders left us with a stronger appreciation of the daily difficulties of the prodemocracy movements in these two countries. I conveyed to them the encouragement and the admiration of the American people. And it's ironic that the shining example of Latin American democracy in which we meet lies between two nations whose rulers have so long and so harshly ignored the will of their own people.

From Cape Horn to the Bering Strait, from Chile's promising new plebiscite to the Alaska-Soviet border, reopened after 40 years, a new breeze of freedom has swept the Americas with hope and freedom, hope and opportunity—and bringing us even closer to the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. A few nations, however, have been left behind, shackled by failed ideology and failed leadership. To the north, the Nicaraguan people have waited for democracy since they ended the Somoza regime 10 years ago—that dictatorship. And elections are planned for next February, but to date, as I say, there are some disturbing signs.

The world, I believe, was dismayed at Mr. Ortega's announcement last night that he had unilaterally ended the cease-fire. I understand there may have been some refinements on that today, but that that was what he said, and it's a shameful blow to democracy. And the fact that no mention of this came during the course of the hours of dialog that we all had—the Presidents of these democracies—demonstrates just how shameful an act it truly is.

Regarding the forthcoming elections, as was so evident in Panama, the people of this hemisphere know the difference between real elections and sham elections. And the hemisphere will not settle for anything less than free and fair elections. The people of Nicaragua know the kind of steps that the ruling Sandinistas can take to show a real commitment to fair elections. And the whole world will be watching this one, and if the Sandinistas don't allow fair debates and clean elections, they confirm the dictatorship long before the elections even take place. The world understands that no real democracy is threatened by the voices of its own people.

And it's ironic that here we are—and I'm so glad I came to this meeting—to salute Costa Rica's 100 years' democracy. It was very ironic: there was only one man in a military uniform in this meeting of democracies. Speaking of military uniforms, speaking of dictatorships, to the south, the outlaw Noriega regime simply must be replaced. This is not the judgment of Uncle Sam. It is the judgment of the Panamanian people, and it is the judgment of history. And it is the judgment, I believe, of every single democratically elected President who was at this meeting.

Today, Noriega may think his lead-pipe politics have won, but he's won nothing more than a fragile status quo. And democracy really will triumph in Panama—I'm confident of that. It's a question of when, not if. And by putting his own personal interests above those of the Panamanian people, Noriega will only continue to lose support internationally, inside the Panamanian Defense Forces, and among the growing number of courageous Panamanians who dare to resist his oppressive rule.

Let me assure you: The United States will continue to work with the democracies in this hemisphere and around the world to support the struggle of the Panamanian people. Today every continent is being swept by the new breeze of political change. And the world has watched in wonder as brave men and women have taken to the streets to claim their rights, to proclaim a faith in democracy. Some governments respond with reform, some with repression, but there is no longer any doubt which side history is on. The day of the despot, the day of the dictator—over, finished. The Nicaraguans and Panamanians with whom I've just met are brave and inspiring people. They stand in the vanguard of history, and they deserve the active support of all who support democracy in this hemisphere.

I'd be glad to respond to questions.

Nicaragua

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Ortega said that the cease-fire won't hold because of what he calls savage attacks by the U.S.-backed *contras.* To what extent does the United States bear responsibility for the actions of the *contras*? And what kind of instructions will you send to the *contra* field commanders now, in view of the end of the cease-fire?

The President. Well, first, I won't listen to Mr. Noriega's charge that this is—his outrageous breach, alleged breach of the cease-fire, willingness to breach it, is entirely—Ortega—willing to bear the burden—put it all on the *contras.* There have been flareups up there. We have encouraged the *contras* not to take aggressive military action, and we would certainly continue to do that. But to accept his judgment that some excuse for ending the cease-fire rests totally on the *contras*—I'm not going to do that at all.

Q. You say that you won't—you'd urge them not to take aggressive actions——

The President. Oh, yes, we will.

Q. ——if the cease-fire is ending, and they're going on the attack?

The President. Who is that?

Q. If the Sandinistas are ending the cease-fire and go on the attack?

The President. Well, I think they're violating and breaking the very agreements they've made if they do that. And I don't think they should. And I don't think the *contras* ought to attack. What we ought to do is fulfill the agreements that have been made.

They agreed to stop subverting their neighbors, for example. I'm talking about Ortega and the Sandinistas. My golly, the other day we uncover a great truck of munitions going in. And one of the dramatic moments yesterday was when Mr. Cristiani, the fairly elected President of Salvador—in a very diplomatic way, I might add—told him: Stop sending that stuff into our country. You agreed you wouldn't do it, and now you're doing it.

He agreed to talk to the resistance. That's who they ought to talk to. He's always kind of sidling up to me looking for some photo op. What he ought to do is talk to the resistance. That's what he agreed to do. Why doesn't he do it? And he agreed to release the political prisoners—not so; hasn't done it. Conditions for free and fair access to the media—they agreed to that, and that hasn't taken place the way it should.

There are some signs that are good. The registration—let's say hey, that's good; we're encouraged—some 90 percent supposed to have registered. No government resources are supposed to go to the campaign; I'm told that has been violated.

So, rather than find a canard, rather than find some hook to break up an agreement on, I think they ought to go forward and honor the agreement that's been made. And I would also say I would encourage the *contras* in every way possible not to engage in military action.

Q. What are your options? What can you do, since it's very clear that you are at a meeting where I would say most of the Latin leaders would not want you to resume military action nor aid to the *contras* and so forth? This is a peace meeting. So, what do you have in mind? What have you done so far, knowing this for 18 hours or so?

The President. One of the things I did is talk to those who have a little more influence with Mr. Ortega than I do—that would be everybody at the meeting, probably—and talked to several of them last night, and they leaned on him pretty hard. And there was—be fair about it—I'm told, at a press conference, the man had a little bit of backing off—a little bit. And so, let's wait and see is what I'm saying. But right now, I could use this forum to say: Do not break that cease-fire. Do not!

Q. Well, what's the alternative?

The President. Well, we're not going to cross that bridge until we get there.

El Salvador

Q. Mr. President, I am a journalist from El Salvador, and I want to do a question specifically of my country.

The President. Sure.

Q. The first is: Are there any signs that peace in El Salvador is near, and what are these signs? And the other one is: With respect to the human rights in El Salvador, would you say that your government is satisfied?

The President. I would say on the first part—and I got this from the other Presidents—a recognition that the election in El Salvador, free and certifiably fair, was an important major step towards the peace that the people of El Salvador want. I must say that the shipment that was discovered, of Mr. Ortega shipping military weapons into El Salvador in a direct violation of these agreements, was a bad sign.

So, in other words, I am more encouraged about peace there. I believe Mr. Cristiani is trying very hard. And let me just say he has the full support of our government, whatever we can do to help him facilitate the peace and enhance the democracy.

There was a second part, though, that I'm not sure I responded to.

Q. Yes. With respect to the human rights in El Salvador, would you say that your government is satisfied?

The President. Well, there's been dramatic progress. Nothing has been called to my attention that makes me dissatisfied, but I don't want to take one look and say that everything is perfect. I can't say that. I do know that the new administration is trying very, very hard, and dramatic improvements have been made.

Nicaragua

Q. Mr. President, you say you really don't want to take any action until this thing clarifies itself with Ortega. But doesn't there have to be some kind of stick employed here in terms of the *contras* now? Aren't you honor bound to help them defend themselves if indeed the Sandinistas are about to unlaunch some sort of offensive against them?

The President. Well, if it resulted—I mean, you're asking me to buy into a hypothesis that may not be true.

Q. Well, he's talking to break the cease-fire.

The President. Well, he's talking about it, and you've got a lot of Presidents here that are trying to tell him that would be sheer folly. So, I want to see how it develops. But he knows that if there's an all-out military offensive, that's going to change the equation 180 degrees.

Regional Diplomacy

Q. Mr. President, you have placed great faith in regional diplomacy, your relations with leaders in this hemisphere—like the leaders gathered here. What does it tell you about the effectiveness of such an approach when a man like Daniel Ortega feels free to walk into a gathering like this and, at this very meeting, announce an action which is an insult to every leader here and a violation of the agreements that you've cited?

The President. It tells me that I should not judge the whole hemisphere by one—I heard one of our leading TV journalists use an analogy about an animal at a garden party yesterday, and I won't do it because it might take on different—but that's exactly what happened. So, I am not going to judge a salute to 100 years of Costa Rican democracy by the fact that Mr. Ortega looks like that unwanted animal at a garden party. What you're doing is focusing on—and I understand it—the controversy, the one thing.

There has been the feeling in some countries here of neglect by the United States. Under this President, there will no longer ever be a feeling of neglect. And we came here to talk about debt and drugs and democracy, and we're not going to let this one little man who is out of whack with the rest of the hemisphere ruin a very good meeting.

Q. But doesn't it suggest, sir, that he feels he has nothing to fear from the regional diplomacy by which you have set such great store, when he feels free to do what he has done here?

The President. If he goes forward with it, yes. And it will bring down on him the outrage of every President; and those that invited him here, I'm sure, will be terribly disappointed. But we didn't come here to have any contretemps with this little man showing up in his military uniform at a democracy meeting. That's not what it's all about. We're talking about much broader things. But let's wait and see how that develops. He knows the United States position, and he knows the position of others in the hemisphere.

Latin America-U.S. Relations

Q. Do you foresee a change in U.S. policy towards Latin America directly because of this meeting?

The President. I see an enhanced interaction. And I don't see a dramatic change because—I'm one and our Secretary of State and—our interests have long been intertwined with those in this hemisphere. But I see a day of a hemisphere of total democracy. You look at the changes that are taking place, that have taken place in the last few years, and that are likely to take place just in the next few months, and it's very optimistic. And we want to be a constructive part of helping with the debt problem that I heard a lot about yesterday. We want to help where we can enhance democracy and strengthen the concept of free elections.

So, I wouldn't say dramatic change, but I think being here and saying what I feel about the democracies here and trying to show the respect we feel for those democracies is a good thing to have done.

President Ortega of Nicaragua

Q. Oscar Arias invited here democratically elected Presidents. Are you questioning his decision of inviting Daniel Ortega?

The President. Well, I was a little surprised to feel that he was democratically elected, though they reminded me that there was an election. I'm not sure how certifiably free and fair it was, but it was under that rubric that he was invited here. So, who am I to question our host? I'm glad to be here myself. But it did seem a little odd: walking in in a military uniform and coming in having pledged democracy to the Organization of American States 8 or 9 years ago and frustrating the democratic ambitions of his people. It wasn't exactly the most comfortable fit. But, no, I'm not questioning Mr. Arias. He's the host, and he's been a generous host, and I'm very glad we're here to salute Costa Rica's democracy.

Israel-South Africa Nuclear Cooperation

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to ask you about another foreign policy subject. There's very strong evidence that Israel is involved in a joint project with South Africa to build a nuclear missile. If that project should continue, what effect would it have on U.S. relations with Israel?

The President. Well, I hope our position is clear in transfer of any military technology that should not be transferred. And if that's taken place, it would not enhance relations between us or any country that does that. It would complicate things—there's no question about that.

Israeli-Occupied Territories

Q. Another question on that same general subject, sir. Will the United States give Israel a veto over the identity of the Palestinians in negotiations on elections in the occupied territories?

The President. We are not going with preconditions on—we're trying to be a catalyst, and whatever is worked out between the parties will have our generous and enthusiastic support. But the Israelis have made clear that that would be very difficult for them, so we're not trying to throw down a precondition. We're just trying, through the Baker 5 points and through giving support to [Egyptian] President Mubarak's 10 points, to be helpful in getting the talks going. And the main thing is to talk, and I hope that they'll get together.

Nicaragua

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned that if there's an all-out offensive, this would change the equation 180 degrees. What exactly do you mean? Are you talking about more military aid again for the *contras*?

The President. We'll let you know. We'll let you know, but I don't want to get out ahead of where I think things may be right now. You're pressing me to act as if there is a fait accompli and all barriers are down and shooting starts on all sides. I don't want to argue that that is what's going to take place. But I can tell you: A break of that agreement and a renewal of all-out fighting would be a very bad thing for Ortega because I think the whole world would see it as a direct breaking of his word. And then we would see what kind of action is taken.

Q. Just the second part of that. Why did Ortega do this, do you think? Is it arrogance, or is it——

The President. I can't figure it out. It's an offense to the President of Costa Rica; it is an offense to the democratically elected leaders here. It is the most outrageous use of a meeting on democracy that I can think of. I've asked our own folks: What in heaven's name would make a person do something so counterproductive? Stick him out like a sore thumb amongst a bunch of democratically elected leaders? Offend a host? And I'm sure it has. You can ask Oscar Arias, but if I were him, I would have been deeply offended by such brutal disregard for the feelings of—the sensitivities of this meeting. So, I don't know what motivates this man.

I did see him there yesterday. I know you all wanted to see the photos and the confrontation. That's boy scout stuff. There's no—he wants to talk to me? Talk to the resistance. That's what he agreed to do. That's who he ought to talk to. Don't go sliding around for some photo opportunity that means nothing.

Abortion

Q. I just wanted to get one domestic policy question in here.

The President. Fire.

Q. At a time when you're endorsing and you're celebrating self-determination abroad and you've endorsed State initiatives in so many areas like education at home, how do you justify refusing to allow District of Columbia residents to use their own local tax money to fund abortions for poor women?

The President. I don't think public money ought to go for that, except in the life of the mother. My position is so well-known there. And they can push me for political advantage every time they want to, and they're going to be up against a brick wall. So, let's forget it and get on with helping the people in the District of Columbia. And that's what they ought to do and not try to play games—to think one's going one-up or one-down on this very personal, very difficult question of abortion. My position is spelled out, was defined, openly debated in the elections a year ago—maybe to this very day. And I'm not changing my position, and they know that. And if they think there's political advantage in pushing me to the wall, fine, but the people that are being victimized by those kinds of political games are the people in the District of Columbia.

Situation in Panama

Q. Mr. President, there seems to be a consensus that the government that should be in power in Panama at this moment is Mr. Endara's, since he won a fair election. However, hemispheric Presidents passed up the opportunity to recognize that government last September. Could you explain why this happened?

The President. It happened because there was an action: the Presidents agreed to work with the OAS and to strongly back the OAS mission. And in my view, the OAS mission failed in its mission, and that was to get Noriega out of power and then go forward. Now you're having some constructive suggestions by Felipe González, the Prime Minister of Spain, by others at the meeting here. And what will be the next step? I can't tell you. Put it this way: I am not totally frustrated about the return of democracy to Panama. I think the thing I sense from these leaders is such solidarity with free and fair elections—and that was what happened in Panama—that the handwriting is on the wall for Mr. Noriega.

But whether at this juncture recognition of that government would be a constructive step or not, I'd want to talk to others. It would have to be done in concert with other nations to be meaningful, and we are encouraging people not to give any kind of formal recognition to the existing crowd—not having their Ambassadors there and all.

Andean Drug Summit and War on Drugs

Q. What about drugs, Mr. President? In your discussions here, did you move, in any sense, a step closer towards a drug summit? Did you get strong support on that?

The President. I made very clear in my comments yesterday that we look forward to having this Andean drug summit. Whether any plans were finalized on it, I don't know. I'd have to ask our experts whether—but we have had some discussion of trying to pin down, particularly with the Colombians, what would be a good timeframe for that. But I personally didn't go any further than just saying we enthusiastically support the concept and we will be pleased to attend.

Q. Did any of the others ask to get involved and become——

The President. Not to me they didn't. This topic got a lot of interest and discussion, but it didn't get into the modalities of the summit that I know of. But maybe there was some behind-the-scenes work with the——

Q. [*The question was asked in Spanish, and the translation was inaudible.*]

The President. The second part of your question: No, I do not believe in legalization. I am firmly opposed to it, and I salute Colombia for its unwillingness to negotiate and bargain with these insidious narco traffickers.

The first part was on the summit. Yes—I answered that in English a second ago—but, yes, I would be happy to attend such a summit, and I think it's worthwhile. And I made that point yesterday in my intervention.

Israel-South Africa Nuclear Cooperation

Q. I'd like to take you back to Gene's [Gene Gibbons, Reuters] question of a moment ago about reports of Israeli-South African collaboration on missiles. Senior administration officials say it's clear something is happening.

The President. What's that?

Q. On reports of Israeli-South African collaboration on missiles, transshipment of technology. Administration officials say it's clear something is happening. I want to know, sir, given this country's historical reluctance to impose sanctions on Israel, what kind of leverage we have to deal with the situation. What are you prepared to do?

The President. You're asking me to accept a hypothesis that I'm not accepting. But I have said that, whoever it is, the transfer of forbidden technology is a taboo. We're not going to have that, and we will find ways to assert that with any country that abuses the system.

Brazil-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, President Sarney of Brazil—he is frustrated with the relations between the United States and Latin America, that Latin America is not a priority for the United States and that democracy without proper economic life is not enough.

The President. He's got a good point on that.

Q. Aside from Panama, do you have an announcement to make to Latin America—a positive announcement?

The President. Yes. You know, I didn't detect that high level of frustration on President Sarney's point. He made a very strong and very emotional appeal on the debt question, and I can understand that. And we are trying to work with him.

The one theme I detected through this meeting was strong support for the Brady plan and the fact that we have moved. And the fact—where it has taken place, in Mexico, flight capital is coming back into the country. By doing some of the necessary reforms, why, they have—for example, deregulation of transportation—they have reduced the cost of transportation by about 30 percent, I'm told. So, things are moving.

But I sensed an urgency by President Sarney. I can identify with it, and we do want to be helpful. I had a chance to talk with him last night. I think he's very pleased we came. I think he was very pleased we are not, in the United States or, indeed, Canada, neglecting our friends in this hemisphere. So, I left with a pretty upbeat feeling—not a diminished feeling of the importance of his problem but in terms of the hemispheric solidarity, you might say. But your having phrased the question that way, I want to be sure we're not missing a signal with him.

He's going out of office next year. He has done a good job under extraordinarily difficult times. I went to his inauguration, and I don't think anybody ever came into office in any country under more difficult times. So, I would salute him and say if he's frustrated about the debt I can understand it. But I'm not going to let that—nor should he—in any way interfere with what I think are improving relations with Brazil. Look over our shoulders, and it wasn't long ago that Brazil did not have the democracy that President Sarney has tried to perfect, even in spite of enormously difficult economic times.

Thank you all very, very much.

Q. One more?

The President. One more. This is the last—it really is.

President Ortega of Nicaragua

Q. You said earlier on that the Presidents last night leaned on Daniel Ortega. A two-part question is: Do you think Ortega in fact hurt himself by what he did?

The President. Yes.

Q. And do you think that it's incumbent now on President Arias to publicly say so, since there's one more ceremony left at this meeting?

The President. I think that he hurt himself, because I think these leaders here to celebrate democracy saw that this man is still a bit of an outcast in the whole family around that table. And I think that unconscionable election to hold that press conference yesterday and—as I say, maybe he's backed off a little. I want to be fair, and he may have backed off about whether he stops the cease-fire or whether it doesn't continue. I'm told there's a little trying to interpret what he means by all that. But, yes, he hurt himself very, very badly, I think. And maybe people will understand more clearly some of the reservations we have when they see him violate the agreements that mean so much to President Arias and to the other leaders that participate in the agreements.

I think the intervention by Cristiani, incidentally, yesterday—that nobody disputed, of Ortega's continuing to subvert the Salvadorean democracy—really was profound. You could hear a pin drop when he said that, because everyone knows it's true, and everyone knows it's in direct violation of an agreement made.

So, I think he hurt himself, and whether it will reflect itself in talks, I don't know. I do know that President Arias got ahold of him last night and spoke very directly to him. And I'm told that two other Presidents—and you can guess about who they might be—spoke very, very frankly to him.

Q. And if I may, the second part of my question.

The President. You've had two parts. Is this the third part of a two-part question? [*Laughter*]

Q. No, now I'm going for it.

The President. Okay.

Q. The second part was: Given that you've got 16 leaders here, shouldn't Mr. Arias say something publicly——

The President. I would hope he would, but that's his call. I've had a chance here, and I feel better for it.

Q. Why do you keep calling him a little man?

The President. Because he is—that's why.

Note: The President's 26th news conference began at 9:14 a.m. in the Convention Hall at the Hotel Cariari.

Remarks to Members of the American Embassy Community in San José, Costa Rica

October 28, 1989

Thank you very, very much for this warm welcome. Mr. Secretary, thank you, my partner. We blind-sided those guys. We totally destroyed them. It was—[*laughter*]—no, it was wonderful.

It was a great day. And I'll tell you, I don't know how you all feel driving around this marvelous country, but for us, you get that really feeling of good will towards the United States. You couldn't help but feel it since we've been here. And I think that reflects on a lot of things, and I am sure it reflects on the good work of the Americans that are here, those in the Embassy and the students and others from across our culture that come here to live in Costa Rica who have respect for their democracy. And so, for me, it's been a wonderful visit, and I expect I speak for the Secretary of State in that regard.

You've got a good Ambassador, one of the best in the entire professional corps, and I am very, very proud of Deane Hinton and of Mrs. Hinton for all they do—and he and I have interlocked in different incarnations around the world—and seen him, and we have something in common because I know what a pain in the neck it is to have a visit of this nature, a visit from a President. But we promise to go on time. [*Laughter*]

And I keep telling people at the Embassies, you see, I'm sympathetic to you. I feel sorry for the admin officer or the Ambassador's wife or the political counselor or the communications people or whatever, because I have been on the receiving end of such a visit when I was the equivalent of Ambassador in China. We survived one visit from the President of the United States, which wasn't bad, and two from Henry Kissinger. [*Laughter*] So, you're talking to a guy that knows what you've been through here, and I wanted to thank you for all you've done to make the visit go smoothly.

It's not easy when you have as many Presidents from democratic countries coming here at the same time, but the Costa Ricans have extended their warmth and hospitality. And I might say this: I think our Embassies have a little more vitality, a little more understanding, a little more representation, if you will, because we have Costa Rican citizens working in our Embassy. And I want to salute those from Costa Rica, the citizens who work side by side with all of you in the Embassy of the United States.

Thank you for this welcome. What I really want to do, what we sometimes do—you know, maybe we're outnumbered here, but what I really—Dave? Where's Valdez? Can we get a picture with the kids? We need to bring all the kids up here, all the kids.

Note: The President spoke at 12:29 p.m. on the lawn of the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of State James A. Baker III and David Valdez, Director of the White House Photographic Office. In his opening remarks, the President referred to a doubles tennis game he played with Secretary Baker.

Letter to Elementary School Students on Halloween

October 24, 1989

Dear Students:

I know you are looking forward to a day coming soon that is one of the most fun—Halloween. I'm inviting you to be among my special guests at the White House to celebrate this day. I promise you we'll have fun, but I want this Halloween to be about more than ghosts and goblins and scary things. While you're here, I am going to ask your help in ending something that unfortunately isn't make-believe—it's frightening and real. It is the problem of drug abuse.

I hope you were able to watch when I spoke to the schoolchildren of America last month about the problem of drugs. During my television address, I told a story of a young boy and an old man who were walking along a beach. As they walked, the boy picked up each starfish he passed and threw them back into the sea. Confused, the old man asked him why.

"If I left them here," the boy said, "they would dry up and die. I am saving their lives."

"But the beach goes on for miles and there are millions of starfish," the old man said. "How can what you're doing make any difference?"

The boy looked at the starfish in his hand, threw it into the ocean, and answered, "It makes a difference to this one."

You can make a difference, too—with your classmates, your friends, and your family—by saying no to drugs.

I have given your teachers an anti-drug pledge card for you to read and sign. Please fill it out and bring it with you to the White House on Halloween. I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to the following elementary schools: Kemp Mill, Rolling Terrace, and Greenbelt in Maryland; Ashlawn, Patrick Henry, James K. Polk, Forestville, Potomac, and Vienna in Virginia; and Bancroft, Brookland, Harrison, and John W. Ross in the District of Columbia. The letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 30.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Reports on Highway and Motor Vehicle Safety

October 30, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

It is my privilege to provide you with the annual reports on activities under the Highway Safety Act (23 U.S.C. 401 note) and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act (15 U.S.C. 1408), both enacted in 1966. These reports provide an overview of our activities during calendar year 1988.

The report on motor vehicle safety includes the annual reporting requirement in Title I of the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act of 1972 (bumper standards).

In the Highway Safety Acts of 1973, 1976, and 1978, the Congress expressed its special interest in certain aspects of traffic safety that are addressed in the volume on highway safety.

Last year was a year of significant gains in traffic safety. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration opened 167 safety investigations of motor vehicles and equipment, which is the most since 1973. In addition, the traffic fatality rate, the accepted measure of risk on the road, was 2.4 deaths per 100 million vehicle miles traveled, the lowest in history and down 27 percent since 1980. Safety belt use is also higher than ever, with 47 percent of Americans buckling up, and drunk driving fatalities have declined significantly.

There is good news for Americans in virtually every critical part of the highway safety picture. The decline in the fatality rate is especially encouraging and means we are able to drive more without being at increased risk, and the dramatic increase in safety belt use and public concern about drunk driving have translated into thousands of lives saved and injuries avoided.

The progress we have made is, of course, no consolation to the relatives and friends of the 46,900 people who, despite the safety advances and greater public awareness, lost their lives in 1988.

We will continue to pursue highway and

motor vehicle safety programs that are most effective in reducing deaths and injuries, and are convinced that significant progress in traffic safety can be achieved through the combined efforts of government, industry, and the public.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 30, 1989.

Remarks at the Ceremony Commemorating Polish American Heritage Month

October 30, 1989

To Secretary Yeutter and Secretary Mosbacher, Secretary Dole, Secretary Derwinski and Chairman Boskin, Ambassador Kinast, Ambassador Ed Rowny, it's a pleasure to be here. It's a great pleasure to see Lane Kirkland and Bob Georgine, Gale Johnson and Ed Moskal here. The congressional delegation, I think, has been a little waylaid, but I was told that Mickey Edwards is going to be here and John Dingell, Robert Borski.

But let me just welcome you all to the Rose Garden on this beautiful fall day into an occasion marking the conclusion of Polish American Heritage Month, which links two people bound by admiration and affection. In one sense, we meet this afternoon to salute the values which unite the United States and Poland, values like faith in God, respect for the family and hard work, and the belief that free expression will conquer tyranny. But in a larger way, we're here to honor the tide toward democracy that these values make possible. For in Poland, as elsewhere, the tide toward oppression is running out; the tide toward liberty is running in. The voice of freedom is the voice of Poland, and the voice of Poland is the voice of tomorrow.

When I was in Poland—visited Poland last July—I heard brave men and women proclaim the dignity of the individual and demand the opportunity and self-government that make all things possible for a nation and a people. The Polish national anthem captured this when it proclaims: "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." And today it stirs the shopkeepers of Buffalo and the factory workers of Poznan. The small girl that I saw on a street corner in Gdansk—tearful, joyous, an American flag stretched upward from her hand—and she, too, knew that voice. And so does the aging woman in Chicago, teaching her grandchildren the languages of the two countries that she loves—she's the voice of Poland, resolute and proud. In recent months, this voice has found new power. For by forming a non-Communist government, the first in Eastern Europe in more than 40 years, Poland herself has moved toward a new beginning. Historic political changes are leading to dramatic economic reforms, building new foundations of hope and prosperity, opening new boundaries of market and mind.

Let me say we are inspired by these historic changes—and also add, from the first our administration has supported them by word and by deed. And that is why on April 17th at Hamtramck, shortly after the signing of the Roundtable Agreement in Poland, we announced a series of initiatives to open U.S. markets and encourage private investment and private sector loans there in Poland, and why, during my visit to Poland in July, we announced an additional package of measures to assist Poland's economic and political revival.

In Paris this summer, I proposed—and our economic summit partners agreed to—a plan for concerted Western action. In September, we asked Congress for a $100 million enterprise fund for Poland and extended another $108 million in emergency food aid for Poland.

A good beginning? Yes, certainly, but Poland needs and will have not only concerted Western action but also sustained support for its democratic transition. For its turn towards democracy is historic—a crucial step, we hope, toward a Europe that is whole and free—and unprecedented. For never before has a Communist country successfully changed from a state-controlled system to political pluralism, self-determination, and a market economy.

Last month, members of our administration met with key Ministries in the new Polish Government. They detailed their bold reform plan, and we asked the Ministers how best to support them. And they requested as an essential part of their program $1 billion in Western economic aid to stabilize the economy as these radical reforms are implemented. Our response took two forms. First, I asked Congress to approve $200 million in grants, fully $1 in every $5 in Western stabilization funds requested by the Poles themselves. And we are urging our Western economic partners to make major contributions to this fund since the effort will work only if it is fully funded. And second, I announced that we would send to Warsaw a Presidential mission, including U.S. officials, business and labor leaders, and experts to help ensure that Poland's economic recovery becomes a reality and assess how the United States can best help Poland help itself.

This must be and will be a bipartisan effort of the United States Government. And today I'm pleased to announce that this mission will be led by the Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, Secretary of Commerce Mosbacher, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, and Council of Economic Advisers [Chairman] Michael Boskin. And they will be joined by at least 15 outstanding chief executive officers, labor leaders, economists, and other experts from the U.S. private sector. Several of them are with me on the dais today.

And our team will meet with the key Ministers of the Polish Government and others involved in stimulating Poland's private sector and recommend to me how the economic support we will extend can best be utilized. It will focus on economic sectors where U.S. expertise and cooperation can indeed make a difference, such as agriculture and business management and financial services. And it will also look at Poland's overall economic situation and at the structural changes needed to make Poland prosper. For this we know: Poland's struggle has always been America's struggle. Maybe that's why it seems that Polish hearts and American hearts beat as one.

Historically, for more than 200 years, and geographically, from Washington to Warsaw and Krakow to Chicago, Americans have echoed the voice of Poland. And we do so now, echoing her love of freedom and opportunity and warmed by the glow from Poland's new flame of democracy, linking the lands of Chopin and Jefferson, Lincoln and Paderewski. Let us keep that flame alive and use it to burn bright the friendship between our peoples so that Polish American Heritage Month symbolizes a better, richer life—a better life for all our children; a richer life for those who believe, as we do, in the liberty which sets men free.

Thank you very much. And God bless Poland, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much for coming.

Note: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to the Polish Ambassador to the United States Jan Kinast; Edward L. Rowny, Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters; Lane Kirkland, president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO); Robert Georgine, president of the building and construction trades department of the AFL–CIO; Gale Johnson, professor of economics at the University of Chicago; and Edward Moskal, president of the Polish American Congress.

White House Fact Sheet on the Presidential Mission to Poland

October 30, 1989

In his continuing efforts to assist Polish reform, the President today announced the formation of a Presidential mission to travel to Poland at the end of November to examine the new government's economic plan and to advise the President on the best ways of assuring the effective use of U.S. assistance. The mission will be led by Secretaries Yeutter, Mosbacher, and Dole and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Boskin. It will consist primarily of corporate and labor leaders, economists, and other experts from the private sector, including, among others, Lane Kirkland, Murray Wiedenbaum [professor at Washington University], Michael Harper (CON-AGRA), John McGillicuddy (Manufacturers Hanover), Gale Johnson and Arnold Harberger (University of Chicago), Robert Georgine (AFL–CIO), and Edward Moskal (Polish American Congress).

The mission will focus on those economic sectors where U.S. expertise and experience can be of greatest assistance—agriculture, business management, industry, financial services—as well as studying Poland's overall plan of structural, macroeconomic, and price reforms. The Presidential mission will report its findings to the President and share them with the European Communities Commission and with others in the 24-nation Group for Economic Assistance to Poland and Hungary. The mission will depart on November 29 and return on December 2.

This initial mission will be followed by experts missions in key economic sectors. In addition, administration economists will examine urgently the structural economic challenges Poland will face now and in the years ahead so that we can provide the most effective help possible to the Polish people in their reform efforts.

Note: Background material on the economic situation in Poland was not printed.

Remarks at the Groundbreaking Ceremony for the National Law Enforcement Officers' Memorial

October 30, 1989

Thank you all very much for that—Sarah, Jim—for that very warm welcome, Jim, and the kind words and for the hard work that you and Craig Floyd here and so many others have contributed to making this spectacular day a reality. Craig leaned over to me and said, "This beats May 15th." [*Laughter*] And some of you may remember the event that we had, drenched in front of the Capitol up there. And the Lord is looking down on this one with a little more favor, I think.

I want to salute our able Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh, that rode over here with me—doing an outstanding job. And I might say I'm very pleased to see his predecessor, Ed Meese, with us. He stood strong and tall for law enforcement, and I think we still all appreciate that very, very much. I'm delighted to see Chief Fulwood here and, of course, my friend Al D'Amato. Senator Pell has been detained, but there are several other Members of Congress, and I'd like to ask them to stand. I see Connie and Ben Gilman, but there may be others there, and I want to salute them because we're getting—[*applause*]—there's Senator Domenici back there also. And of course, I'm delighted to see my friend Dewey Stokes and Lee Greenwood with us, and so many others—Phil Caruso—so many others that are supporting all of this. It's a pleasure to be here.

All these leaders deserve our thanks, but I really also want to say thank you, America. More than 400,000 individuals have stepped forward to donate the funds for this memorial, a gift from a caring people and a grateful nation. And the sacrifices that we honor today began on a cold winter's day in January 1794. Robert Forsythe, a veteran of the Revolutionary War and one of George Washington's new Federal marshals, enlisted two deputies and went to serve some routine court papers on the Allen brothers of Augusta, Georgia. But then as now, every cop knows there's no such thing as a routine assignment. And when the marshal found the brothers, they fled upstairs and fired a single shot right through the door, and Robert Forsythe became the first casualty in an undeclared war that continues to this day.

Routine assignments continue to hold special danger for law enforcement. In 1988 Chicago police officer Irma Ruiz was a mother of four and a beloved mother figure to dozens of elementary students in the hallways she patrolled. But when a drug-crazed gunman attacked the school, Irma died protecting nearly 200 children and teachers.

Two cops, two sacrifices, two centuries apart, but both part of one tradition: the thin blue line that protects our nation from the evil within. The story to be carved on these walls is the story of America, of a continuing quest to preserve both democracy and decency and to protect a national treasure that we call the American dream.

You know the numbers. An estimated 30,000 officers have died defending law and order in America. And added to this are the wounded, a toll of disability and pain that rivals those of America's overseas wars. And each loss represents a hometown hero, a city of flags at half-mast, a somber procession of white gloves and black armbands, the bagpipe strains of "Amazing Grace" rising in the wind. And with each casualty is told the tale of a family so often forgotten: the brave spouses and parents and children who pay a terrible price in loneliness and loss. And many of you are here today, and many of you have played a critical role in bringing this memorial to life.

The law enforcement memorial ensures that what is so real to you today will never become a statistic. Each loss has a name, and each name has a story to tell. The polished granite walls of America's police memorial will bear witness to the sacrifice of frontier lawmen like Frank Dalton of Fort Smith, Arkansas, one of more than a hundred deputies gunned down by outlaws in the American West; and prohibition detectives like Harry McGinnis, killed in 1933 in a shootout with Bonnie and Clyde; Federal agents like Secret Serviceman Leslie Coffelt, mortally wounded while preventing two terrorists from assassinating President Harry Truman; and extraordinary policemen like Philadelphia's Albert Valentino, shot down just last week investigating a burglary.

For all who have lost their lives protecting the public, this memorial will stand as a tribute to their courage and their sacrifice. They will always be remembered here in the oval border of the Pathway of Remembrance. And they will always be remembered down the street in the Oval Office, where since the day I took office I've kept the badge of a rookie cop martyred last year in New York.

This memorial is also a tribute to the living: to the partners and the teammates of the fallen, to their families, and to all of you who are foot soldiers in the battle against lawlessness. In an age of indifference, you took a stand. You made a choice. You made your lives count for something. And your service matters not only because it saves lives and families and neighborhoods. It matters because it is the right thing to do.

And on May 13th, many of you—I said 15th, maybe it was the 13th—you gathered here in this same square to hold a candlelight vigil for your fellow officers. The night sky was pierced by one of the most appropriate and imaginative memorials ever brought to Washington: a single, crystal-blue beam of light, a laser, representing the thin blue line.

I'm right. Two days later on the 15th, a dismal, drizzly Washington afternoon, I stood shoulder to shoulder with many of you up there on Capitol Hill, armed with new proposals to help protect the pure, blue light of law enforcement. And we invited Congress to join us in a new partnership with America's cities and States, a new national strategy to take back the streets by taking criminals off the streets. The States need to do their part as well. We need mandatory prison terms for those using firearms for crime and an end to plea bargaining for violent firearms offenders. And for cop killers, for those who commit the ultimate crime, I feel strongly that they should pay the ultimate price. Congress has had our crime package since May. It is time to act because these improvements are a vital part of our national drug strategy and because, before any more names are added to that wall, the protection you deserve should be added to the books.

And so, it is with that hope and with great personal pride in America's police and in all who have contributed to this historic effort that I will now join in the groundbreaking for the National Law Enforcement Officers' Memorial. Thank you for coming. And thank you all, and God bless you. And especially, God bless those we honor here today. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:17 p.m. at Judiciary Square. In his remarks, he referred to James S. Brady, former Press Secretary to President Reagan, and Sarah Brady, his wife; James Kearns, chairman of the corporate leadership committee for the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, and Craig Floyd, chairman of the fund; Isaac Fulwood, Jr., Washington, DC, police chief; Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York; Representatives Constance A. Morella of Maryland and Benjamin A. Gilman of New York; Dewey Stokes, national president of the Fraternal Order of Police; country music singer Lee Greenwood; and Phil Caruso, president of the New York City Patrolmen's Benevolent Association.

Statement on the Chemical Weapons Destruction Facility in Tooele, Utah

October 30, 1989

Just a month ago, at the United Nations in New York, I reiterated my commitment to ridding the world of chemical weapons, and I announced a program whereby the United States would eliminate its chemical weapons stocks completely within 10 years after a chemical weapons ban treaty enters into force if all other nations capable of building such weapons do so as well. Furthermore, we would reduce our chemical weapons stocks by 98 percent within 8 years after the conclusion of such a convention if the Soviet Union agreed to join. We are negotiating for such an agreement at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, and its achievement would be one of the most important disarmament steps in the twentieth century.

Today we take another step along that path. The chemical weapons destruction facility to be built at Tooele says to all the world that the United States is determined to fulfill its promises, that our people and our government are committed to halting the spread of chemical weapons and eliminating their very existence. Though some in Utah may feel that the chemical weapons arms control negotiations in Geneva are far removed, this facility demonstrates how important the people of Utah are to that process. Its construction is a response to two challenges: first, our national commitment of willingness to work with the Soviet Union to reduce our stockpiles down to 20 percent of existing U.S. stocks even before a multilateral treaty is signed, and second, the difficult technical challenge of finding a way to safely, efficiently, and quickly demilitarize those stocks.

I extend my thanks to the partnership that has made this day possible: to the people of Utah, particularly those who live and work in Tooele; to the many government employees and the military personnel in Tooele and elsewhere who have worked to speed the process; and the industry team which is committed to build, operate, and eventually close down this facility.

I have said that I want to get on with the process of ridding the world of these weapons. Now we need to get on with the process of building this facility.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Japan-United States Fishing Agreement

October 30, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976, as amended (Public Law 94–265; 16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*, "the Act"), I transmit herewith an agreement effected by exchange of notes, October 6, 1989, extending for the period of 2 years from December 31, 1989, until December 31, 1991, the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Japan Concerning Fisheries off the Coasts of the United States, signed at Washington on September 10, 1982. The exchange of notes, together with the present agreement, as amended, constitute a governing international fishery agreement within the meaning of section 201(c) of the Act.

Several U.S. fishing industry interests have urged prompt consideration of this agreement. Because of the importance of our fishing relationship with Japan, I urge that the Congress give favorable consideration of this agreement at an early date.

Since 60 calendar days of continuous session, as required by the legislation, will not be available before the current agreement is scheduled to expire, I recommend the Congress consider passage of a joint resolution approving the extension.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 30, 1989.

Notice of the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran

October 30, 1989

On November 14, 1979, by Executive Order No. 12170, the President declared a national emergency to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the situation in Iran. Notices of the continuation of this national emergency have been transmitted annually by the President to the Congress and the *Federal Register*, most recently on November 9, 1988, dated November 8, 1988. Because our relations with Iran have not yet returned to normal, and the process of implementing the January 19, 1981, agreements with Iran is still underway, the national emergency declared on November 14, 1979, must continue in effect beyond November 14, 1989. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to Iran. This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 30, 1989.

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:23 p.m., October 30, 1989*]

Message to the Congress on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran

October 30, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Iran emergency is to continue in effect beyond November 14, 1989, to the *Federal Register* for publication. Similar notices have been sent annually to the Congress and the *Federal Register* since November 12, 1980, most recently on November 9, 1988, dated November 8, 1988.

The crisis between the United States and Iran that began in 1979 has not been fully resolved. Although the international tribunal established to adjudicate claims of U.S. nationals against Iran and of Iranian nationals against the United States continues to function, normalization of commercial and diplomatic relations between the United States and Iran has not been achieved. In these circumstances, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities that may be needed in the process of implementing the January 1981 agreements with Iran and in the eventual normalization of relations with that country.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 30, 1989.

The President's News Conference

October 31, 1989

The President. I have a statement and then be glad to take a few questions.

President Gorbachev and I will meet December 2d and December 3d aboard U.S. and Soviet naval vessels on alternate days in the Mediterranean. Our discussions will cover the current international situation and developments in U.S.-Soviet relations. And in view of the full-scale U.S.-Soviet summit to be held in the United States during the late spring or early summer of 1990, President Gorbachev and I have agreed that an interim informal meeting at this time would be appropriate.

Our talks will be informal in character, designed to allow us to become better acquainted with one another and to deepen our respective understanding of each other's views. Neither President Gorbachev nor I anticipate that substantial decisions or agreements will emerge from this December meeting.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, what do you hope to accomplish with this? I mean, is the economy going to be one of the main parts of the agenda, or do you have—arms control? What do you think you're going to talk about?

The President. I think there'll be talk of a wide array of subjects without a specific agenda, and this is what I proposed to Mr. Gorbachev several months ago after I returned from the Paris economic summit. We've been working on this all that time, and——

Q. It sounds like you were stampeded into this, because it wasn't in the works, and you had projected——

The President. You mean—since July it's been in the works.

Q. Has it?

The President. Yes, you just haven't been told.

Q. You're right.

The President. Since July, and I made the proposal to Mr. Gorbachev. And I'll say this: They immediately and enthusiastically—he did—thought this was a good idea.

Q. And did you also?

The President. I made the proposal.

Q. Mr. President, there's been some speculation that a meeting of this type might be intended for ideas to revamp the Soviet economy. Are you trying to get some ideas together to go to this meeting with some type of proposal like that?

The President. Well, I'm sure that now that the meeting is announced, there will be an awful many suggestions as to the subjects we should discuss, but there's not going to be an agenda or a meeting to be seen to fail or succeed on whether we make agreements of this nature. That's not what this meeting is about. And so, President Gorbachev will have been in Italy, and it seemed like a very convenient way to do this. But there's nothing off the table and nothing on it. It's not going to be an arms control meeting. Clearly the summit will drive the arms control agenda.

Q. Let me ask you: How do you assess Mr. Gorbachev's reforms? Do you think he is in trouble?

The President. I want to talk to him about their economy, our economy, a wide array of subjects. And I've said over and over again, we want to see *perestroika* succeed. And they know this. There hasn't been a disconnect. As I answered Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], we've been talking about this meeting since July.

Q. How come we didn't know about it?

The President. Because I'm trying to give everybody a little room so you can negotiate without getting it all up here in a lot of turmoil.

Q. Now that it's out, sir, could you tell us a little bit about the steps that led to this—your proposal—how and when it was made, and so forth?

The President. Well, I did say that I made the proposal—I believe it was in July—in writing to the President and then got a very prompt response, and then we've been going back and forth at that level. And then it's been discussed by the Secretary of State and Mr. Shevardnadze—the details worked out.

Q. When was it agreed upon?

The President. Oh, a month ago, I'd say.

Q. Mr. President, since July, several of your very top officials have said publicly that they didn't see any value in having a summit if it couldn't be carefully prepared—absolute guarantee of success, with some kind of a serious outcome. You're saying that's off. This is just to discuss——

The President. No. The summit is on.

Q. Well, but what if they said no meeting unless——

The President. No, I—who said that?

Q. I don't want to point a finger, but he's standing over here to the side. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, they weren't speaking for the President. I've told you what I think. You know, there was one time when I felt that such a meeting wouldn't be productive. And I think it is going to be productive, but it's not going to be an agenda. We first set an agenda meeting: we first set the summit. That will drive the arms control agenda. That's out there with a date on it—rough timeframe on it. And the other is rapid change going on. I now have a much clearer view of how our allies feel on East-West relations. We've got problems in this hemisphere that I want to discuss. And so, the two are not inconsistent, Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News].

Q. Mr. President, the last time there was a summit like this was in Reykjavik, and it evolved into a rather freewheeling arms control negotiation that caused consternation in Europe, because at one point we were talking about eliminating all nuclear weapons, which Europeans felt would give——

The President. Yes.

Q. ——the Soviets an advantage because of their preponderance of conventional superiority. What guarantees are there that that won't happen at this meeting?

The President. Well, because neither side thinks it's going to happen. And we have a summit, an arms control summit—a summit which will be dominated by arms control issues already established, separate and apart. And the Soviet leader and I both understand the kind of meeting we want to have, so I don't think there's any conflict there at all.

Q. Mr. President, is one of your purposes in having this meeting to give Gorbachev a political boost at home?

The President. No, I hadn't particularly thought about that. If it does, fine. I mean, as I said, we want to see *perestroika* succeed.

Q. Even though you say you don't have an agenda for this meeting, can you tell us what do you think are the most pressing issues that you want to raise with Mr. Gorbachev? What are the things that are most important in your mind that you feel need to be raised and discussed at this early date?

The President. A wide array of regional issues of this hemisphere, Eastern Europe, be sure I understand from him as clearly as possible his aspirations for *perestroika.* There's all kinds of subjects that we'll be discussing. I don't see a limit, but again, there isn't a set agenda in my mind.

Q. Mr. President, to what extent have the events in Eastern Europe caused you perhaps to want to accelerate this, or will that be a major factor in your discussions?

The President. I expect there will be a lot of discussion of that. But as I indicated, the genesis of this was in July, when there were certainly change—we'd just come back, as you recall, from Poland and Hungary. And there's been a lot of dramatic change since then: Germany, some movements in Czechoslovakia—so things have moved, but I can't say that the meeting was predicated on the change in Eastern Europe solely.

Q. Well, if not predicated, has it been a factor in the discussions in arranging to have this meeting? Has it been something that has been discussed, that East Europe——

The President. No, there's no arrangement; there's no subjects. I want to be very clear on that. And any exchange I've had with Mr. Gorbachev—and, I believe, in [the] Baker-Shevardnadze discussions—there hadn't been any discussion of agenda items or something we're going to take up.

Q. You say this presummit summit is not meant to bail out Mr. Gorbachev politically. How about yourself? You've been criticized by the Democrats as being too timid toward Eastern Europe and toward Gorbachev, helping him with *perestroika.* Do you think it will help you?

The President. That's not why we're doing it, but if that should be the fallout, so be it. We've known what we're doing. We've been on this track for some time. I've elected to remain very quiet in the face of a good deal of sentiment that we were missing an opportunity. And that hasn't perturbed me because we've got good people that know what we're doing in terms of the Soviet Union. And if people see that a little more clearly now, so be it; that's a plus.

Q. It seems as though you're going there without any initiatives. We're trying to read between the lines here. If that's the case, aren't you going to be accused once again of being timid?

The President. Oh, I'm sure somebody would politically accuse me of anything, but that's not the point. I can tell you one thing: Our allies will be delighted about this. They've just been informed this morning, and I guarantee you there will be enthusiasm through much of the free world and a lot of the rest of the world.

But look, I don't expect to have everybody that's been firing away at me up there jump up with joy. But we've just briefed the congressional leaders, and they seem to be quite enthusiastic about this. They had not known about it. And I'll let them speak for themselves, but some who have not been overly supportive in the last few days seem to feel this is a very good thing to be doing.

Q. Mr. President, you said a few weeks ago you thought there was a good chance to complete a START agreement by the time the real summit in the spring or summer comes around. Are you still holding to that feeling? Are things on track? And will this meeting, though it's not an arms control meeting, push that process along?

The President. I don't think this meeting will push that process along, but I'm still holding to that feeling.

Soviet Reforms

Q. Mr. President, you've said repeatedly that you'd like to see *perestroika* succeed.

The President. Yes.

Q. What plans, if any, does the administration have to make sure that happens in terms of any kind of economic assistance or anything of the sort?

The President. Well, we haven't been asked for any economic assistance, and maybe this is one of the items that we will be discussing.

What I want to make clear to Mr. Gorbachev—and I have done that, and I don't think there's been a disconnect with the Soviets—is that we do want to see it succeed. But we'll be discussing that.

Q. Let me ask you: Are you also concerned that the reforms in the Soviet Union may be moving too quickly, and it could result in a government crackdown a la China?

The President. Well, some have suggested that I am—they use a different word for it—but a little too much on the cautious side. I think there is reason to be cautious. And I've said that over and over again. Substitute the word "prudent" if you want. But I think after this meeting I'll be better able to answer your questions, because I know Mr. Gorbachev to be a very frank individual just from the contacts that I've had with him, which have been not as many as some but more than most. And I think that I'll be able to give you a better answer to that because that's one of the things I want to—I don't want to have two gigantic ships pass in the night because of failed communication.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, right before and right after the Wyoming meetings, the guidance from your closest advisers here was that there was not going to be a presummit summit. And they were specifically ruling out a meeting of this sort anytime this year. Now, were we being deliberately misled? And assuming that we weren't, what changed?

The President. That's one of the dangers of not telling what you know to everybody. There could be some disconnect in that. But one of the benefits is that the Soviets see we're dealing in good faith.

Q. Was there a feeling on your part, Mr. President, that perhaps waiting for spring and summer was a little bit too long, too tenuous, since no date has been set for spring or summer?

The President. No, because I think they're two separate kinds of meetings. One of them, announced as it is, will drive the arms control agenda; and the other one is the kind of meeting I talked about. So, it's not a question, Saul [Saul Friedman, Newsday], of thinking, if we didn't have this meeting too long would go. I remember in 1984 people kept saying, well, Ronald Reagan hadn't even sat down with the Soviet leaders. They were admittedly changing pretty fast in those days. But he said that. and the critics were on him about it. I don't feel that that had anything to do with it—well, we've got to do it sooner because we won't see each other until the summer, spring or summer—if that was your question.

Q. Mr. President, but then what changed your mind? Because this is exactly the kind of meeting that you and your aides have been saying for months you did not want. And it seems exactly the kind of meeting that Gorbachev, given his domestic troubles, needs very, very much. What changed your mind, and why were you the one to propose it?

The President. I'll tell you, what changed my mind on it was consultation with our allies; the rapidity of change in Eastern Europe; the emergence of democracies in this hemisphere; and this concept that I just didn't want to, in this time of dynamic change, miss something, something that I might get better firsthand from Mr. Gorbachev.

Q. Mr. President, what made you decide to meet on the ships? Pull your ship beside his ship and——

The President. Well, we can do it without too much fanfare. We can do it where there's a relatively few number of people, not a lot of crush of bodies out there, and a chance to put our feet up and talk in the kind of meeting that I've just described for you. And I think it's easy logistically for both sides.

Q. How much time do you think you'll spend face to face? In your mind, what do you think it will take to get this feeling?

The President. A lot, a lot, and I can't tell you in hours, but we're going to have small numbers of participants on both sides. Maybe I'm getting a little ahead of the power curve there, but I know that's my intention, and I think the Soviet side has agreed to that. And by doing it in this manner, we can have, I would say, more time without the press of social activities or mandatory joint appearances, things of that nature for public consumption.

Q. Between hemispheric summits and drug summits and Gorbachev summits and economic summits, you're doing a lot of mountaineering. Let me ask you this——

The President. This one isn't a summit, so scratch this one off your list of things to worry about.

Q. Base camp.

The President. I've got to make that point over and over again. Summits take on a definition, an expectation of grand design and grand agreements, and that's not what this is.

Future Summit Meetings

Q. Let me ask you about this expectation then. About 6 months ago, you proposed your conventional force reductions for Europe. If something came through on your 6-month deadline, presumably you'd want a summit with Mr. Gorbachev to sign it. Are we going to have a third Gorbachev summit in 1990 or the next couple of months?

The President. No anticipation of it, but look, we'll meet as often or as little as we need to.

Arms Control

Q. Well, how is that going? How is the conventional forces thing going?

The President. Reasonably well. We still have to keep driving for the best we can—our alliance—to be sure we keep moving forward to meet a rather ambitious time-frame.

U.S. Assistance for Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. Mr. President, one of the criticisms that's been made is—by the Democrats particularly—is that this is a really unique time for you; that after 40 years of calling for free markets and an open society that you have a chance to perhaps cement some of these changes in the Eastern bloc—in Europe and in the Soviet Union. Do you have some kind of plan or vision for getting that accomplished? Is this part of it?

The President. We're seeing it move, aren't we? We're seeing dynamic change, and I want to handle it properly. I want to do whatever the U.S. can do to facilitate these kinds of changes. You heard what I had to say yesterday—some of you all did—in terms of Poland and the group we're sending over there to help solidify the changes that are taking place. And I've got a good group of people working with me in this administration—knowledgeable about Europe—that assures me that we can move this whole process forward properly. The United States can't wave a wand and say how fast change is going to come to Czechoslovakia or to the GDR [German Democratic Republic].

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you say there will be no agreements at this meeting. Is it possible, however, that you might firm up the dates for the meeting next year, for the official summit?

The President. Could be, could be. And I don't want to say—I guess, maybe, I ought to retreat a little and say—not saying there will be no agreements. The meeting is not being set up to achieve agreements. I would hope we'd see eye to eye on certain things when we get through and maybe more precisely define what differences we have.

Q. Are we to believe that the leader of the United States and the leader of the Soviet Union will get together and there will be no discussion of arms control? Or what role in this meeting will that play?

The President. I don't know, but there's not an arms control meeting.

U.S. Assistance for Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. You keep talking about the rapid change in Eastern Europe. If Mr. Gorbachev would suggest that the United States be more generous in aid to Hungary, to Poland, perhaps even to East Germany, how receptive would you be to that idea?

The President. Well, we've got an aid package and program, and I'd welcome his ideas, but I don't think we would respond to his charge on that. I think we'd have to do what we felt was the right way to do it—and exactly what I have been doing.

Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, over the past several months, you've had exchanges of letters with Mr. Gorbachev. Could you tell us if there's been a change in your evaluation of him as a person or how you're feeling about him?

The President. No change. As I've indicated, I have a positive view of him to begin with, but I haven't felt any changes there. I will say that when I made this proposal there was a very prompt response. And the only reason it's taken time between the July initiative on my part and his very prompt response that I think was fired back in August has been just working out where and how to do this. So, I've not had occasion to change my view.

But as you look at the different meetings, and if you look at the way this relationship is developing, there are a lot of positive signs. We all go back in one capacity or another to times when the rhetoric was much tougher, where you had a very different approach to openness in the Soviet Union than you do now. So, I think the relationship is moving in the right direction. But when I say "cautious" or "prudent," I think that's the way we ought to do it. And I will have an opportunity to explain that when I see Mr. Gorbachev.

Q. You believe the motivation is what he says it is?

The President. You mean, do I question his word?

Q. Yes.

The President. I think he's committed to reform, absolutely.

Soviet Reforms

Q. Mr. President, Secretary of State Baker has mentioned the possibility of technical assistance and advice on the state of the Soviet economy. How far would you be willing to go with that kind of thing?

The President. Well, again, I don't know how far they want to go. And this is one of the subjects we'll be discussing.

Q. Mr. President, there's been a lot of talk around town about the survivability of Gorbachev, especially going into the winter months and the prospect of strikes in the Soviet Union and so forth. When you say you would like to see *perestroika* succeed in the Soviet Union, do you equate that with the success of Gorbachev personally?

The President. I think it's tied up in that right now, yes.

Q. And do you think if there is anything that you could do to help strengthen his position in the Soviet Union that you would do it?

The President. Well, I think we've got to know what "it" is, but this is the kind of discussion we can have. I will say this: I don't think you base the foreign policy of a great power like the United States on one personality; I don't think you do that. I don't think that is a prudent way to approach it.

Health Care

Q. Mr. President, how about a domestic summit on some domestic problems, like health care, the high cost of home health care?

The President. Well, I'm getting criticized for having too many summits as it is.

Q. No, you need one on domestic issues. We've spent a long time here talking about things when we have a vital, crucial situation out there. Catastrophic illness is nothing. It would not take care of the situation. We had a press conference here all day yesterday where the Canadian Government officials got up and said, in the United States you only have health care for the rich, not for the poor. Why can't we have a good system like that, and why can't we have a summit on health care?

The President. I think what we've got to do is educate the Canadians if they feel that way, because that's not true. That is not true, and to suggest that it's true, that our health care system is only—that simply shows—I don't know who those officials were, but it was never raised with me by the Prime Minister.

Q. Well, the Health Minister of Canada——

The President. We've got a lot of problems. We've got a lot of problems.

Q. ——over and over again that you only have health care in this country for the rich and not for the poor.

The President. Well, that's a point I'd argue.

Aid to the Contras

Q. Mr. President, turning to Nicaragua for a minute, today or yesterday President Ortega now suggests that Reverend Jackson be used as an intermediary to talk about redirecting the U.S. humanitarian aid so it can be used to demobilize the *contras.* What would be your thoughts on having Reverend Jackson involved between us and Nicaragua? And are you in any way thinking of refocusing the aid?

The President. That suggestion has limited appeal to me. [*Laughter*]

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you might hope to enlist Secretary Gorbachev's support in encouraging reforms in some of the more reticent Eastern European States, like East Germany?

The President. Want to discuss it with him. Again, I'm not suggesting, given his public statements, that he is going to be the one that controls what happens in every detail in Czechoslovakia or East Germany. But it is a subject that we should discuss, just as I'm sure he'll want to discuss changes in this hemisphere here—others. So, I think that will come up.

Q. Would you expect him to look favorably upon your request for a little help, a little pressure, maybe?

The President. A little pressure on what?

Q. A little pressure on the leaders of East Germany, perhaps, to lighten up on people who want to leave?

The President. Well, we'll have a chance to discuss all those things, and that's one of the good things about it. There will not be a certain agenda on it. We'll simply sit down, and I'll give him my views on the changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe. And certainly, I'm most interested in getting his.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, a two-part question. First of all, after you meet Gorbachev, will you take the opportunity, since you'll be in the region, to then meet with and brief allied leaders and solicit their comments? And secondly, why did you hold this deliberation so tightly? You said you wanted to show the Soviet Union's good faith, but why not involve the bureaucracy? Your administration, as you know, has been criticized——

The President. Because I knew exactly what I wanted to do, and I knew how I wanted to go about doing it. And that's why I didn't need the advice of others in this particular subject matter. I knew how I wanted to do it: I knew that I wanted to get the arms control summit set, and I also knew that I wanted to—after the discussions I told you about—to go forward with this. And I wanted to deal in good faith with the Soviets, because until it was firmly locked I should not be in the mode of committing them to this kind of a meeting.

And I think all that worked. And I hope what we've done is to develop a certain confidence in the Soviets as a result of these negotiations. Confidence is important. If you're going to have frank exchanges, then you have to have a certain degree of confidentiality. But on this one, I told you who was involved in it. I was getting good, sound advice. How they got the information upon which to advise me—why, that's their business. But I felt no deprivation of being deprived from information at all.

Q. How about the first part, though, sir? Meeting with the allies afterward?

The President. No plans to do that. This is going to be done, if you look at the calendar, like over a weekend. And of course, we'll be in full contact with them after that, but I don't plan to jump from country to country after the meeting.

Houston Economic Summit Meeting

Q. Mr. President, one of the summits—capital S—on your agenda is the economic summit. Have you made a decision? And are next week's elections in Houston in any way a factor in why you haven't announced it so far?

The President. No, those elections have no relevance to the decision—and no, the decision has not been made.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you say you have confidence in the Soviets. What assurances do you have that you won't be surprised by something Mr. Gorbachev might bring to the table? It's widely believed that President Reagan was somewhat sandbagged in Reykjavik.

The President. He's free to bring anything he wants; there's no agenda. But the idea that we might be surprised on arms control—I don't worry about that because we've got an understanding that the already-announced summit meeting will handle those items.

Q. Do you have any indication he has anything in particular he wants to bring?

The President. I think he's anxious to do what I'm anxious to do right now.

Q. Would you handle any arms control issue he might raise by simply trying to defer it right at the spot?

The President. I'm just referring to what we've decided is going to be the matrix of the meeting.

Q. Well, basically you were trying to put it off until——

The President. I don't expect, other than in a very broad way, these questions to arise because we have a summit set to address ourselves to those.

Nicaragua

Q. Daniel Ortega was supposed to decide today whether to end the cease-fire. If he does, in fact, end the cease-fire, are you prepared with some sort of response?

The President. Well, as I said down there, I'm not going to go into that hypothetical situation at this time. But I tell you: I've never seen a meeting where all the participants were so united against the outrages of one. And we're still getting messages in about the outrageous performance of Daniel Ortega—reached a new embarrassing proportions to stepping on it.

Q. Is renewed military aid to the *contras,* though, still a viable option now? Is that something you could consider if needed?

The President. Well, as I indicated down there, I would reevaluate the situation in a minute if this cease-fire is broken.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, were you upset at all by Secretary of State Baker squelching the resident Sovietologist, Mr. Gates [Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs], telling him not to give a hard——

The President. I've discussed this matter with Mr. Baker, Mr. Gates, Mr. Scowcroft—even discussed it with Marlin Fitzwater and—[*laughter*]—don't say I don't reach out—[*laughter*]—and John. And these stories—who's up, who's down, who's winning, who's not, who's going to be a hard-line—we've got a good strong team coping with these problems. And the degree in which Bob Gates and the Secretary of State are together and Brent and John Sununu—why, we've been very lucky. And so, I don't get all exercised about that kind of thing. I know everybody else does around here, but I don't.

Q. He did acknowledge that he stopped Gates from giving a hard-line speech.

The President. It wasn't a hard-line speech, and he didn't say that. And maybe now we'll understand a little more of what's happening out there as a result of what I'm talking to you today about.

Q. On a related question, Vice President Quayle has taken a very hard-line position. Is he out of sync?

The President. No, he's totally in sync. And I had a chance to discuss this with one of the outstanding reporters for the New York Times the other day who had a feeling he was out of sync, and he isn't. Everybody's looking for nuances, and that's fine. That's your business. But I think we've been blessed in this administration by this: The President can sit in there and get conflicting ideas, and then we don't have to go out and sound like there's disarray. So, when some see one statement that may sound a little different, then I can understand running with that ball because I know how this place works.

But the main thing is, I feel that we are together on these issues. And that goes for the Vice President and the Secretary of State and my very able national security team. So, I don't sense one being tugged one way or tugged another.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Where are you going to put the press?

The President. Helen, you've already had three questions. Get out of there.

Q. In the middle of the Mediterranean? [*Laughter*]

The President. I hadn't thought about that.

Q. Where are you going to stay?

Q. Mr. President, on the environment, another summit——

The President. That will come up with Mr. Gorbachev.

Q. So I thought.

The President. I think.

Global Climate Change

Q. You have some people going to The Netherlands next week who, some say, are appearing to go without an agenda. It looks like the United States is not going to play a leadership role in global warming, though you promised that during your campaign.

The President. We will play a leadership role in global warming, and it will be based on the finest, most up-to-date science possible. And we will fulfill that role. And I think most countries, in spite of where they are on some conference, look to the United States for that kind of leadership in science. And we will fulfill it. And you see both our Science Advisor [D. Allan Bromley] and the head of the EPA in sync going over there. I think that's good.

Saul?

Q. Hey.

The President. Did he have one before? I derecognize him. [*Laughter*]

Okay, back here.

Capital Gains Taxes

Q. You are at or near conflict with Congress on capital gains. What are you prepared to do about that? And will you accept a full year of sequestration in lieu of that?

The President. Well, we've indicated that that's the law and we will live by the law. And we're going forward with that mandate because of the way the Congress has moved on this. I don't think I need to repeat my view on capital gains as something that is good for growth, something that is good for investment, something that is good for jobs. And we hear some shrill comments to the contrary, but in my view, that matter was debated fully. My position was made clear, and I plan to continue to fight for my position.

Presidential Legislative Proposals

Q. On minimum wage, is your original proposal still your first and final offer, or would you be willing even to link it with something like capital gains, which you——

The President. We're not in the posture of trying to tell the Congress how they ought to resolve these difficulties. We sent up clear proposals on the anticrime package, on the minimum wage, on the capital gains. And it has gotten so confusing up there that they ought to move now. But I'm not going to suggest. Why do we need to do that? We've told them what we want, and I wish they'd get some action going on the proposals that I have put forward. I think the American people are entitled to that. I think the American people see that it is this Congress that is frustrating getting the deficit down. And so, they ought to move and move promptly. But I can't sit there and fine-tune for them—well, if you'll only throw this one issue in with that one, why, you can do your business—I mean, we've tried.

Q. So you're saying package deals are out?

The President. Well, I'm not saying in or out—I'm saying let's get going. We know what the administration position is. I've said it. Send it down the way I said it, and we've got harmony and light. Send it down differently, and I'll take a look at it. Send it down with some things in it that I can't take, and I'll send it right back to you. And I don't know how more frank I can be with the Congress.

Soviet Reforms and Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, as recently as this summer some of your senior advisers, dare I say some in this room, were expressing doubts that Gorbachev would survive all of his internal political difficulties. Did you ever share those views? What has happened to turn you around?

The President. Look, we are looking at everything we can regarding the rapid changes that are taking place not only in Eastern Europe but in the Soviet Union. And we've got very thoughtful people outside the Government that give me their opinions. And I don't think anybody has a corner on all the wisdom, but I can't speculate on that question.

What I can say is we're not basing the foreign policy of the United States on any individual. We've got to look at broad changes. We've got to look at commitment from all elements of leadership in the Soviet Union, where they come down—fascinating meeting the other day with Mr. Primakov [Soviet Parliament member] here—and assess all of this and spell out as clearly as you can what's in the interest of the United States and the alliance. And this meeting will help in that regard. But it's not predicated, our whole arms control agenda, on Mr. Gorbachev. Similarly, I don't think they do that on a U.S. President at the time.

Q. But, sir, you wouldn't be meeting them, of course, if you thought he was a goner. [*Laughter*] Did you at any time have any doubts in that regard?

The President. A goner? No, I don't—[*laughter*]—that word never entered my mind. [*Laughter*] You know, you hear a lot of crosscurrents about how successful *perestroika*'s going to be. But one thing you get from all the Soviet leaders is, look, the clock isn't going to be set back, and we—we—are going to go forward with *perestroika*—whether it's Mr. Yeltsin [Deputy of the Supreme Soviet] when he was here or Mr. Gorbachev's statements and visits with Shevardnadze, visits with Mr. Primakov, and then others meet with other layers of the Soviet bureaucracy. And you get the distinct feeling that the clock is not going to be set back to square one. And then you go forward—well, here's how this will interact with U.S. policy.

But I'm looking forward to this meeting. I think it's the right thing to be doing. As I say, there was a time when I wasn't sure that it was, but with this rapidity of change, I don't want to miss something. And the way we've got it set so there will be no firm agenda, where we can do it in a setting without a lot of public pressure from other governments, I think it's going to be a productive meeting. And I was very pleased with the reception that it got from the congressional leaders.

As I say, I expect we'll get a strong, positive response. I know I will from the allied leaders. And I really can't think of any country that is going to see objection to this because the fate of a lot of countries are wrapped up in how the United States and the Soviet Union get along and how the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are managed. And when I come back from this meeting, I and my top advisers—and we are going to keep our traveling squad down, I say—will be able to have a much clearer perception of motivations behind Mr. Gorbachev's pronouncements. I think it's worthwhile.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President's 27th news conference began at 10:02 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Remarks to Schoolchildren at the White House Halloween Party

October 31, 1989

Thank you all very much. And first, let me thank you guys that gave us the pledge cards. You did a good job on that. And my thanks to Willard Scott, the weatherman who got the weather to hold off for us here.

And Barbara and I want to welcome all of you to the White House Halloween spectacular. I want to particularly thank Marilyn Quayle, the wife of the Vice President, for being with us right here, and then welcome our daughter-in-law Margaret and the Turtle. The Turtle is our grandchild named Marshall, going as a turtle. You see how it is? It's on the back there. You've got to see that.

How many of you guys believe in ghosts? How many? [*Applause*] You know, they say that there's a ghost in this old house. And the most famous one, you know, is Abraham Lincoln. And Barbara and I haven't seen the ghost of Abraham Lincoln walking the halls, but this is our first Halloween in the White House, so maybe we'll see him tonight.

But Halloween is a time for ghosts and goblins, for haunted houses and scary stories. But right now I want to talk to you just briefly about a scary story that isn't make-believe. And you know what I'm talking about. I'm talking about illegal drugs and how they hurt people and how they hurt families, hurt kids, some of them just like you.

And I get a lot of letters every day as President, a lot of them from children your age. And I brought along one letter that I want to read today from a fifth grade girl named Ana Zamora. She's not here—she lives out in Chicago, but I want you to hear what she's got to say about what drugs are doing to her neighborhood.

"Dear President Bush,"—here's her letter—"I never go outside because my mom gets scared that I'll get hurt because of the gang fights. President Bush, I've heard that you're pushing for a war on drugs. Please help remove drugs from our neighborhoods. I will do my part by saying no to drugs, and I hope you can do yours. I know this is hard, but you can do it."

Well, I want to tell her, Ana, and all of you: We will do our best. And if she keeps doing her part, and if all of you do the same, we're going to stop drugs and keep our schools and our neighborhoods safe.

And I know you handed in the pledge cards when you came in, and I know that you got your starfish pins. And last month I went on television to talk about not using drugs. And if you saw me, you already know the story about the boy who saved the starfish. Well, you can read that story on the Halloween bags that we'll be handing out to each of you in just a moment. And I hope you will read it and think about it, too, because each one of you is just as special as the starfish that the boy saves. And just like the boy in the story, you can help someone else—maybe a friend, maybe your own brother or sister—help them stay away from drugs and all the hurt and pain they cause.

And so, today I want to tell you the same thing Barbara and I tell our own grandchildren: Drugs are dangerous. You don't need drugs to make you feel good or to be cool or to make friends. And so, if anyone tries to get you to take drugs—even once—you can say no thanks, I don't do drugs. And if you do that, you're going to make a lot of people who love you very happy, and you're going to be happy yourselves.

And now, everyone knows it's Halloween, and it's time for the fun to continue. Thanks for coming, and God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:03 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the India-United States Convention on Taxation

October 31, 1989

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification the Convention between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of India for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income, together with a related Protocol, signed at New Delhi on September 12, 1989. I also transmit the report of the Department of State on the convention.

The convention would be the first tax treaty between the United States and India.

It includes special provisions that take into account India's status as a developing nation and that reflect changes in U.S. tax treaty policy resulting from the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

Of particular importance are the provisions limiting the withholding tax rates on various categories of investment income, as well as those designed to prevent third-country residents from taking unwarranted advantage of the convention by routing income from one Contracting State through an entity created in the other. The convention also provides for the exchange of information by the competent authorities of the Contracting States.

I recommend the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the convention, together with a related protocol, and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 31, 1989.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on the Fiscal Year 1990 Federal Budget

October 31, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Public Law 99–177), as amended, I herewith transmit to the Congress the program, project, and activity information required by section 252(b)(4) of the act.

The attachment provides information on both base and sequester amounts for each program, project, and activity in each budget account subject to the sequester.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 31, 1989.

Appointment of Thomas F.X. Needles as Special Assistant to the President and Associate Director of Presidential Personnel

October 31, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Thomas F.X. Needles to be Special Assistant to the President and Associate Director of Presidential Personnel.

Since 1989 Mr. Needles has served as a Deputy Associate Director of Presidential Personnel. Prior to this, he was a press aide on the George Bush for President campaign, 1988; press secretary and legislative assistant to Representative Daniel E. Lungren (R–CA), 1985–1988; an associate with Needles Development Co. of Cleveland, OH, 1982–1984; and a legal assistant with Squire, Sanders and Dempsey in Cleveland, OH, 1981–1982.

Mr. Needles graduated from Walsh College (B.A., 1981) and John Carroll University (M.A., 1984). He was born April 20, 1959, in Cleveland, OH. Mr. Needles resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Hilary Paterson Cleveland To Be a Member of the International Joint Commission—United States and Canada

October 31, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Hilary Paterson Cleveland to be a United States Commissioner on the International Joint Commission—United States and Canada. She would succeed L. Keith Bulen.

Mrs. Cleveland has served as an associate professor of history and political science at Colby-Sawyer College in New London, NH, 1955–1988. In addition, she has served as a visiting professor at American University School of International Service in Washington, DC, 1964; director of the Abbot Academy Association, 1976–1980; and director for public service of New Hampshire.

Mrs. Cleveland graduated from Vassar College (B.A., 1948) and the Institute of International Relations in Geneva, Switzerland (M.A., 1950). She was born December 7, 1927, in Orange, NJ. Mrs. Cleveland is married, has five children, and resides in New London, NH.

Statement on Proposed Minimum Wage Legislation

October 31, 1989

I am pleased to announce that a minimum wage package consistent with the criteria I set forth in March of this year has been agreed to by the Republican and Democratic leadership in Congress and the leadership of organized labor. The plan would increase the minimum wage to $4.25 an hour by April 1, 1991, and provide for a training-wage differential. This package gives relief to those with the greatest need in our work force while at the same time protecting job opportunities for young workers.

For the first time, a training-wage differential is available for those entering our work force. The plan provides for a training wage for workers under the age of 20. No one entering the work force will be covered by a training wage for more than 6 months.

I commend organized labor for their participation in this process, as well as the participation of the leadership in Congress. They understand the value of having a sound minimum wage package that does not endanger job opportunities for those entering our work force.

We believe the working people of this country deserve appropriate pay for their efforts. This package offers the promise of better wages for the working men and women of this country and gives incentives to create new jobs for our young people. During the campaign, I called for an increase in the minimum wage that would protect jobs and put more money in the pockets of our workers. This package meets those criteria.

Appointment of Dean C. Swanson as a Member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee

October 31, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Dean C. Swanson as a member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Alan C. Hasselwander.

Since 1978 Mr. Swanson has served as president of Standard Telephone Co. in Cornelia, GA, and was appointed USTA's first vice chairman in 1988. Prior to this, he served in several capacities at Standard Telephone Co., including executive vice president, 1970–1978; member of the board of directors, 1965–1970; and vice president and operations manager, 1964–1970.

Mr. Swanson graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1957. He was born April 26, 1932, in Minneapolis, MN. Mr. Swanson served in the U.S. Air Force, 1957–1963. Mr. Swanson is married, has three children, and resides in Cornelia, GA.

Memorandum on Amendments to the Generalized System of Preferences

October 31, 1989

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Actions Concerning the Generalized System of Preferences

Pursuant to subsection 504(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the Act) (19 U.S.C. 2464(d)(1)), I have determined to modify the application of duty-free treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) currently being afforded to beneficiary developing countries. Specifically, I have determined, pursuant to subsection 504(d)(1) of the Act, that the limitation provided for in subsection 504(c)(1)(B) of the Act should not apply with respect to certain eligible articles because no like or directly competitive article was produced in the United States on January 3, 1985. Such articles are provided for in the following Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (HTS) subheadings:

9101.12.80
9101.91.20
9101.91.40
9101.91.80
9101.99.20
9101.99.40
9101.99.60
9101.99.80
9102.12.80
9102.91.20
9102.99.20
9102.99.40
9102.99.60
9102.99.80

This determination shall be published in the *Federal Register.*

GEORGE BUSH

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:23 p.m., November 2, 1989*]

Note: The memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 1, and was printed in the "Federal Register" of November 6.

White House Statement on Duty-Free Treatment for Certain Imported Watches

November 1, 1989

The President today announced his decision to grant duty-free treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) to certain imported watches that are not produced in significant quantities in the United States or the U.S. insular possessions. Based on a petition filed by Timex, Inc., the President determined that GSP could be granted to 18 watch tariff categories without causing material injury to the U.S. watch industry. U.S. watch production in these categories is negligible.

The President denied GSP benefits to the remaining 40 watch tariff categories sought by Timex because of the potential for material injury to watch producers located in the United States and the Virgin Islands. In making his decision, the President was mindful of the devastation caused by Hurricane Hugo and the administration's commitment to helping the Virgin Islands recover. Accordingly, GSP has been denied for watches that are produced in the Virgin Islands in recognition of the need for the industry to rebuild quickly its production and assembly operations.

The President directed the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) to monitor GSP import levels. USTR will review the application of GSP if watch imports cause material injury to producers of like or directly competitive watches in the United States, Virgin Islands, or other U.S. territories.

In light of the situation in the Virgin Islands, this issue has been discussed extensively with Virgin Islands officials. The President appreciates their advice and counsel on this important matter.

Nomination of Antonia Coello Novello To Be Surgeon General of the Public Health Service

November 1, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Antonia Coello Novello to be Surgeon General of the Public Health Service at the Department of Health and Human Services for a term of 4 years. She would succeed C. Everett Koop.

Since 1986 Dr. Novello has served as Deputy Director of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and as Director of the Division of Extramural Programs at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, MD. Prior to this, she served in several capacities at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, MD, including executive secretary of general medicine B study section in the division of research grants, 1981–1986; staff physician for the National Institute of Arthritis, Diabetes, and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, 1979–1980; and project officer for the National Institute of Arthritis, Metabolism and Digestive Diseases, 1978–1979. In addition, Dr. Novello served in the private practice of general pediatrics in Springfield, VA, 1976–1978.

Dr. Novello graduated from the University of Puerto Rico (B.S., 1965) and the University of Puerto Rico School of Medicine (M.D., 1970), and she received her master's in public health from Johns Hopkins University in 1982. She was born August 23, 1944, in Sajardo, Puerto Rico. Dr. Novello is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Ronald William Roskens To Be Administrator of the Agency for International Development
November 1, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ronald William Roskens to be Administrator of the Agency for International Development at the U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. He would succeed M. Alan Woods.

Dr. Roskens currently serves as president emeritus at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln. Prior to this he was president and professor of educational administration for the University of Nebraska, 1977–1989. Dr. Roskens served as chancellor and professor of educational administration at the University of Nebraska in Omaha, 1972–1976. In addition, he has served in several capacities at Kent State University, including executive vice president and professor of educational administration, 1971–1972; vice president for administration and senior vice president and professor for educational administration, 1966–1971; and dean of administration and assistant to the president and associate professor of special education, 1959–1966. Dr. Roskens has also served as assistant to the counselor to men at the University of Iowa, 1955–1959; and as a high school teacher of social studies and speech in Minburn, IA, 1954–1955.

Dr. Roskens graduated from the University of Northern Iowa (B.A., 1953; M.A., 1955) and the University of Iowa (Ph.D., 1958). He was born December 11, 1932, in Spencer, IA. Dr. Roskens is married, has three children, and resides in Lincoln, NE.

Statement on Trade Initiatives for the Andean Region
November 1, 1989

When President Barco of Colombia visited me September 28, I promised to examine what the United States could do to expand economic cooperation between our two countries. I directed the United States Trade Representative, Carla Hills, to lead a U.S. Government interagency effort to develop a package of trade initiatives that will contribute to the administration's war on drugs.

Today I am announcing the result of that effort. The package of trade initiatives described below is designed to create opportunities for expanded trade and investment between the countries of the Andean region and the United States. Given the regional nature of the drug problem, I have decided to offer these trade initiatives to the countries in the Andean region. In creating such opportunities, this package aims to encourage and support fundamental economic reform in the countries of the region on the basis of market-driven policies.

I believe that through increased trade we can make a contribution to the creation of economic alternatives to drug trafficking. Healthy economies are the only lasting solution for eliminating the drug trade and substituting legitimate trade. They also offer the potential for increased United States exports and investment. Our goal must be to help create an environment where entrepreneurship can flourish and comparative advantages can be successfully pursued in competitive world markets.

With regard to bilateral and regional initiatives, we are prepared to:

- do all that we can to enhance the benefits the countries of the region enjoy under our Generalized System of Preferences, including a review, to begin immediately, to consider the addition of new products, both agricultural and industrial, to the program;
- undertake appropriate technical assistance to help the Andean countries improve their trade performance in in-

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dustrial as well as agricultural products and urge the multilateral institutions to do the same; and

- after consulting with the affected parties, explore possibilities for expanding textiles trade consistent with current U.S. Government policies and programs and the multifiber arrangement.

In the multilateral arena we are proposing to:

- build on the political consensus to negotiate a new international coffee agreement that corrects the fundamental problems with the previous agreement;
- undertake an accelerated negotiation on tariffs and nontariff measures with participants in the Uruguay round;
- consult with our major trading partners (Canada, the EC [European Community], and Japan) to determine areas in which we can help the Andean countries improve their trade performance; and
- support the multilateral development banks in their efforts to work with the Andean countries to promote meaningful trade policy reforms in the Andean countries.

In order to ensure that these initiatives are implemented quickly and efficiently, the Office of the United States Trade Representative is heading up an interagency Andean Trade Task Force to manage the process and to consider additional ideas for strengthening our cooperation with the Andean countries.

White House Fact Sheet on Trade Initiatives for the Andean Region

November 1, 1989

I. Bilateral and Regional Initiatives

A. *Generalized System of Preferences (GSP):*

1. Suggest that the Governments of Venezuela and Ecuador initiate the exchange of letters which would provide those countries with GSP for six categories of handicraft textiles. These categories are USHTS:

   5701.10.1300
   5702.10.1000
   5702.91.2000
   5805.00.2000
   6304.99.1000
   6304.99.4000

2. For Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador: Accelerate implementation of any GSP benefits as a normal part of the 1989 GSP annual review. This includes product petitions now under review as well as product redesignations.
3. For Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador: Offer the opportunity to submit new GSP petitions as soon as is practical and review these on an expedited basis. Petitions would be due January 15, 1990, with results announced July 15 and implemented August 1.
4. Provide GSP technical seminars to assist Andean countries to expand their use of GSP petitions. We would also consider providing technical seminars and technical advice beyond 1990.

B. *Technical Assistance to Help the Andean Countries Improve Their Trade Performance:* U.S. Government agencies determine what technical assistance could be provided to the countries of the region. We will also encourage the multilateral development banks to undertake the same assistance.

C. *Textiles:* After consulting with all affected parties, explore possibilities for expanding textiles trade consistent with current U.S. Government policies and programs and the multifiber arrangement.

II. Multilateral Initiatives

A. *International Coffee Agreement:* Build on the recently achieved multilateral political consensus to negotiate a new international coffee agreement.

B. *Accelerated Uruguay Round Tariff Negotiations:* Undertake an accelerated negotiation on tariffs and nontariff measures with Andean participants in the Uruguay round.

C. *U.S. Consultations with Canada, the EC [European Community], and Japan:* Consult with our major trading partners to determine areas in which we can cooperate to assist the Andean countries improve their trade performance. We will be raising this at the upcoming meeting on the Uruguay round of the trade ministers of the quadrilateral countries (U.S., Canada, and Japan) which begins on November 12.

D. *Support the Multilateral Development Banks' Efforts to Encourage Meaningful Trade Policy Reforms:* Consult with the multilateral development banks to support their efforts to work with the Andean countries to promote meaningful trade policy reforms.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Midland Community Service Award

November 1, 1989

Well, let me just say how pleased I am, as a former Midlander, to see—[*laughter*]. This may make that, what do you call it, the blooper of the week. [*Laughter*] I'm sorry about that. You can go to your mother. [*Laughter*]

I will say this—and you know, we talked about a Thousand Points of Light. And you see a community respond as yours did, sir, and then see one recognize this as—having responded from the past itself—and it really is a very moving thing.

I am so proud to be here and pleased to be a part of presenting this first award to you, and the tradition will continue. But please thank, sir, all those wonderful citizens that turned out. I was kept well-informed by your Senator and Congressman here, and I have been so impressed with that community spirit. I really think that beyond the borders of the United States you've set a wonderful example of one person helping another. So, you've responded, and we're very proud.

Thank you all. And as for you, Jessica—[*laughter*]—where's my handkerchief? [*Laughter*] How old are you now?

Note: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. Mayor Loren Callender accepted the award for Sioux City, IA, in recognition of the community's response to the crash of United Airlines Flight 232 on July 19. The town of Midland, TX, established the award to honor extraordinary community volunteer spirit exemplified by the rescue of Jessica McClure from an abandoned well in 1987. The President held 3-year-old Jessica during part of the ceremony. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Charles E. Grassley and Representative Fred Grandy of Iowa.

Nomination of Susan Morrisey Livingstone To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Army

November 1, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Susan Morrisey Livingstone to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics. She would succeed John W. Shannon.

Since 1986 Ms. Livingstone has served as the Associate Deputy Administrator for Logistics at the Veterans Administration. Prior to this, she served in several other capacities at the Veterans Administration, including Associate Deputy Administrator for Management, 1985–1986, and Associate Deputy Administrator for Logistics, 1985. From 1981 to 1985, Ms. Livingstone served as the Executive Assistant to the Associate Deputy Director of the Veterans Administration for Logistics.

Ms. Livingstone graduated from the College of William and Mary (A.B., 1968), the University of Montana (M.A., 1972), and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (M.A., 1973). She was born January 13, 1946, in Carthage, MO. Ms. Livingstone is married and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Abraham N.M. Shashy, Jr., To Be Assistant General Counsel of the Treasury

November 1, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Abraham N.M. Shashy, Jr., to be Assistant General Counsel of the Treasury (Chief Counsel for the Internal Revenue Service). He would succeed William F. Nelson.

Since 1984 Mr. Shashy has served as a partner with the firm of Jones, Day, Reavis and Pogue in Dallas, TX. Prior to this, he was a partner with Kronish, Lieb, Shainswit, Weiner and Hellman in New York, 1981–1984, and an associate, 1976–1981. In addition, he served as an adjunct professor of taxation at Southern Methodist University School of Law, 1985–1986; adjunct professor of taxation at New York University School of Law, 1977–1984; instructor of taxation at New York University School of Law, 1975–1976; and instructor at the University of Florida College of Law, 1974.

Mr. Shashy graduated from the University of Florida (B.S., 1970), the University of Florida College of Law (J.D., 1973), and New York University School of Law (LL.M., 1975). He was born January 13, 1950, in Ocala, FL. Mr. Shashy is married, has two children, and resides in Dallas, TX.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Awards

November 2, 1989

Thank you, Secretary Mosbacher, for the warm welcome. It's great to be back across the street, almost, at this wonderful Department. I first want to salute the Baldrige family—a special hello to Midge. Of course, I'm delighted to see the Secretary of the Treasury here and Ambassador Hills; able members of my Cabinet sitting next to them; Dr. Bromley, our Science Advisor, who has a keen interest in the success of the work of this Department.

I want to salute Deputy Secretary Murrin and Under Secretary Betti. And I think I spotted Strom—I know I did—over here. And it's a little hard to see, but Jesse Helms was to be here, Congressmen Sherry Boehlert, Don Ritter. George Brown, I do see, Howard Coble, Doug Walgren, and Nancy Johnson. And if I missed a few—Alec McMillan, I think. And I can't see who else we've got over there, but nevertheless, welcome to the Members of Congress, whose support is absolutely essential for the workings of the Commerce Department.

In just a few moments, it will be my pleasure to present awards named after a great public servant and a close and dear friend, Malcolm Baldrige. So, let me just say a few words about Mac. He had a zest for life—Nancy, I didn't see you—had a zest for life, love of family, and a love of country that was uncommon. He was an outstanding Secretary of Commerce for 6½ years, and he was also an outstanding friend. Mac's word of honor—as those of you who worked with him—was his bond, as good as a $20 gold piece.

And he never quite fit any mold. In this town, they always try to make you fit into some mold. Baldrige never quite fit the mold. He was the president of a very successful company who spent a lot of his time with volunteer firemen when his wife wasn't doing that kind of work. He was the son of the East who rode horses and loved his place in New Mexico. He felt at home with cowboys because he roped with them all of his life. You'd never have known it from his friendly, easygoing manner, but he was also a bit of a perfectionist, in word and deed.

As a leader in business, Mac strived for quality in products; as Commerce Secretary, for quality in public policies. Even the language—some of you may well remember, to your horror—the language of his memos was lean and exact. In fact, he had a special computer software program for Commerce Department documents, one that automatically weeded out jargon like impacted, viable, infrastructure. [*Laughter*] Sort of Gramm-Rudman cut of the English language, if you will. [*Laughter*]

But like all perfectionists, he knew that perfection is not reaching the attainable. Rather, it's a never-ending quest for the unattainable. His life was such a quest, a life whose legacy leaves us with a profound insight: A truly successful man or woman is someone who has, indeed, served others.

Companies, like people, are successful only to the extent to which they provide service. This is true for all business, from the humblest mom-and-pop operation to the largest corporation. The improvement of quality in products and the improvement of quality in service—these are national priorities as never before. In recent years, Americans have felt the sting of fierce competition on a global scale, and we've learned to see foreign competition not as an excuse to close doors and raise barriers but as an incentive to renew our own commitment to excellence.

American managers have reconsidered every time-honored belief, every traditional practice, every customary procedure; and they've embraced what works and rejected the past. They've studied examples of innovation from home and abroad and adopted only the best. And we now know the result of this historic reassessment: When it comes to meeting the competition, America is back in business.

We're here today to honor two companies that are leading this resurgence. They're leading the resurgence in American business leadership. Most companies catch hell from the competition, but these two companies are in the lead because no competitor gave them a tougher time than they gave themselves. Of course, in business, success is its own reward. And yet all American firms benefit by having a standard of excellence to match and perhaps, one day, to surpass. For 1989 there can be no higher standard of quality management than those provided by the winners of the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award: Milliken & Company and the Xerox Corporation.

Both of these manufacturing firms were well-established leaders in their markets, yet both were being steadily squeezed out by the intense foreign and domestic competition. In the midst of this crisis, the men and women of these companies found within themselves the will to make a painstaking reassessment and the drive to win back that market share. Both companies started down this path of reassessment with a simple premise: In business, there is only one definition of quality—the customer's definition. And then they proceeded from this one premise to restructure their production and marketing plan. Sounds simple. But I know, as a former tiny businessman myself, how difficult it is to restructure a firm from top to bottom. And today's winners know what is possible when a firm restructures itself from the bottom up. They know that a company can no longer afford to regard employees as automatons in a production line. They know that a company must rely on the intelligence, judgment, and good character of the people it employs.

And there are as many successful forms of management as there are successful companies. But for these two companies, success came when they developed their human as well as their technological potential. Milliken, for example, a 125-year-old textile manufacturer in South Carolina—but its management style is sheer 21st century. Milliken scrapped the old management hierarchy in favor of what they call a flat management structure—good thing they're not a tire company—[*laughter*]—flat management structure. Milliken even gave a new title to its employees, calling them associates. And this is no hollow accolade for public relations. Every Milliken employee, I'm told, truly is an associate. In fact, any Milliken worker has the power to halt that production line if he or she detects a problem in quality or safety.

Our other winner takes a similar approach with its "Team Xerox" philosophy. Xerox employees are given the authority that they have to have, that they need, to make day-to-day decisions. And they are, the company says, expected to take the initiative in finding and fixing problems—and they do. While every manager works, every worker is managing.

One of the best things about this award is that it allows successful companies to share what they have learned to set an example. Perhaps these two companies ought to merge—and be careful of the antitrust. [*Laughter*] Can you imagine it? Your wardrobes wouldn't just be coordinated; it would be collated. [*Laughter*]

Many firms will learn a great deal from their example. Others will need to follow their own path. But to those who say that we have lost our edge, that the days are past when "Made in America" meant the best, I say: Tell that to the people of the Milliken plant in Spartanburg, South Carolina. Tell that to the Xerox teams in upstate—up in Monroe County, New York.

Quality products and service is no accident. It's the result of a certain can-do, no-excuses attitude, an aggressive impatience with the status quo even in the best of times. And it's this attitude, more than anything else, that is responsible for the creation of wealth and jobs that we have seen over the last 7 years.

In these years, our total national wealth has grown by almost a third, and more than 20 million new jobs created. And we are still enjoying the rewards of what has proven to be the longest peacetime expansion in American history. So, given the right policies, and a reduced capital gains tax would be one—Congress, I hope you're listening—this expansion will continue. And given the right tools, the American people can reach even greater heights. The potential of this nation is as boundless as the imagination and drive of the American people. All we have to do for our citizens is what these two companies have done for their employees: give them the freedom to do what they do best—freedom to imagine, freedom to create, and freedom to excel. Our winners had such freedom, and they certainly made the most of it.

I give my heartiest congratulations to Roger Milliken, who is here, and to David Kearns. And I give my heartiest congratulations to your employees, your associates. And thank you all for being here to honor these two successful stories. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:34 a.m. in Malcolm Baldrige Hall at the Commerce Department. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher; Malcolm Baldrige's widow, Margaret (Midge); Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady; U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills; Deputy Secretary of Commerce Thomas J. Murrin; Under Secretary of Defense John A. Betti; Senators Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Jesse Helms of North Carolina; Roger Milliken, chairman and chief executive officer of Milliken & Co.; and David T. Kearns, chairman and chief executive officer for business and products systems for Xerox Corp.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay

November 2, 1989

The President met for approximately 30 minutes today with Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, who is here on a brief private visit. They discussed the progress Hungary has made toward multiparty democracy, including the dramatic changes to Hungary's Constitution and the renaming of the country to the Republic of Hungary.

The President restated his commitment to the success of Hungary's democratic reforms, stressing that our support is for the process of change rather than for any particular party or candidate. In that connection, the President noted the arrival in Washington today of nine representatives of various Hungarian opposition groups, who are here for a 2-week USIA program on democratic electoral processes.

The President noted that the administration is urging Congress to act quickly on his request to establish a Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund, create a regional environmental center in Budapest, and authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Hungary. The President mentioned that in a Rose Garden ceremony on October 26 he signed the documents needed to grant Hungary continuing most-favored-nation treatment and that on November 1 he designated Hungary as beneficiary of the Generalized System of Preferences.

Minister Pozsgay expressed his gratitude for U.S. economic and other assistance and welcomed the President's initiative for developing concerted Western action through the Group of 24 industrialized democracies. He and the President agreed that these efforts are vital to continued economic progress and democratic change in Hungary.

Remarks to the Media Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America

November 2, 1989

I'm delighted to be here, and look forward to seeing you in a little bit across the way. But to chairman Jim Burke, let me first thank you, Jim, for bringing together such a talented array of people. And I'm grateful to see all of you here. I'm grateful for what you're doing.

Welcome to the White House, or, more accurately, the White House complex. I never understood that phrase. Sounds like some kind of neurosis—[*laughter*]—or perhaps a bad case of Potomac fever.

I am very pleased to see Bill Bennett here, and I want to take this opportunity to say that he has not only my full confidence but total support in this effort.

It's an honor to have you all here today. And I'm grateful that some of you have agreed to serve on advisory committees. I see Bill Moss and others here. And of course, the work that he is really undertaking is terrific. This group is at the leading edge of a powerful and moving effort: debunking the big myth about drugs by deglamorizing them and deglamorizing their users.

And having had some experience a long time ago in business, I think I understand a few of the day-to-day concerns of running a company. And so, it's all the more impressive that you're devoting significant time and resources to this struggle against illegal drugs. You're managing to look past the day-to-day operations and beyond the balance sheets, because you understand that America may have no more pressing domestic priority than the struggle to get the drugs off the streets and out of our schoolyards.

Earlier this fall, I presented, with the advice and help of many here, a national drug strategy to increase the Federal efforts in the war against drugs and to better coordinate the vast range of resources and the agencies and people devoted to solving the drug problem. When I presented that plan I was convinced that a nation united against drugs could not lose, and I still really believe that. And I also remain convinced that the Federal Government will never solve this problem by itself. That's why what you're doing is absolutely crucial; and it's why, in my address to the Nation, I made a point of thanking those who are donating air time and space for this antidrug message. I'll tell you, you can feel it. You can feel the change, I think, in the awareness of the American people as a result of what many in this room have already done in that regard.

Among the four pieces of our drug strategy—enforcement, interdiction, treatment, and prevention—you understand that it's the last point, prevention, that offers the best long-term potential.

With Jim Burke's leadership, this Partnership for a Drug-Free America is producing hard-hitting and carefully targeted messages, effectively tackling the drug issue from the demand side. I was moved by—and I know Bill was; we've talked about it—by President Barco of Colombia's charge to us: Stop the consumption. He's not blaming his own problems entirely on that, but it's a charge that I was happy to repeat on his behalf—on our behalf—to the entire country. So, you're tackling the demand side—breaking a few eggs in the process—as you put your marketing and communications expertise to work, because nobody understands demand psychology better than you.

There is that ad where a television, a trip to Paris, a new car all disappear right under the cocaine user's nose, or another about how a drug-induced high is like diving into the empty swimming pool, and the infamous frying egg. These are images no child or adult can easily forget. By applying marketing experience and advertising talent to unsell drug use and drug users, your ads are really managing to induce, nationwide, an ideological allergy to illegal drugs. You know, it occurred to me: Never before in the history of man have such energy, talent, and resources been devoted to getting people not to buy something.

The partnership's message—some call them advertorials—clearly seem to work. A year after this campaign began, in 1987—and I don't think it's mere coincidence—Americans of all ages viewed drug use and drug users more negatively, a trend that is continuing to this day. That's the message about your medium. You've shown that the private sector can do what legislation alone never can do—change attitudes.

Your generosity in the past, providing the time and space to showcase these messages, has been outstanding. And it's by far the largest such effort in the history of the industry. But what you're setting out to do, committing $1 million a day in advertising time and space every day for 3 years, is truly extraordinary. And it's an effort that I personally want to see succeed because it's so important to our struggle against drugs.

Beyond earning Presidential appreciation—which in your case, that's easy, you've got that, and certainly personal admiration and respect, you've got that—but your continuing support of this partnership demonstrates the best in the American spirit of service to others. In fact, I'm told that the Partnership for a Drug-Free America is the largest volunteer private sector ad campaign since the war bond drives back in World War II. And you've clearly taken to heart the conviction that I share—that from now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. Yours is the kind of civic spirit America has always turned to and been able to count on when faced with threats from abroad or at home.

So, today a generation of Americans is threatened from an enemy within, literally. It courses through their veins and compromises their minds and closes the doors of their future. This generation deserves better, and with your help will know better.

So, by contributing this unique ability to influence public opinion to the problem of drug abuse, you are setting high standards for the rest of the Nation to follow. Like the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, every individual and institution must decide to make its own contribution to bettering our communities. You have the power—you have that power to change America's mind about drugs, so keep breaking the eggs and putting together young lives.

Thank you all very, very much for what you're doing. I really mean it. It is absolutely essential service to the greatest country on the face of the Earth. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:52 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy; and William Moss, a Republican Party fundraiser.

Statement on Deficit Reduction in Fiscal Year 1990
November 2, 1989

On February 9th, after only 20 days in office, I submitted a budget that would have reduced the fiscal year 1990 deficit to $91.1 billion. On April 14th, we reached a bipartisan budget agreement with the Congress. We were encouraged by the prospect that, if fully implemented, the agreement promised to reduce the FY '90 deficit to $99.4 billion. Unfortunately, the bipartisan agreement has not yet been implemented. As a result, we find ourselves having to use the fail-safe deficit reduction measure that the law requires: across-the-board spending cuts, known as sequester. Clearly, this approach would not be a first choice for any of us. It is, however, a necessary discipline in the absence of more satisfactory action.

If the across-the-board cuts remain in effect, sequester would produce $16.1 billion in budgetary savings for fiscal year 1990 without any increase in taxes. These are more substantial savings than in either the pending Senate- or House-passed reconciliation bills.

By our scoring, the Senate and House bills would save only $8.3 billion and $1.9 billion, respectively, after adjustment for payment date shifts and accounting changes. (If the House bill were adjusted to drop capital gains, as the Democratic leadership wishes, it would actually increase the deficit rather than decrease it.) If the Senate bill's savings were adjusted for the pending repeal of catastrophic health insurance, as in the House bill, total savings in the Senate bill would drop to slightly more than $2 billion. In the face of deficits of well over $100 billion, $2 billion in net savings is far from enough. We must—and we can—do better.

We have tried to work constructively and cooperatively with the Congress in a true spirit of bipartisanship. I deeply regret the tone of partisanship that has entered the economic policy debate. I would very much have preferred a fair and balanced debate—and vote—on the merits. But the congressional process has bogged down. Now the stalemate must be broken. So, having consulted with the Republican congressional leadership, I am calling upon the Congress to do three things:

First, the Congress should pass a truly clean reconciliation bill that produces real deficit reduction without new taxes, without spending measures that increase the deficit in the future, and without scoring gimmicks. Any such reconciliation bill should achieve at least the $14 billion in reconciled deficit reduction agreed to in the bipartisan budget agreement, after adjusting to offset any new spending measures.

I will not accept a reconciliation bill that fails to do the job that should be done. If the Congress cannot agree upon a clean reconciliation bill that fully meets the test of fiscal responsibility, we are prepared to manage the Government under sequester. That is, we will continue to impose $16 billion in across-the-board spending cuts, as the law requires, for as long as it takes to reach agreement on a fiscally responsible bill.

Second, consistent with the Senate's expressed interest in a clean reconciliation bill without what it terms extraneous issues, the Congress should separate from the pending reconciliation bill such issues as child care, catastrophic health insurance, section 89, and capital gains. It should do so without applying its standard arbitrarily in a way that discriminates selectively against such issues. Congress should present to me for signature such legislation as may be mutually agreed on these subjects.

If we can reach agreement quickly on any of these issues, such as repeal of section 89 or catastrophic health insurance, I would be prepared to sign a bill dealing with these promptly, provided it is not a reconciliation bill. If other issues—such as child care and capital gains—prove more difficult to resolve, we will continue to pursue them until satisfactory legislation is enacted. I remain firmly committed to both capital gains and a child-care bill consistent with the principles embodied in my proposed legislation. I am confident that there is a majority for capital gains in both the House and the Senate and will continue to seek every opportunity for the majority to express its will.

Third, the Congress should pass a debt limit bill immediately, to assure that the United States does not default.

Fortunately, the economy continues to grow. It is now in its 83d consecutive month of growth, the second-longest such period of growth in all of America's history. But there is as much reason as ever to seek to reduce the deficit, to pass a long-term debt limit bill, and to advance legislation that can keep the economy growing.

Remarks Following a Visit With Former President José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes of El Salvador

November 2, 1989

The President. Well, I am very pleased to be out here with the Vice President and others today to pay tribute to a great friend of the United States and a tireless fighter for democracy, José Napoleón Duarte. President Duarte's life has been dedicated to advancing freedom and justice, and he is indeed the father of El Salvador's democracy. He is an inspiration to all of us. And to honor this courageous man today, the Duarte Scholarship has been established at the University of Notre Dame, his own alma mater. And Father Ted Hesburgh presided at this meeting and presented him with this chair, if you will, this scholarship. This legacy will give the priceless gift of education to deserving Salvadoran students, students who I know will take great pride in this wonderful gift and the man after whom it is named.

El Salvador's Government, today under President Cristiani, continues in the democratic path despite violent opposition from extremists from both the left and the right. And let me say how strongly we condemn the recent bloody attacks in San Salvador. Under relentless guerrilla assaults, El Salvador has conducted six free and certifiably fair elections since 1982 under international supervision. And what we are witnessing in Nicaragua today stands in strong contrast to the Salvadoran record.

The decision of the Sandinista government to end the cease-fire is an assault on the electoral process in Nicaragua, which the entire hemisphere has condemned their actions. And despite Sandinista denials, it is hard not to believe that the government of Nicaragua is taking this action to give itself an excuse to close down the limited political space that it has allowed thus far. Nicaragua has taken only partial steps to establish conditions for a completely free and fair election. It shows fear of establishing that level playing field that the rest of the world is looking for. It is hypocritical for the Sandinistas to assert that they want the resistance to return voluntarily while it's setting its vast armed forces to attack them. Moreover, they have consistently violated the cease-fire since it was proclaimed.

I would add that despite Nicaragua's Esquipulas commitments, we have recently had new evidence of Sandinista arms shipments to the Salvadoran guerrillas. In our recent meeting in Costa Rica, the Nicaraguans were taken to task by President Cristiani of El Salvador for the illegal shipments that contradict the agreements to which they are a party.

The Sandinista regime says that it is committed to the Esquipulas process. If that truly is, it will respect the cease-fire and begin a dialog with the resistance. It will work with the internal opposition to create the conditions for a truly free election. And it will stop its armed subversion of its neighbors.

It is not clear how far Ortega [President Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua] intends to take his military and intimidation campaign. Accordingly, we must and we will keep our options open. The United States supports peace and democracy in Central America. We want to see the cease-fire in Nicaragua respected by all sides. We want a free and fair election, and that is clearly also the wish of the Nicaraguan people and leaders from every part of the hemisphere.

So, I appreciate having a chance to express my thoughts on both this tribute to President Duarte and the aspirations of the United States for democracy all across our hemisphere.

Nicaragua

Q. If El Salvador can conduct free elections in conditions of civil war, why can't Nicaragua?

The President. Because the Esquipulas agreements say that they should not—that there should be democratic and free conditions, and that the Sandinistas should be negotiating with the resistance. That's what these agreements call for, and they are being violated by the Sandinistas. And if we ever saw the whole hemisphere turn on one man, it was when these democratic Presidents got repulsed by what Mr. Ortega said in San José.

Q. Mr. President, how much closer are you to seeking or thinking about military aid? Tuesday afternoon you said——

The President. My statement speaks for itself. All options are open.

Note: The President spoke at 4:48 p.m. at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. Rev. Theodore Hesburgh was president emeritus of the University of Notre Dame.

Statement on Signing the Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1990

November 3, 1989

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2989, the "Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1990." I want to take this opportunity to thank the Congress for addressing objections raised by the Administration and for presenting me with a bill in which funding levels are generally consistent with the Administration's requests.

This Act provides appropriations for a number of critical programs under the Department of the Treasury, the General Services Administration, the Office of Personnel Management, the Executive Office of the President, and several other agencies. Funding for these central management agencies is essential to carry out the primary financial and administrative functions of the Federal Government.

I am pleased that the Congress provided funding for the Internal Revenue Service that meets the revenue initiative assumptions of the Bipartisan Budget Agreement. This funding should assure that the Internal Revenue Service continues to implement the tax code effectively.

In signing this Act, however, I am compelled to note my strong objection to section 618 of H.R. 2989, which purports to forbid the implementation or enforcement of certain nondisclosure agreements required of Government employees with access to classified information. This provision, which is modeled after a provision that first appeared in the omnibus continuing resolution for fiscal year 1988 (Public Law No. 100–202), raises profound constitutional concerns. Last year, in a decision that was subsequently vacated by the Supreme Court on procedural grounds, the latter statutory provision was declared unconstitutional by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Article II of the Constitution confers responsibility on me as President and Commander in Chief to conduct the national defense and foreign affairs of the United States. In this capacity, I have the constitutional duty to ensure the secrecy of information whose disclosure would threaten our national security. The Supreme Court has recognized that the authority commensurate with this duty to protect such information falls on me as head of the executive branch and as Commander in Chief. *Department of the Navy* v. *Egan*, 484 U.S. 518, 527 (1988). If we are to achieve success in our diplomatic, military, and intelligence activities, it is critical that I be able to protect the secrets upon which those activities depend.

Although the scope of section 618 is subject to conflicting interpretations, it could be construed as limiting, among other things, my ability to enforce nondisclosure agreements to the extent that they prohibit negligent disclosures of information that an employee has reason to believe is classified. Furthermore, section 618 could suggest that I am prohibited from establishing and enforcing appropriate procedures to control the dissemination of classified information by executive branch employees to Members of Congress.

I believe that section 618, thus construed, would jeopardize the Nation's security by unconstitutionally interfering with my ability to prevent the unauthorized disclosure of information concerning our most sensitive diplomatic, military, and intelligence activities. Accordingly, I direct that executive branch officials implement the provisions of section 618 in a manner consistent with the Constitution.

I note that the provisions of H.R. 2989 authorizing appropriations for the Office of Management and Budget forbid the expenditure of those funds "for the purpose of reviewing any agricultural marketing orders or any activities or regulations under the provisions of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 (7 U.S.C. 601 et seq.)." These restrictions also raise constitutional concerns because they impair my ability as President to supervise the executive branch.

In addition, numerous provisions of H.R. 2989 purport to condition my authority, and the authority of affected executive branch officials, to use funds otherwise appropriated by the Act on the approval of various committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate. These provisions constitute legislative veto devices of the kind declared unconstitutional in *INS* v. *Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919 (1983). Accordingly, I will treat them as having no legal force or effect in this or any other legislation in which they appear. I direct agencies confronted with these devices to consult with the Attorney General to determine whether the grant of authority in question is severable from the unconstitutional condition. See *Alaska Airlines, Inc.* v. *Brock*, 480 U.S. 678, 684–87 (1987).

Finally, I encourage the Congress to continue to present me with spending bills that keep funding at acceptable levels.

George Bush

The White House,
November 3, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2989, approved November 3, was assigned Public Law No. 101–136.

Nomination of Anthony Cecil Eden Quainton To Be United States Ambassador to Peru
November 3, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Anthony Cecil Eden Quainton, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Peru. He would succeed Alexander Fletcher Watson.

Since 1987 Mr. Quainton has served as the Deputy Inspector General at the Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Ambassador to Kuwait, 1984–1987; Ambassador to the Republic of Nicaragua, 1982–1984; Director of the Office for Combating Terrorism with the rank of Ambassador, 1978–1981; Ambassador to the Central African Republic, 1976–1978; and deputy chief of mission in Kathmandu, Nepal, 1973–1976. In addition, Mr. Quainton served as a political officer in Paris, 1972–1973; senior political officer in India, 1969–1972; political and economic officer in New Delhi, 1966–1969; and economic officer in Karachi, Pakistan, 1963–1964.

Mr. Quainton graduated from Princeton University (B.A., 1955) and Oxford University (B. Litt., 1958). He was born April 4, 1934, in Seattle, WA. Mr. Quainton is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Gubernatorial Candidate J. Marshall Coleman in Richmond, Virginia
November 3, 1989

The President. Thank you very, very much. Marshall, thank you. I am just delighted to be back in this beautiful capital city, and I want to thank the good people of Richmond for such a warm welcome today. I guess some of you may have come out because you heard there was something special planned for Festival Park. So, if any of you came here for one last Friday cheers, sorry about that.

I know some of you may have come out to see the most popular person in America today. Sorry, Barbara is up in New York this morning, and so, you've got to put up with me. But I want to thank all the eminent Virginians who are here with me today. What a great congressional delegation you've got, and here they are: Tom Bliley is here, and Stan Parris, Frank Slaughter, Herb Bateman—what a job they are doing representing the Commonwealth in Washington, DC!

Our emcee today—State Senator Bob Russell. And outstanding two members of the Virginia Senate who are ready to step up to new positions of public trust: Joe Benedetti, running hard for attorney general—what a gutsy man he is—and, of course, Barbara; and my old, dear, close friend, Eddy Dalton, Virginia's next Lieutenant Governor. And are you going to be lucky!

And finally, let us all say hello to Virginia's next Governor, Marshall Coleman. We're——

Audience members. Marshall! Marshall! Marshall!

The President. Look, we're here on the eve of a contest of great concern to everyone who lives in this State—an epic battle, a clash of wills. And, yes, that's right: I'm talking about the University of Virginia versus North Carolina State. We also know that there is a vital statewide contest 4 days from now. Let me tell you my pick: It's going to be Marshall Coleman who comes out the winner.

You see, 4 days from now, the people of

this State are going to decide who can lead this Commonwealth into a new decade, which candidate has a vision for Virginia in the nineties. And, my friends, that must be a man of total integrity. That man must offer the new ideas that Virginia needs to fulfill its own destiny. And that man is clearly Marshall Coleman.

He knows the issues that matter to Virginians. Take the issue of law and order. Marshall's a veteran crimefighter, a former attorney general who understands that you cannot have safe streets and neighborhoods unless you're ready to make life tough on the criminals. And that means tougher sentencing, an end to early release and parole policies that put dangerous criminals back on the street. Dangerous criminals should stay where they belong, and that is behind bars. And something else—I know that this man, a Governor Coleman, would give me strong support for the anticrime package that I have sent to the United States Congress, a package that sits there now—waiting for the Congress to move. And I believe a Governor can help mobilize public opinion to get the will of the American people fulfilled. I need him right here in the statehouse.

Marshall Coleman is the right man to lead Virginia in this battle against drug abuse. The war on drugs isn't simply a war of words. Anyone can talk tough, but talking tough doesn't keep dealers off the street. It doesn't keep drugs out of the hands of our children. Marshall Coleman knows that it is time for action, and he knows we've got to go after the drug dealers and the drug users. And he knows it's time to confiscate the dealer's ill-gotten gains and take the profit out of the drug business. And I submit to you that that is the no-nonsense, real-world approach that we need. And if you need any more proof, just ask the folks out there on the frontline in this war on crime and drugs. The Virginia Fraternal Order of Police has given Marshall Coleman its vote of confidence, and I think that that says it all. When it comes to fighting crime, Virginia can count on Marshall Coleman.

But there are other issues, and he's strong on the issues across the board. Take the one issue that may well be the most important of any that fall within a State's responsibilities: education. Marshall and I have talked many times about the state of our schools today, and I can tell you he's as convinced as I am that there is no other issue more vital to the future of this State, this nation, and to the kind of lives that our children will lead in the future.

He's got two fine boys of his own, Sean and Billy. And Sean is here today somewhere—over here, here he is—down here from college, helping his dad. And let me tell you: He may be young, but he's a real veteran out on the campaign trail. And, Sean, let me say this to you: Your dad knows what every parent with kids in school today knows—it's time to move beyond the status quo. We've got to recognize what works in our schools and reward it. And that is the idea behind Marshall's merit pay plan: better pay for better teachers. We've got to increase accountability. And that means expanding choice in our schools, because, you see, choice can create an incentive for improvement that spurs a competition for excellence in all our schools. And when it comes to guaranteeing a first-rate education for her children, Virginia can count on Marshall Coleman.

But it's when we talk about taxes that we know how important the election of Marshall Coleman is. I hear the same things up on Capitol Hill that you do from Capital Square. And it's beginning to sound like a broken record. It doesn't matter what it is—every issue an opportunity to raise your taxes. Well, make no mistake, Marshall Coleman is one candidate who doesn't confuse having a vision for the future with having a sharp eye on your wallets.

The past 4 years, the people of this State have endured five tax increases—five just in the past 4 years. And I know Virginia, and I know you cannot afford another 4 years of open season on the taxpayer. Well, with Marshall in the statehouse, taxpayers won't feel like there's a bull's-eye painted on their backs, because he knows one way not to fulfill this State's great destiny is to sock it to the taxpayer. Marshall comes with a 4-year, easy-to-understand guarantee. He won't raise taxes. And he's going one step further: When it comes to vetoing any tax hike that lands on his desk, Virginia can count on Marshall Coleman.

And so, as we get near the end, it's been a long, hard campaign. And in the end, every campaign comes back to the basics, to the simple question that every voter asks himself: Which candidate is right for the job? And the plain truth is this: Marshall Coleman, a man of total integrity, total experience, a man who deeply loves this State. He's right on the issues, right for Virginia. Marshall Coleman will be a Governor all of Virginia can count on. And let me tell the people of this great capital city: When Marshall Coleman becomes Governor, the man in the statehouse here in Richmond is going to have a friend in the White House.

But right now, Marshall needs to know that he can count on you and he's got your support and, come next Tuesday, that you'll be there with your votes and your help to make him the next Governor of Virginia. He needs to know that. And only 4 short days remain in this campaign for the future of this great State. So, talk to your family, your friends. Take them to the polls with you. Make these last days count for Marshall Coleman, for Virginia, and for the United States of America.

Thank you, and God bless you. And God bless our wonderful country.

Note: The President spoke at 11:28 a.m. in Festival Park. He was introduced by Mr. Coleman. In his remarks, he referred to Barbara Benedetti, wife of the candidate for State attorney general. Prior to the rally, the President attended a fundraising reception for Mr. Coleman at the Marriott Hotel. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Norfolk.

Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Gubernatorial Candidate J. Marshall Coleman in Norfolk, Virginia

November 3, 1989

Thank you so much for that warm welcome back to Old Dominion, and I am delighted to be here. First, let me thank this magnificent choir from Atlantic Shores and also the Old Dominion University Pep Band over here. Go Blue! And I want to pay my respects—as I came in here, I was greeted by several distinguished Virginians who are connected with this wonderful university—my old friend, your president, Bill Spong, the former Senator, great Senator for this State. Your executive vice president, Dr. Healy, greeted me there, and so did my old close friend and one of my earliest supporters, now teaching here, former Congressman Bill Whitehurst. And it's a pleasure to be here with the next Governor. It's a pleasure to be here with a former Governor of this State, Mills Godwin, sitting right here. And thank you all.

A word about your Senator. We're in some tough battles up in Washington, DC. And this Senator, Senator John Warner, is outstanding because, you see, he understands that the national security of the United States and our allies, even in these times of change, depend upon a strong United States, a strong defense. And you are lucky having him fighting for Virginia and the United States in the United States Senate.

And you have a distinguished delegation in Washington, and I'm pleased to see two of them with us here today, Congressman Parris and Congressman Bateman. Welcome, and thank you for being with us.

And I want to salute Mayor Wynne and our magnificent Republican ticket—Marshall Coleman, Eddy Dalton, Joe Benedetti—they are winners!

And ladies and gentlemen, all of you—ladies and gentlemen and friends. Marshall, good speech, and thanks for that kind introduction. And let me say that, as always, I am delighted to be back in this historic State and one of our greatest cities, the home of Old Dominion University. It's a pleasure to speak at this distinguished school, and in a gym where the Monarchs have often reigned supreme.

Well, on Tuesday, November 7th, Virginia's common sense is going to reign supreme from the rivers of the Tidewater to the Shenandoah Valley.

I know you all turned out to see one of the most famous people in the United States. I'm sorry, Barbara is in New York today, but she sends her love, and I wish she were here.

Tuesday—I'm talking, as you know, about Virginia's election for Governor, one of the most crucial in America, and about the man that I am very proud to support, one of the rising young leaders in our country, the next Governor of this great Commonwealth, my friend of longstanding, Marshall Coleman.

Four weeks ago, I stumped for Marshall in northern Virginia, as I did 2 hours ago in Richmond. And I believe in this man. I admire him. We share the same philosophy and the same values. So, let's build a bright new day for one of America's oldest States. Let's elect this man Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia—Marshall Coleman.

Now look, I know that here at Old Dominion, of course, you know something about the kind of victory we're going to celebrate next Tuesday—the same way Nancy Lieberman would help the Lady Monarchs come from behind to win the game. Believe me, Marshall Coleman's taking a page from Old Dominion's playbook. And when we win the Governor's mansion in Virginia, they'll call it the greatest comeback of the year. And Marshall Coleman's victory will be a victory for Virginia. This is a great State, and it deserves a great Governor, a man in the statehouse who will have a friend in the White House.

And Marshall deserves to win because this State deserves fiscal sanity and because it rejects the excesses of spending. He deserves to win because Virginia deserves—it rates—a man of principle. For while two men are running for Governor, only one truly understands this State, and only one knows that Virginians expect tough answers, honest answers—answers to child care and transportation and education and the environment, answers in the fight against crime, fight against drugs, from the banks of the Potomac to the Cumberland Gap. Ladies and gentlemen, Virginia deserves a Governor who faces and makes hard choices, who says what he means and means what he says. And I am convinced that Marshall Coleman is that man.

You know, I've seen a lot of candidates, as many of you all have, over the years. I've seen them react to victory—and also to defeat. Defeat breaks some men; it makes others. And I remember how 8 years ago Marshall lost a tough campaign for Governor, and 8 years ago, I met with him a few days after election day. And even then, he was strong, resolute. And even then, he was a fighter determined to serve his State and the people he cares so much about. For he has that attribute called character, a quality so innately Virginian—the character to examine a problem, to understand a problem, and then to act on that problem on every voter's behalf.

And what are those problems, Virginia's challenges of tomorrow? They're the same challenges that we face in Washington. And just as you need a Governor who understands Virginia, I need and America needs a Governor in Richmond who shares our goals, who supports those goals, and who will help me pass the programs to make those goals a reality.

Think, for example, of education. Five weeks ago, at the University of Virginia, I convened an unprecedented event: this nation's first education summit. And there in Charlottesville, America's Governors, my Cabinet, and I gathered to talk, to think, to exchange ideas. And we talked about how to spur educational reform and return power to the people, for it is time for change, perhaps radical change, to find new ways to improve educational performance.

And Marshall Coleman has two sons, Sean and Billy—one of them right here, the big guy—19 and 14. And he knows that educational reform is vital to our future, so he supports greater choice for parents and students, merit pay to reward those outstanding teachers. And he's talked many times of how the next Governor of Virginia must act in tandem with the President and with the Congress, the county and local officials to uplift our schools. He can help me, and I need him to make education America's most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are, vital to everything we can become.

Another Virginia challenge—and I know it's of concern to everybody at Old Dominion—is the environment. And here, too, I need Marshall in Richmond, just as Virginia does. I need a Governor I can work with. We have proposed bold, new environmental policies to reduce acid rain and air—toxic—and urban smog, policies that will preserve our wetlands and combat the polluters and help to clean up our air and hazardous wastes. And together, Marshall and I can work to protect our environment for generations to come. We owe it to every young person in this gymnasium today, and we will do it.

And next, there's Virginia's historic concern, a strong military. Virginia and Marshall Coleman understand that a strong America is an America at peace. And there are no greater supporters of America's defense than the people of this great State. And I need Marshall to work with me to preserve this area's jobs and prosperity, and to convince the Congress that when it comes to a secure America, finishing second means finishing last.

For centuries, Virginia has demanded officials that are both responsive and responsible. Well, Marshall Coleman can increase support in Virginia for our ethics legislation to make public service a public trust.

Transportation is another priority. And I look forward to his regional transportation plan to reduce gridlocks in areas such as the Tidewater.

And then there's the crucial issue—he referred to it—of taxes. And you all know my position there, and when it comes to fighting for lower taxes, Marshall is my kind of guy. He opposed five major tax increases passed by his opponent's administration, and he has pledged not to raise taxes as Governor.

And finally, of course, this State, like every State—shocked about crime and drug use. And as you know, our administration has proposed the most comprehensive plan to assault these plagues. We know that the Federal Government, like the government in Richmond, must wage real—not simply rhetorical—war against this crippler of our kids. And I need Marshall Coleman to help us win this war and help enact our legislation.

Yes, two candidates for Governor, but only one truly understands the Commonwealth. And that's why only one, Marshall Coleman, has been endorsed by those on the cutting edge—endorsed by Virginia's Fraternal Order of Police, the men and women that are giving their lives for our kids every single day. Marshall Coleman understands that the Old Dominion doesn't need old ideas like the liberal creed which blames everyone except the criminal. Instead, it needs a Governor who understands its people and its values, and who will protect those family values which make Virginia great.

Marshall Coleman has stood for that, and he will stand for that. Remember, he's been a U.S. magistrate, delegate, State senator, the attorney general. And remember, he's long been on the firing line, working to put the criminals where they belong. He's urged the stiffer penalties for violent criminals, demanded greater certainty in sentencing and an end to easy parole and early release. And he agrees with me that drug kingpins should pay the ultimate price. And he wants stiff mandatory sentences for drug distribution offenses, and perhaps above all, he wants the end of a hit-or-miss parole system that lets hardened drug dealers prey on society. Today in Virginia, a 20-year sentence for drug dealing can mean as little as 3½ years in actual time served. Marshall Coleman wants to make 20 years mean 20 years. You might call it his 20/20 vision. I share that goal. We must be tough. We must be strong.

Challenges and solutions, in Washington and Richmond—we're one country. We're all in this together, and we have to work together, work honestly and directly to reach our common goals. Marshall Coleman knows that, for he knows Virginia from Mount Vernon to Monticello to the beauty of Williamsburg. But most of all, he understands the people; he understands Virginians—an unparalleled blend of civility, respect for tradition, and faith in God that led John Adams to say: "We all look to Virginia for examples."

On November 7th, America will again look to Virginia for examples, and it will find one in Marshall Coleman. For in a State whose people have been called the quintessential Americans, he is a quintessential Virginian. So, let's roll up our sleeves and raise Virginia's sights, and let's help Marshall Coleman and his two great running mates, State Senator Eddy Dalton, your next Lieutenant Governor, and State Senator Joe Benedetti, your next Attorney General.

Four days until election day—and so, get out there and work and vote and see that others do the same, because we need Marshall Coleman in the State capital. I do, you do, and most of all, this great State does. You know, your State slogan says, "Virginia is for Lovers." Well, by electing Marshall Coleman, let's ensure that years from now we can tell our kids: On election day 1989, America loved what Virginia did.

God bless you, God bless America, and let's make this man the next Governor of the Commonwealth.

Note: The President spoke at 1:44 p.m. at Old Dominion University Field House. Following his remarks, he traveled to Bloomfield, NJ.

Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Gubernatorial Candidate Jim Courter in Bloomfield, New Jersey

November 3, 1989

Thank you for that—I was going to say warm Bloomfield welcome, but I'm delighted to be here. And to Governor Kean, my dear friend who's done such a great job for this State, I'm proud to be with him.

It's a special pleasure to be with my friend, Congressman Jim Courter. I have the good feeling. You're looking at a guy who doesn't believe in these polls. Why? Because it wasn't so many months ago I was miles behind, and now I am the President of the United States of America.

And to the Speaker Chuck Hardwick; and to our mayor, my friend John Crecco; and our new Republican chairman, Kathleen Donovan; and our many distinguished members of the assembly; and candidates—a team of winners. And don't let me overlook the fine Members of the New Jersey congressional delegation standing down here—strong friends of Jim, strong supporters of this President. I'm delighted to see them all here: Chris Smith, Marge Roukema, Matt Rinaldo, Dean Gallo, Jim Saxton. And thank you for this welcome back. We've got some other winners here today—the great, the famous Bloomfield Bengals, who I understand are on a hot streak.

John and I were talking about the last time I spoke in Bloomfield was during last year's campaign. It was a great visit because the 1980's have been good to this town. The economy is strong. People are at work. And of course, this says a lot about the citizens of Bloomfield, but it also says a lot about New Jersey and about the United States of America. Today more people and a higher percentage of our work force are at work than at any time in our history—119.3 million Americans. And today our peacetime record economic growth has created over 20 million new jobs, 233 more in October alone. And our challenge then is to keep creating the economic growth that produces jobs in America, especially in the State of New Jersey.

And for the last 8 years, we've had a top-notch team leading this great State. Together, Tom Kean and a Republican State assembly, led by Speaker Chuck Hardwick, here, have made New Jersey great again. And look at what has been accomplished. Today New Jersey's business climate ranks eighth in the country. The unemployment rate has dropped. And six tax cuts have been signed into law, including the largest income tax cut in the history of the State of New Jersey—that is good government.

And there has been a tremendous progress in education, with tougher standards for students and higher teacher salaries. And New Jersey has become one of the Nation's leaders in environmental protection, with an ambitious toxic waste program—clean it up—record numbers of acres of wetlands, open space set aside for preservation. As I look to a State to help define a new policy for the United States of America, I look to New Jersey and Governor Tom Kean and the others responsible for this.

And so, together, Governor Kean and the State assembly have made breakthroughs in welfare reform, put an end to overtaxation, overregulation. So, under Republican leadership there is a new feeling of pride here in New Jersey. And I don't blame you. You've got a lot to be proud of. And that's what this campaign, the Courter campaign, is all about.

Too much is at stake—New Jersey's future is at stake—for us to let the Democrats take over the Governor's chair. And too much is at stake for us to let the Democrats take back the statehouse. Too much is at stake to let the Democrats take us back to that old New Jersey of the 1970's. We cannot let that happen. If the voters of New Jersey want to gamble, they go to Atlantic City. But they know better than to risk their economy on the Democrat's big spending and high-taxing policies. Remember those old days? High unemployment, business and jobs leaving the State. Our kids were failing in schools because our schools were failing our kids. Pollution threatened our air and our water and our parks and our beaches. And we cannot go back. We must not go back. And we have got to keep New Jersey proud, and we have got to keep New Jersey Republican.

A word about our assembly and a word about our great candidate for Governor: In our State assembly, New Jersey Republicans are our main defense against the Democrats' tax and spend policies. Our team is fighting to protect your wallet from the tax hikes the Democrat leadership has already threatened if they win control of the assembly. Bloomfield's own Marion Crecco, and her running mate, Assemblyman John Kelly—the Kelly-Crecco team—will fight the Democratic tax plan. And so will the Roma-Schuber team from Bergen County, and the Hardwick-Frigerio team from Union County, as well as the DiGaetano-Kogut team from Passaic and Wallington.

We've got a great group here, but having the best policies is no guarantee of winning elections. It's no coincidence that our party's slipped to minority status in Congress as we became a minority in the State legislatures across the country. Today, Democrats have a redistricting advantage in States that compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. And fortunately, New Jersey isn't one of those States, yet. But every voter must have a say in the election process, and we must fight gerrymandering and disenfranchisement. And we have simply got to keep New Jersey Republican. I want to build a better America, and you can help me by building upon what Governor Kean began 8 years ago. And you can help me by returning that Republican majority to the State legislature and by keeping a Republican in the Governor's mansion. We need you and America needs you. And on December [November] 7th, we need you to vote because there is too much at stake: your low taxes, your clean environment, and the safety of your streets.

And in conclusion, with me on this stage is the man who will bring New Jersey into the next decade—a decade of continued progress in protecting our environment, improving education, fighting crime—your next Governor, Jim Courter. Jim knows firsthand—and I've seen him in action in the United States Congress—he knows firsthand what it is to be tough on crimes and drugs. And as a county prosecutor, he personally tried 120 drug cases. In Congress, he has been a strong leader in the battle for tougher penalties on drug users and drug pushers, including the death penalty for the drug kingpins. And his opponent voted no, his opponent voted no to tough mandatory sentences for drug dealers. And he's against strengthening the death penalty law on New Jersey's books so that it can be enforced. It is about time that the other side learns that voters can be hard on politicians who are soft on crime. I want a Governor who is going to back up the local men and women in our police forces who lay their lives out for us every single day of the year.

Jim Courter knows what's good for New Jersey's future. He's voted consistently to cut taxes, hold the line on spending, and he's promised no new taxes, and he means it. And so, he's not going to stop there. He knows we need a bold new system to get those insurance prices down—you've heard him on that. What he's talking about is working in Michigan, it's working in Illinois, and he'll make sure that it works right here in the State of New Jersey.

Tom Kean, God bless him, has led this State—and I will say, our country—to greatness in the 1980's. And Jim Courter will lead New Jersey into the 1990's to the same greatness. He knows what's at stake. And with your help, Jim Courter, like Tom Kean in 1980, will come from behind, and on November 7th, become the next great Governor of the State of New Jersey.

You know, John Crecco and I were talking about this—this is the 177th anniversary of the town of Bloomfield. And a few minutes from now I'm going to participate in a tree-planting ceremony to mark the occasion. Six months ago I planted a tree out there to mark North Dakota's centennial. It turned out to have some kind of disease. [*Laughter*] So, in the interest of public safety, here in Bloomfield they specifically asked me not to dedicate a building. [*Laughter*]

But nevertheless, 61 years ago, the townhall behind me was dedicated by the then-mayor of Bloomfield. The mayor said that day: "May the people fight for the ideals and sacred things of the town and strike unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty in all these ways to render our town greater, better, and more beautiful." Well, I think the citizens of Bloomfield have fulfilled that Republican mayor's dream for this town. And I know they and hundreds of thousands like them, from the sands of Cape May to the highlands of Sussex County, can make another dream for New Jersey come true—to continue the enlightened, progressive leadership of the last 8 years in the statehouse.

The choice is clear: Return to the failed Democratic policies of the seventies or keep New Jersey a proud national leader in environmental protection and education reform and the war on crime. There is too much at stake. New Jersey must remain proud. Keep it Republican. Thank you for this fantastic turnout. God bless you. And please vote for Jim Courter on Tuesday. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 4:58 p.m. at the Bloomfield Townhall. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Camp David, MD, for a weekend stay.

Nomination of G. Kim Wincup To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Army

November 3, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate G. Kim Wincup to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs. He would succeed Delbert L. Spurlock, Jr.

Since 1984 Mr. Wincup has served as the staff director of the House Armed Services Committee in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as a senior member of the professional staff of the House Armed Services Committee, 1983–1984, and principal member of the professional staff for the subcommittee on military personnel of the House Armed Services Committee, 1974–1983.

Mr. Wincup graduated from De Pauw University (B.A., 1966) and the University of Illinois (J.D., 1969). He was born September 6, 1944, in St. Louis, MO. Mr. Wincup served in the U.S. Air Force, 1970–1973. He is married, has three children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Continuation of Victor H. Frank, Jr., as United States Director of the Asian Development Bank
November 3, 1989

The President today announced that Victor H. Frank, Jr., will continue to serve as U.S. Director of the Asian Development Bank, with the rank of Ambassador.

Since 1987 Mr. Frank has served as U.S. Director of the Asian Development Bank. Prior to this, he served in various capacities with CPC International, including corporate vice president of government relations, 1986–1987; corporate vice president of information resources, 1982–1986; special assistant to the chief executive officer, 1980–1982; vice president of the consumer diversified unit, 1978–1980; vice president for finance of the Best Foods unit, 1973–1978; and tax counsel, 1966–1973. In addition, Mr. Frank served in the private practice of law in New York City, 1954–1966.

Mr. Frank graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1950; LL.B., 1953) and New York University Law School (LL.M., 1960). He was born April 4, 1927. Mr. Frank served in the U.S. Navy, 1945–1946. He is married, has three children, and resides in Manila, the Philippines.

Remarks at the Bicentennial Convocation at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts
November 5, 1989

Thank all of you very much on this beautiful fall day. My thanks to our headmaster, Don McNemar. I was accompanied here by two Members of the United States Congress, fellow alumni of Phillips Academy, Congressman Tony Beilenson and Congressman Andy Ireland, who are out here someplace. But I just want to introduce them. And to the board of this great school, to our outstanding faculty, to the students, administrators, the entire Andover family and community, and friends, I am just delighted to be back here. I'm sorry Barbara isn't with me. I know that's why this crowd is so big. [*Laughter*] But she didn't feel so hot. She's doing okay, but she just had a bad day yesterday. And so, she couldn't make it, but she sends her love and affection.

I want to thank you for this chance to visit—and revisit—the site of so many wonderful memories for me and to celebrate such an historic moment in the life of this academy, because as Don said, it was 200 years ago to this very day that the founder of our country visited one of this country's oldest academies. And George Washington would later write fondly of Andover. And in that vein, legend says that he kissed a young girl at the Andover Inn. [*Laughter*] It is reported that she never washed that cheek again. [*Laughter*] But now, I can't bear living testimony to his visit, but I can speak very briefly of my time here. I loved those years. They did, indeed, teach the great end and real business of living. And even now its lessons of honesty, selflessness, faith in God—well, they enrich every day of our lives.

You remember, I'm the guy that said Pearl Harbor Day was on September 7. I want to clear that up—[*laughter*]—because it was right about here, where that guy in a red coat is standing, that I heard that our country was at war on December 7th, 1941. And it was over there, in Cochran Chapel, that in June of 1942 a graduate of Phillips Academy gave our commencement address—Henry Stimson. He was then Secretary of War, and he observed how the American soldier should be brave without being brutal, self-reliant without boasting, becoming a part of irresistible might without losing faith in individual liberty. I never forgot those words.

For 211 years, Phillips Academy has embodied the qualities that Secretary Stimson alluded to. And it has shown how we are "one nation under God." It has inculcated into its sons and daughters a sense of service to country and a sense of service to others—each day I'm reminded of this. This is the message of our years here and the message with which I close. Without God's help we can do nothing. With God's help there is nothing we cannot do, for our children and for the world.

Thank you for inviting me. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. in Samuel Phillips Hall. Following his remarks, he participated in a tree-planting ceremony.

Remarks to the Phillips Academy Board of Trustees in Andover, Massachusetts

November 5, 1989

Thank you all. Excuse the slight delay. I was out there talking to the captain of Andover's victorious football team, Tony Pittman. I don't know whether he came in with us. Is he there? I want to show him off to you guys that came here with me. Small but fast—[*laughter*]—tough. I don't know where he went. Is he coming? Tony, get up here now. I need them to see my excuse for my being late. I don't want to embarrass him. Stay there.

I single him out, not to embarrass the poor guy, which I probably have just done, but to make a point about this school. One of the things that I, at least, got an awful lot out of was the athletic program. And I saw my old mentor, Frank DiClemente, sitting in the front row there. And I thought, my gosh, I haven't even left the place—he looks just the same as he did back in those highly competitive days.

But I want to thank Headmaster Don McNemar for arranging a wonderful visit—a fine reunion, if you will. Again, I want to single out the two Congressmen that were here with me, back here, Andy Ireland and Tony Beilenson, standing way in the back there, as enthusiastic as I about the return to Andover Hill. And of course, to the board and to Tim Ireland, who really did a lot of the planning on this and working out the schedule—old friend. And of course, David Underwood, whom I've known for years, fellow Houstonian, now serving so unselfishly as chairman of this board.

And again, I don't want to miss by failing to emphasize the affection I have for members of the faculty, present and past. We did a little interview a minute ago with not only the editor of the Phillipian but from the Lawrence paper. And I pointed out that those of us who studied here were privileged to be taught by outstanding faculty. And it's still, I'm sure, just exactly that way.

I'm very sorry Barbara's not here. She just didn't feel well—but she's doing well. And I'm very, very proud of her. And she had been looking forward to this very much.

I was going through the yearbook the other day. It said something about: Captain Bush was a powerful batter at the plate. It's marvelous how a little time takes care of a lot of myths, you know. [*Laughter*] But, freedom of the press—we're all for that. [*Laughter*] And those of you from Washington, I hope you'll note it.

I emphasized in that little interview we had the importance of friendships. Doesn't matter whether you're President of the United States or a senior at Phillips Academy or just beginning here or whatever. Friendships matter. And the friendships you make here last you for the rest of your life, and I'm grateful for that. Some other things don't change. Kindness doesn't change. The education and service that is embodied in the Phillips constitution—talk about—it says both goodness and kindness form the noblest character and lay the surest foundation of usefulness to mankind. And many young people have passed through these halls since those words were written. And yet, Andover's mission—excellence in education—remains as true in 1989 as it was when President Washington visited Phillips Academy 200 years ago to this very day.

The Andover mission states that education has always been the great equalizer and uplifter. And that, public or private, large or small, the schools of America are precious centers of intellectual challenge and creativity. And yet, they're more than that. For it is in school, as it was for me here at Phillips Academy, that we come to understand real values: the need to help the less fortunate, make ours a more decent, civil world.

As a student, for example, I remember we had in those days the Society of Inquiry, it was called. Community service—we did drives, sponsored by what was then known as the Society of Inquiry. And today, you have the Blue Key and the Community Service Program. All three reflect service to nation and service to neighbor.

And as a student, too, I learned, as I said, about education through some absolutely outstanding teachers. I don't like to single them out, but I was talking to Don about it. And I think my favorite was Dr. A.B. Darling. He lived right around the corner. We always tried to avoid his house, because you were summoned over there if you did real bad. [*Laughter*] But I learned from the discipline of his classes, and it's gone on for years and years in this great institution.

Today, as Don observed a few minutes ago, a new generation of teachers are helping to challenge and inspire. Excellence in education—a belief that we were put on Earth to help others. And back in the early forties, this formed the essence and character of Phillips Academy. And you can still feel its power today. For Phillips has much to be proud of as it enters a brand-new decade. Its curricula has never been more extensive. Its exchange program is broadening its horizons. Its minority recruitment and scholarship programs have brought a new vital diversity to the student body, and keeping Phillips such a special, even wondrous place. A place where we forge friendships for life with faculty, housemasters and ministers, administrators, and yes, our classmates.

Even the Father of our Country was impressed by Phillips Academy. As he wrote his nephew, and Don referred to some of this, in a letter after visiting the community: "Schooling, board, washing, and lodging will not much, if any, I am told, exceed $2 a week for each boy." Now, costs have changed a little since then. [*Laughter*] Quality has not, and in the capable hands of this headmaster, of this faculty, of the board, it will not.

And so, thank you for ensuring Andover's excellence, making one of America's oldest academies one of America's finest academies. And thank you very much from the bottom of my heart for what has been a joyous occasion, one I shall not forget. And I'll go back to work tomorrow feeling uplifted in knowing that I have the friendships that really make a difference. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:01 p.m. in Borden Gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to Frank DiClemente, faculty member emeritus; and David Underwood, chairman of the board of trustees. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Appointment of William Douglas Fritts, Jr., as an Executive Branch Commissioner-Observer on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

November 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint William Douglas Fritts, Jr., as an Executive Branch Commissioner-Observer on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He would succeed Louis F. Laun.

Mr. Fritts served as Senior Adviser on Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs at the Department of Commerce. Prior to this, he served as director of political affairs for the Health Insurance Association of America, 1985–1989; Senior Assistant to the Commissioner for the Social Security Administration, 1985; Senior Adviser to the Secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services, 1984–1985; and manager for Federal Government relations for Philip Morris, Inc., 1982–1984. He was Special Assistant to the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation at Health and Human Services, 1981–1982; executive assistant/legislative director to Senator Robert Dole, 1979–1981; assistant director of the Joint Republican Leadership Office and special assistant to House Minority Leader John Rhodes, 1977–1979; and floor assistant to the Republican Cloakroom at the United States House of Representatives, 1975–1977.

Mr. Fritts graduated from the University of Vermont (B.A., 1974). He was born November 13, 1950, in Glen Gardner, NJ. Mr. Fritts currently resides in Arlington, VA.

Appointment of Stephen John Hadley as an Executive Branch Commissioner-Observer on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

November 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Stephen John Hadley as an Executive Branch Commissioner-Observer on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He would succeed Ronald F. Lehman II.

Since 1989 Mr. Hadley has served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy at the Department of Defense in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was a partner with the law firm of Shea and Gardner in Washington, DC, 1981–1989, and an associate, 1977–1981. From 1974 to 1977, he was a staff member in the Office of Program Analysis for the National Security Council Staff, and a member of the Analysis Group for the Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1972–1974.

Mr. Hadley graduated from Cornell University (B.A., 1969) and Yale Law School (J.D., 1972). He was born February 13, 1947, in Toledo, OH. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1972–1975. He is married, has two daughters, and resides in Washington, DC.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting on POW/MIA Affairs With General John W. Vessey, Jr.

November 6, 1989

The President met today with Special Presidential Emissary for POW/MIA Affairs Gen. John W. Vessey, Jr., USA, Ret. They reviewed the progress made during General Vessey's discussions in Hanoi on October 29 and 30 with Vietnamese Vice Premier Nguyen Co Thach.

On the POW/MIA issue, General Vessey told the President that a number of agreements were reached. One was to refine and expand the process of joint cooperation to resolve the compelling discrepancy cases, including additional research to resolve the fate of these Americans. General Vessey told the President of his discussions on the progress and cooperation on the orderly departure program, the emigration of Amerasian children, and the resettlement of former reeducation center detainees. They also discussed the effort of American nongovernmental organizations to assist the people of Vietnam with humanitarian help.

Finally, the President and General Vessey discussed perspectives on Cambodia. The President said he was very pleased to hear of the agreements to expand efforts to resolve the POW/MIA issue and looks forward to continued progress on this and other humanitarian concerns.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Charles Frankel Prizes for Distinguished Service to the Humanities

November 6, 1989

First, I want to welcome Dr. Lynne Cheney, the National Endowment Chairman, and then greet the members of the Council on the Humanities—distinguished educators and, of course, most of all, our honorees. I also see Daphne Wood Murray out here, Director of the Institute of Museum Services, and Diane Payton, the Executive Director of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

So, let me welcome all of you. Barbara and I are just delighted to be here. And let me also say what a pleasure it is to be able to honor you, the first recipients of the National Endowment for the Humanities Charles Frankel Prize. Ralph Emerson once wrote: "The scholar is a student of the world." Well, the Frankel Prize was created this year to recognize scholars who are teachers of the world—those who have led a lifetime of study and whose scholarship has brought history, literature, philosophy, and other humanitarian disciplines to millions. And together they've helped bring an appreciation of the humanities to farms and inner cities and gentle, small towns, reaffirming the magic of the spoken and written word and fostering a variety of public programs—in museums, in libraries, in schools—showing how higher learning can spur nation and neighborhood.

We are a people curious about our own traditions and about those of other nations. And our cultural institutions are encouraging that curiosity with a variety of thoughtful, intellectually challenging programs. The Frankel Prize winners are leaders in this movement. The honorees are diverse, creative, an energetic group. And as such, they represent the vitality of the humanities in the Nation as a whole.

As a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, Daniel Boorstin has told the American story to millions around the globe—not to mention his role as Librarian of Congress Emeritus.

And as president of Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History, Willard "Sandy" Boyd, former president of the University of Iowa, made world-renowned collections available to more Americans each year.

And then there's Clay Jenkinson. His characterization of Thomas Jefferson has enchanted audiences from schoolkids to senior citizens. And he's led the revival of the Chautauqua—that institution that teaches about the ideas and lives of giant figures in history, philosophy, politics, and the arts.

And Americo Paredes—author, folklorist, professor emeritus at the University of Texas in Austin. Illness prevents him from being with us today, but we want to honor his splendid efforts to bring the richness of Mexican-American culture to us all.

And finally, Patricia Bates, a national consultant on reading programs. Her scholar-led teaching and discussion groups have become a model for programs in libraries across the country.

You know the story about Benjamin Franklin dining out in Paris. And one of the other diners asked a question: What condition of man deserves the most pity? Everybody gave an example of what condition that might be. And Franklin's turn came, and his answer was: a lonesome man on a rainy day who does not know how to read. Well, for decades, you've shown the value of reading and thinking, of probing and questioning. And by instilling a greater understanding of the text, themes, and ideas of the humanities, you've inspired countless others to do the same. And for that, my congratulations!

And let me commend, too, the hundreds of nominees considered by the Endowment; the 26 members of the National Council on the Humanities which reviewed the nominations; and, yes, Lynne Cheney, whose idea it was to recognize those who have brought the humanities to a wider audience. Each of you reflects what Samuel Johnson called the salutory influence of example.

Each of you underscores the reasons that we gather here today. And that reason, of course, is one man's life, a very special life, the life of Charles Frankel, professor at Columbia and Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, a network television host, a writer, narrator, author of 12 books, including "The Case For Modern Man." As the first President and Director of the National Humanities Center, Charles Frankel was a model scholar and citizen. And he knew the vital role that the humanities play in the life of our society—and through enduring scholarship and concern.

And so, in honoring him, we honor the concepts of teaching and learning; in short, the joy of knowledge. So, let me present now—Lynne, with your help—the first Charles Frankel Prizes for Distinguished Service to the Humanities, and say on behalf of every citizen: America thanks you from the bottom of our hearts.

God bless you all. Thank you very, very much. And thank you for all you've done.

Note: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Nomination of Stephen J. Ledogar for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as United States Representative to the Conference on Disarmament

November 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Stephen J. Ledogar, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United States Representative to the Conference on Disarmament.

Since 1987 Ambassador Ledogar has served as U.S. Representative to the European conventional arms negotiations and the U.S. Representative for mutual and balanced force reductions negotiations with the rank of Ambassador. Prior to this, he served in various positions at the Department of State, including deputy chief of mission at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels, Belgium, 1981–1987; member of the executive seminar in national and international affairs, 1980–1981; Director of the Office of NATO Affairs in the European Bureau, 1977–1980; special assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology, 1976–1977; deputy political adviser for the U.S. Mission to NATO in Brussels, Belgium, 1973–1976; senior training at Stanford University in Palo Alto, CA, 1972–1973; and press spokesman and member of the U.S. delegation for the Paris Vietnam peace talks, 1969–1972. In addition, Ambassador Ledogar has served as officer in charge of the pacification programs and Vietnam working group in the East Asian Bureau at the Department of State, 1967–1969; and as the Department of State Representative for the Pentagon National Military Command Center, 1967.

Ambassador Ledogar graduated from Fordham University (B.S., 1954; LL.B., 1958). He was born September 14, 1929, in New York, NY. Ambassador Ledogar served in the U.S. Navy, 1949–1952 and 1954–1960. He is married, has two children, and resides in Vienna, VA.

Nomination of Robert William Houk To Be Public Printer
November 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert William Houk to be Public Printer. He would succeed Ralph E. Kennickell, Jr.

Mr. Houk has served in several capacities at UFORMA/SHELBY Business Forms, Inc., including president, 1968–1988; chairman of the board, 1971–1988; and vice president-sales, 1966–1968. Prior to this he served as assistant sales manager for Rotary Manifold Forms Corp. in Detroit, MI, 1957–1966, and as an analyst for the Ford Motor Co. in Dearborn, MI, 1954–1957.

Mr. Houk graduated from Michigan State University (B.A., 1951). He was born May 13, 1927, in Detroit, MI. Mr. Houk served in the U.S. Army, 1945–1947 and 1952–1954. He is married, has two children, and resides in Shelby, OH.

Nomination of Barry Lambert Harris To Be Deputy Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration
November 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Barry Lambert Harris to be Deputy Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. He would succeed Barbara McConnell Barrett.

Mr. Harris has served as the president and chief executive officer of the Alliance Corp. in Portland, ME, and Community Systems, Inc., in Gloucester, MA. Prior to this, he was the assistant city manager of Gloucester, MA; director of community programs for the metropolitan area planning council in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; a documentary writer-producer for WBZ–TV in Boston, MA; and a news writer for WINS radio in New York, NY.

Mr. Harris attended Denison University and Harvard University. He served in the U.S. Army and is currently an officer in the inactive Army Reserve. Mr. Harris was born January 13, 1939, in Cincinnati, OH. He is married, has four children, and resides in Cumberland Foreside, ME, and Ocean Ridge, FL.

The President's News Conference
November 7, 1989

Well, good morning. And I'm back again. [*Laughter*] I just heard you, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News].

I've got to be careful on these dates. [*Laughter*] Today is November 7th, and I was elected on November 8th. But it was the second Tuesday. And so, I want to take this election day, the anniversary of my own election, to briefly reflect on the last 10 months. I believe that we've had, so far, a successful first year in office.

And although we haven't reached the actual anniversary mark, January 20th, it's a good chance to take stock of the situation, particularly as Congress is winding down. There is legislation yet to be passed and certainly opportunities to be developed. But I am very pleased that our administration has come together rapidly with good people, with good ideas, and with a quiet sense of purpose that promises great progress in the years ahead.

Around the world, we've seen the most dramatic moves toward democracy in at least 40 years, as people of one country after another have expressed their yearning for freedom. In Eastern Europe and in Central America and in the Soviet Union, important decisions have been made for freedom or reforms. We've supported those efforts with a substantial aid package to Poland, trade benefits for Hungary, a bipartisan agreement with Congress on Central America, coordinated international support for Eastern Europe reforms, special arms control initiatives on chemical weapons and conventional forces in Europe, and then in progress in START talks. In addition, we've set the timeframe for a summit with the Soviets, and we're on the verge of an informal meeting with President Gorbachev.

One area that has not changed is the underlying strength of the American economy. We have the longest peacetime economic expansion in history—119 million Americans at work, the creation of over 20 million new jobs since 1982. The unemployment rate is only 5.3 percent, a rate that we've not achieved for a full year since 1970. Inflation remains moderate. I'm not happy with it, but it's moderate and appears to be under control.

Though the economy is sound, we must make real progress on deficit reduction. Sequestration is a drastic action, but neither the administration nor the Congress must flinch from our obligation to keep this nation's deficit moving down and, ultimately, reduce the debt. And I am pleased that I've kept my pledge on taxes. Our savings and loan system has been redesigned. The Congress accepted my proposals giving our workers a higher minimum wage and establishing a training wage for the first time. The Brady plan for dealing with the Third World debt has been successfully demonstrated in Mexico and Costa Rica. Many nations' problems remain unsolved, but the Brady plan is widely accepted.

It's in a setting of internal strength that we're poised to deal effectively with external change and to provide new directions for our society. At the education summit and in legislative initiatives on clean air, ethics, educational excellence, violent crime, child care, and our national drug strategy, we offer new approaches for improving the quality of our lives. And so, I urge the Congress to move quickly to enact these proposals.

My approach to Congress has been based on a bipartisan effort—I think everybody here knows that—started off with an effort to work with the leadership in a bipartisan manner. And so, we can reach agreement on major issues. In the course of our debates, there have sometimes been pointed and somewhat sharp attacks. But I'm going to continue to extend my hand to Congress in seeking solutions to the challenges that we face. I spoke 10 months ago of a kinder and gentler America, and I'm more convinced today than ever that we can shed light in the dark corners of our nation and give hope to the homeless and help to the needy, inspiration to millions of Americans who want to reach out and help their neighbors. And I'm pleased with the progress on this so-called Points of Light Initiative.

These challenges, coupled with our successes to date, have made these first 10 months especially gratifying to me and give me great hope for the future. So, I—on this anniversary of the election—I want to thank the American people on this election day for giving me this opportunity to serve. I'm enjoying it. I like the challenge.

And I'll be glad to take questions.

American Hostages in Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, the United States is returning $567 million in frozen assets to Iran. It says the action is not related to the plight of the eight Americans held hostage in Lebanon. Nevertheless, in mind with your comments that good will brings good will, do you hope that this will encourage Iran to help win the hostages' release?

The President. Well, as I say, I carry the fate of the hostages with me every single day. So, of course, I hope that Iran will use what influence it has to get these hostages released.

Q. Well, do you think that this could be a catalyst—Mr. Rafsanjani [President of Iran] could——

The President. I don't know. It's a very good question, and I don't know the answer to that. We have accounts where they owe American interest money and vice versa, and I'd like to get this underbrush cleaned out now. I think they have made some positive statements, but I don't know whether it will work that way or not. I hope that they will do what they can to influence those who hold these hostages. We're continuing behind the scenes to go follow certain rabbit trails there. And so far, they've ended up at dead-ends.

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. Mr. President, despite your aid packages to Hungary and Poland and so forth, President Carter says you've really been slow on the uptake on the most transforming political events of our time. You have failed to show the leadership. You have failed to put the U.S. ahead of the curve on these things that are happening, and you are going to the summit without any initiatives at all. I mean, this is boasted about. Why don't you have some new ideas of what to talk——

The President. Now, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], that is not a kinder and gentler way to phrase your question. [*Laughter*] We have done plenty. And the fact that some critics are out there equating progress with spending more money doesn't bother me in the least. Look at the dynamic changes that are taking place around the world.

Q. Well, this is it.

The President. Well, I'd like to hear some specific suggestions other than triple the spending on every initiative. We are working closely with our allies. We are trying to facilitate the change. I don't hear complaints coming out of our allies or, indeed, out of Hungary or Poland or Eastern Europe. We've got a seasoned team that is evaluating the change. I will have a wonderful opportunity to discuss the change with Mr. Gorbachev. But I can't be all concerned when people jump up and say the answer is to spend more money.

Q. No, that isn't it.

The President. Well, what is their answer?

Q. The perception is that European leaders are leading the way, and they're telling you what is really happening, and we have been sitting back and letting it all happen without doing anything.

The President. Well, that's the perception of some that aren't quite as familiar with the problem as I am, and it is not the perception of the European leaders. How do I know? Because I just talked last night with the Ambassadors of three countries who had an entirely different perception.

Q. Who were they?

Deficit Reduction

Q. Mr. President, on the budget, there is some question as to whether when Congress finally, if it does, sends you the reconciliation, that is to say, the budget-cutting bill—what it will take for you to sign it. Are you prepared to go beyond the agreement that you have reached with the Members of Congress, with the leaders of Congress? Are you going to require a more stringent budget-cutting measure, something equal, for example, to the sequester, the cuts that have already gone into effect in order to satisfy you and get you to sign it?

The President. If we get a clean reconciliation bill—and I'll know that when I see it—I'd be glad to sign such a bill if it gets the kinds of real reductions that we want. I think the range was $14 billion. But if not, why, we have to follow the law. But the Congress knows—I mean, we've been very frank with the leadership as to what must happen if we are to sign such a bill. But if they don't send it down here in clean form, if it's all loaded up with a lot of special projects, I will not sign it. I can't sign it. But I will then do what the law requires and keep in sequester and make the tough decisions that go with that. That isn't easy, but it is real deficit reduction.

Vice President Quayle

Q. Why did you commit to Dan Quayle so early for '92? You're thought to be such a cautious, prudent man. Why did you shut off your options so early?

The President. Because I thought that was a prudent and right thing to do.

Q. Well, all right. Are you saying that Dan Quayle is your choice right now, but——

The President. I'm not saying I'm running right now. So, we've got to get back to square one. I mean, that one——

Q. Are you?

The President. I'm not saying whether I am or not. [*Laughter*] So, we're getting way out ahead of where reality is. But I was asked the question, and I answered it open, straight.

Q. Are you saying he's your choice right now, but you leave your options open for——

The President. No, I said he's my choice, period.

Chairman Krenz of East Germany

Q. When Egon Krenz first came to power in East Germany, you said it was way too early to say whether he represented more of the same, which seemed to be your sense at the time, or whether he represented the leading edge of further reform. Seeing the dramatic events unfold in East Germany, what is your conclusion about Egon Krenz—his intentions and his directions?

The President. I think it's still too early to sum it up entirely, but some of what he has said about political reform is quite encouraging and really contradicts the very early, I would say, global assessment of the man. In other words, the early predictions were that he's a hardliner in the mode of Mr. Honecker. And now some of what he is saying is quite different from that. And Mrs. Honecker is not there anymore. [*Laughter*]

So, you're seeing some changes—you're seeing some changes. Well, she's out as a minister, and another minister—and you're beginning to see changes that might preview—[*laughter*]—what are you guys laughing at—a new order. So, look, this gets me back almost to Helen's question. Things are happening very fast. The concerted opinion was that this was going to be another hardliner in the mode of Mr. Honecker. Now there are some signs that that's not the case. So, we will watch that very carefully.

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. If I may follow up, Mr. President: Do you feel that things have now gone too far in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union, for the clock to be turned back—for a Tiananmen Square-type crackdown? And do you feel any need to assist the West Germans in all of this?

The President. Well, the West Germans have not requested assistance. And I am in very close touch with the Federal Chancellor, and I'm most anxious to talk to him when he returns from his first 6-day visit to Poland. I talked to him just very recently, as a matter of fact, about what we're doing. And that's why I stated rather confidently that European leaders don't seem to agree—when I answered Helen's question—with some of the political criticism I get from Capitol Hill or elsewhere.

What was the first part?

Q. Gone too far?

The President. No, I don't think you can ever say gone too far. I mean, who predicted with certainty what would happen in Tiananmen Square? But I think it's gone too far to set back these fledgling—I don't want to say democracies, but steps towards democracy. I think it's gone too far for that. I don't think you can contain now the people's aspirations for freedom by going back to totalitarianism.

Abortion

Q. Mr. President, a question about your priorities. You mentioned the aid to Poland and Hungary, which has passed the Congress. But that bill also contains some provision for abortion, and you say you will veto the whole bill because of it. You have vetoed programs, budgets for the District of Columbia because of abortion, the HHS budget because of abortion. And some of these vetoes have included programs that you said were your very highest priorities, including drug programs and so forth. Is abortion your very first domestic priority above and beyond everything——

The President. No.

Q. Well, how committed are you? Why are you vetoing all these bills?

The President. Because I can't, in good conscience, on this one, suggest that taxpayers' money ought to go to programs that compel abortion. And that has been the problem with the China program; and therefore, I can't do that.

Q. Our money is blocked off.

The President. I can't do it, and I'm sorry. I am not going to change that policy. I am strongly in favor, and always have been, of family planning. I've been out front for family planning for a long time and as a Member of Congress way back there. But I simply cannot support—and I asked the Congress not to try to make me change—a policy where the AID people will tell you it supports compulsory abortion. I am not going to do that.

Q. But the American money is spent away from that.

The President. And there's other things in that bill that I don't like, too, Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News]. This leveraging provision—I mean, should I be told by the Congress that I can't go and ask other countries to support Poland? Should I?

Q. I don't know about the leveraging. What is it?

The President. Well, I do. And that's one of the things that's wrong with it. So, I am concerned. Now, that's kind of a post-Iran-*contra* thing. They're saying you can't go get money for certain things. But in Congress intervening in the President's authority like this—they are asking me to accept things that I'm not going to accept.

Q. May I follow up on the abortion part, though?

The President. How many followups do you get?

Q. This is my followup. In the China family planning program, the American money would not have anything to do with abortion. And also in the DC bill that you vetoed, the Federal money would not go to abortion. You seem to be saying you want to effect the policy beyond the Federal role.

The President. Well, look, there are many issues—and abortion divides. We have room in our party for people that feel one way, prolife or prochoice—Democratic Party the same way. I think everyone knows that this is an issue that divides. But you say: Is it the most important issue for me? Absolutely not.

Global Climate Change

Q. You're probably ready for this one. But you campaigned as an environmentalist; you said you were a strong environmentalist. Yet on the issue of global warming, it seems that the U.S. is being dragged kicking and screaming into trying to address this problem. How do you respond to that?

The President. I respond to it by saying it's not true.

Q. Why are you resisting the moves in this international conference now to limit emissions?

The President. We're just standing off against extremes. We have a unanimous communique out of that global conference. We have an outstanding environmentalist in Bill Reilly. We have an outstanding scientist in Dr. Bromley [Science Advisor to the President]. They agree that our approach to all of this is right. And I think this policy of the environment cannot be driven by the extremes.

But I would like to take your question to challenge the United States Congress to go forward on the revisions to the Clean Air Act, on other initiatives that we have supported, instead of sitting back there and carping about it. And if they don't like our way, go ahead and try it, and then add to it in later years. But they sit there and argue back and forth with each other, and nothing happens.

In this global conference, I can tell you United States science is the best in terms of global warming. And we will be in the lead, as we are now, with our science on global warming. But you can't take a policy and drive it to the extreme and say to every country around the world you aren't going to grow at all. We've got to use our science to help solve this problem.

Abortion

Q. Mr. President, the gubernatorial campaigns, as you know, in New Jersey and Virginia were dominated by the abortion issue. Some prochoice Republicans are disturbed with your current position. What advice are you going to give Republican legislative and congressional candidates next year when the Democrats start pounding on them on this issue?

The President. Well, they've already started—those who favor the prochoice have already started pounding on them, and started certainly pounding on me. But you see: One, I think our party is broad enough to contain differing views on this, and I think the Democratic Party is. You see that out there in practice. Secondly, I don't believe that most voters are single-issue voters. There is no evidence to support that, none at all. Indeed, I hate to talk about polls because I don't believe them when I see ugly things. But I can tell you that that issue ranks about 9th to 14th if you talk to a pollster like Bob Teeter. I can't remember whether it was 14th or 9th, so I'm giving you a range there. But people are not, for the most part, single-issue voters. They care about war and peace. They care about the environment. They care about education. They care about antinarcotics. They care about crime in their neighborhoods. So, when you see all this attention to this question, I happen to think it's those that are editorializing, the columnists, or some in the political arena, that think the voter is a one-issue voter. I don't agree with that, and I've seen no evidence.

Q. But if Republicans cling to the hope that you might change your position, are they wrong because you're going to——

The President. I have no intention of changing my position. It's so personal—I just come down more on the side of life. I mentioned in my speech last year, a year-plus ago, of adoption and what it's meant. Look, I don't fault people that view this differently. As I say, there's plenty of room for difference. But it's not one, John [John Mashek, Boston Globe], where people—a single issue, as some would like to believe.

Former President Reagan's Trip to Japan

Q. Mr. President, your predecessor, Ronald Reagan, just came back from a trip to Japan, where he collected $2 million for some speaking engagements. Eventually, you're going to be an ex-President. Is that the kind of behavior that you anticipate yourself endorsing, and accepting that kind of money?

The President. I will not have anything negative to say about President Reagan, if that's an invitation for this, because I would prefer to emphasize the positive parts of that trip: talking openly about the need for freer trade, the affection shown to him by the Japanese people. It's important symbolism when it comes to this relationship that sometimes has strain. And what happens in the future, I don't know.

Q. Excuse me, a followup, sir?

The President. Followup? I don't know—this line? Do you want to change——

Q. This is an invitation, sir, to ask your opinion of former Presidents being paid by private industry once they're out of office.

The President. I have no problem with that, provided it's not overdone. Everybody's got to make a living.

Soviet Military Policies

Q. I'd like to return to Vice President Quayle for a minute. On Sunday, the Vice President said that the Soviets retain expansionistic attitudes in Central America, Afghanistan, and several other parts of the world. He suggested that Gorbachev was a Stalinist and also suggested that the Soviet defense budget is growing while ours is declining. Do you agree with those three assessments?

The President. That their defense budget is growing? Yes. I'd like to find a way to reverse that. And out of the challenge that lies ahead to both Gorbachev and me, perhaps there will be a way to reverse it. One way to do that, I think, is through prudent arms control. The best way to do it is to do it through success in the conventional force in Europe talks, the CFE talks, because that's dollar intensive—or ruble intensive, if you will.

Q. The other two points, Mr. President?

The President. What were they?

Q. That the Soviets are expansionists in Central America, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and other parts of the world; and this is a problem in our improving relations with the Soviets.

The President. Well, I have long been concerned—as I think I said when I announced the Gorbachev meeting—concerned about some of these regional issues. And I think we'll have a real opportunity to discuss the Soviet role in aid for Nicaragua—the one country—well, not the one, but one of the few that's swimming against the democratic tide here. And it does not help U.S.-Soviet relations to have enormous expenditures supporting a Sandinista dictatorship.

So, I think there's plenty of room for discussion there, and I look forward to talking to the Soviet leader, just as President Reagan did. But now it's a little clearer—the election process coming forward, and I want to see the election process succeed.

Q. But my question goes——

The President. I know where your question is going. [*Laughter*]

Q. ——broader than that. Is the Soviet Union continuing to be expansionist around the world?

The President. Well, I've told you, I've got concerns about certain areas, just as they've raised concerns with us on certain things.

Q. On Nicaragua?

The President. Yes, I'm concerned about continued support of Soviet weapons—or Soviet support. I want to be careful because the question of weapons is slightly complicated by how they get there and whether they're coming out of Cuba and have long been in Cuban hands. I mean, there are some problems there. But I think—look, to suggest the contrarywise to that, Ann [Ann Devroy, Washington Post], that there are no problems that exist between us, that everything is hunky-dory, simply is not reality. And that's one of the reasons I'm looking forward to this visit.

Q. Mr. President, when you're bobbing around in the Mediterranean next month, if Gorbachev should ask you to show forbearance in the event he cracks down domestically or in the event he feels it necessary to support a crackdown in Eastern Europe, how will you respond?

The President. I'm not going to buy into that hypothetical question.

POW's-MIA's in Vietnam

Q. Mr. President, you had a report yesterday on the POW-MIA issue. I wonder if you can give us some specifics about what General Vessey is accomplishing over there with regard to remains coming back and when? How many more? When we'll see it? And also, is there any information at all about people alive over there?

The President. No information at all about that. A new openness, according to General Vessey, on the part of the Vietnamese leaders, a new spirit, a stepped-up spirit of cooperation in terms of accounting for remains—their pointing out to him that they are confident that there are no government holding facilities for remains that maybe had existed in the past, pointing out to him that some families even might be holding remains—some individuals in Vietnam hoping for some sort of gain if people are putting bounty on these things or rewards out there.

But I think the bottom line is, he was quite encouraging about the kind of cooperation he was receiving. He also relayed to me what I think all of us know: that Vietnam keeps sending signals that they want improved relations.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, when did your Defense Secretary and CIA Director learn about your upcoming meeting with Mr. Gorbachev?

The President. I don't know exactly when they learned about it.

Q. Early on? July? October?

The President. No, not in July.

Q. Why did you keep it from them?

The President. Well, I've already explained why I did it the way I did. And——

Q. Did you feel they couldn't be trusted to keep it secret?

The President. No, it didn't occur to me they couldn't be trusted.

Q. How many people knew?

The President. When I first made up my mind, four. And then the circle was expanded. You can guess about that.

Legislative Initiatives

Q. Mr. President, you said that a number of your initiatives are languishing despite your bipartisan approach. If you're going to pursue them, what are you going to do to pursue them? What are you going to do differently?

The President. To do what?

Q. To pursue your initiatives in Congress—your domestic initiatives that——

The President. Try to urge you people to join me in calling out for congressional action, a plea to move forward to the Clean Air Act and the drug program and the ethics legislation, editorial pounding to get them to do what they ought to do: support the President as he tries to move this country forward in these areas, and not let them dominate debate by blocking everything I try to do.

Look, I'm a realist. They've got the votes up there. And I don't want to raise capital gains again. The votes are there. The majority of the House passed it; the majority of the Senate wants it. Please join me in a crusade for the people's will to be expressed on capital gains. That's the kind of thing we need.

Q. Sir, you probably, as a realist, understand that that might not happen. [*Laughter*]

The President. But it can happen. I mean, come on. You'll get on me when I do stuff wrong. Get on them. Say, why are you holding up the Clean Air Act? Why can't you move ethics legislation? Why don't you go forward on the drug program or on the educational initiative? And if they say it's not enough, take a step. Get your foot in the water. Do something. The American people know why this deficit isn't down. It's not down because they see, 4 to 1, that the Congress is to blame. Join me in this noble crusade.

Q. If bipartisanship doesn't work, sir, what are you going to do differently?

The President. Exhort. What else can I do? Veto and exhort. Send stuff down I can't accept; it goes back. A President has to show that that's his responsibility. But he's got to encourage the American people to get on their representatives to do what they want done. Our drug program is a good example. It came out with strong support from the American people, and yet the legislative pieces of that are languishing up there.

Q. A follow-on, on Frank's [Frank Sesno, CNN] question. In April, we were in the Rose Garden watching you and the congressional leaders announce the bipartisan budget package. And at the time, we were told, equally as important as what was in the package was the spirit of cooperation——

The President. Exactly.

Q. ——in forging it. My question is: What's happened? Where did you go wrong in that——

The President. You missed the answer to Frank's question. [*Laughter*] Where did someone else go wrong? We've been trying to cooperate in a bipartisan fashion. Look, if I make a big mistake, I'll admit it. But I don't think so when it comes to the approach to the budget. We've got some honest differences on some things, and maybe with George Mitchell [Senate majority leader] there's an honest difference on capital gains, for example. But we put that in our budget proposal; it was in there with a certain revenue figure next to it. I don't think I went wrong. That's my responsibility. Here's what I believe.

And I think that there's been a little bit of a partisanship that occurred up there.

When you hear them all come out with a rather unflattering word on the same day to describe my leadership, you begin to wonder—including the national chairman of the Democratic Party—you begin to wonder what goes awry. But let's leave aside the politics. I'll be ready come the fall of 1990. And let's move the legislative process forward.

Federal Budget

Q. This was supposed to be groundwork for cooperation on next year's budget, which was going to be the real tough one. Have we lost all hope of that now?

The President. Well, I think a lot on '91 depends on what happens in the last few days here, what kinds of decisions are made.

Q. Staying on the budget for a minute, the Pentagon feels it can't live with the consequences of a sequester, apparently. And you issued a statement last week saying that you're prepared to manage the Government under those circumstances. Does a person who campaigned as a candidate who would defend the Pentagon and keep defenses strong—how do you explain this to the people who supported you on the basis of keeping defensive spending high?

The President. I tell them please get in touch with the Congress, and do what we suggested back there when we had those meetings. Please help us keep the defenses of this country strong. But if that is frustrated by the inability to get an acceptable reconciliation bill, I have no choice. And I think the Pentagon leaders understand that. Dick Cheney has done a superb job. He has fought with diminishing resources for a sound Pentagon budget. And it troubles me to have Congress insensitive and also to add in. I mean, it's tough. Look, I know it's tough to cut systems. But you go to cut them, and Cheney makes some very tough decisions, backed by the President, and then the Congress trades around and adds them back in. And so, it's a question of staying with what we find is the priority for this defense program and trying to stay with it. But I've got to live with the system also.

Israel-U.S. Relations

Q. Are you willing to meet with Prime Minister Shamir when he comes to Washington?

The President. Whether he's coming or not, I'm not sure—certainly willing to consider it. And he is giving—I think there's a real effort now to work out support for the [Secretary of State] Baker points, the Baker proposals. And I'd like to feel that a meeting would be held and that it would be constructive, that we'd have something positive to talk about.

Aid to the Contras

Q. Mr. President, last week you said in response to the Nicaraguan decision to end the cease-fire that you would keep your options open. And yet the best headcounters—in fact, most of the worst headcounters—on the Hill all say you don't have the option of new military aid to the *contras.* So, isn't that in effect a meaningless statement?

The President. Well, I'll tell you, no, because I think one option now is to encourage in every way we can these talks that will result in a cease-fire. I worry about what Ortega has done. The only good thing about it: Everybody sees that he is swimming against the tide, and I think that it's much clearer to some in our hemisphere who are inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt. But I'm not going to give up on hoping that they can get back to the status quo ante here.

Q. So you don't believe, sir, that you still have the option of renewing military aid to the *contras*, do you?

The President. It would be extremely difficult to get the money, if that's what you're saying, yes.

Nancy Reagan's Memoirs

Q. Mr. President, Nancy Reagan says that you went to see her and said you agreed that Don Regan should leave as Chief of Staff, but that when she asked you to go to President Reagan, you said that was not your role. Number one, is that the way you remember it? And number two, now that Quayle is Vice President, if you thought there was someone who was not serving you well, do you agree that it's not his role to come and tell you that?

The President. No, I think it's his role to tell me anything that's on his mind, which is exactly the relationship I had with President Reagan, and that's the way I worked as Vice President.

Q. But, sir, could you just answer——

The President. No, I can't help you on that. I don't want to get into that one. [*Laughter*]

Q. Why? [*Laughter*]

The President. What was the next question? Why? Never mind. [*Laughter*]

Negative Campaigning

Q. Mr. President, given that today is election day, I wonder if you're satisfied with the level of political discourse you see and if you think that this negativism that is being raised in one campaign after another is excessive and if you feel you can do anything about it yourself, given that your last campaign was quite negative—or critical, if you prefer that word?

The President. I think everybody would prefer the positives. What some consider negative, others consider factual. So, you always have a judgmental problem there. But I'm not sure there is much that a President can do about it in terms of—I don't want to inhibit a candidate from taking his case to the people or her case to the people in any way he or she sees fit. On the other hand, I think the American people have a way of sorting out what's fair and what's not fair, what's ugly and what isn't ugly. And I have great confidence in that, that they're right—this election day, a year ago. I think they sorted through some of these allegations that this was the ugliest, dirtiest campaign, and I think they voted on a more positive basis than that.

Q. Mr. President, coming off of Ken's [Ken Walsh, U.S. News and World Report] question, though, how do you respond to those who suggest that the negative campaigning that started earlier in this campaign than usual is a legacy of '88, when it was shown to be successful?

The President. Well, I don't say anything started in 1988 that hadn't been taking place in '86 or '84 or '82 or '80. You know, if you look into history, you're going to have certain things that are considered negative. I don't have to stand here and defend the campaign of 1988. I'd be perfectly prepared to do it, but I was elected. I put confidence in the American people, their ability to sort through what is fair and what is unfair, what is ugly and what is un-ugly, and be as positive as possible.

But while people were running around in campaigns talking about ads this year, the candidates have been out there taking their case on various issues out there. So, I think there's a little bit of a beltway syndrome here in terms of this intense focus on negativism. And yet if their trend is that way, maybe I can have a role in seeing that it gets a little more positive.

Q. How would you do that?

The President. Well, say I think it ought to be a little more positive. [*Laughter*] I mean, what else can you do? I'm certainly not going to legislate it and certainly not going to try to dictate to a candidate how he or she reacts in a certain situation. But I suppose there will be a lot of interpretation on one candidate or another, and we'll all go back to whether there—need some other way to approach this. But when you get right down to it, I do not want to see legislation try to get into this question. It gets into a censorship mode that I just would feel very uncomfortable with.

Former President Nixon's Trip to China

Q. Mr. President, President Nixon's public comments about his meetings with Chinese leaders seem to imply that the Chinese believe that now it's time for the U.S. to act if we want better relations with the Chinese. Was there anything that the former President told you in private that encourages you in thinking that relations with the Chinese will improve, and anything we can do?

The President. The Chinese have a slogan: "He who ties the knot should untie it." The Chinese still feel that we tied the knot and thus should untie it. I don't feel that way.

President Nixon's visit to China was very helpful because he was an unofficial visitor. He is respected in China as a *lao peng you*—old friend. He is a man who opened a relationship with China when things were extraordinarily difficult—not just a lack of communication, but go back to history and take a look at the—you were in the last vestiges of the Cultural Revolution, where many, many, many people—hundreds of thousands—reportedly lost their lives.

So, he went there at a difficult time. He saw the fundamental importance of this relationship, as I do. He could speak quite frankly to the Chinese leaders; and they, in turn, spoke very frankly to him. And I think he made the point that we didn't tie the knot. Now, I think that helps because of the respect the leaders in China have for President Nixon. I think that visit was very constructive. He carried no messages from me. He was not on a semiofficial mission or anything of that nature. But I think I have a better feeling of where Chinese leaders stand at this point because of having been debriefed by President Nixon. I wish there were some positive steps that I could suggest to them that they take. There are some things that I will keep private that I have quietly recommended. And we'll see where it goes.

But this relationship is important to us. As those of you who know my views on this question, I have never favored the concept of playing a Soviet card, playing a Chinese card. The relationship has to stand on its merits. Having said that, there is enormous geopolitical reasons for us to have relations with the People's Republic of China. And yet there is this affront, the Tiananmen Square situation.

And so, we've got to try now. And I would say I hope—with understanding from this group, who has your job to do, but I've got mine—in a quiet way to find steps that can be taken, perhaps on both sides, to see this relation move back towards more normalization. And the Nixon visit contributed to that very, very much in my view. At least it helped me in my thinking. I know those of us who visited with him found it extraordinarily helpful.

Q. Is Mr. Nixon's rehabilitation now complete, do you think? Is Nixon's rehabilitation now complete?

The President. Well, his views on China certainly are complete.

Thank you for your understanding and support on this election campaign. [*Laughter*]

Lebanon

Q. How about what's going on in Lebanon? President Bush, what do you think of what's going on in Lebanon?

The President. I want to take one question on Lebanon. I am deeply offended by the Aoun [Christian leader] supporters who tried to humiliate the [Maronite Catholic] patriarch yesterday. This does not contribute to peace in any way. I have expressed my support, obviously, for the tripartite process. We have been on the phone, in the past, to the Pope, to François Mitterrand, to the [U.N.] Secretary-General, to President Mubarak, to King Fahd, to others, to encourage not just the tripartite approach but others—particularly in thinking of the Secretary-General.

We have sent out a statement of support to the newly elected President Moawad. And the steps that Aoun's people took yesterday should be condemned, and it is wrong. And this idea of some discussion of a further grief on that marvelous country by partition is totally unacceptable to countries around the world. And so, I am glad this subject came up, and I will continue to try to find ways to show U.S. support for peace initiatives.

And we were discussing that this morning. I really think that special credit ought to go to the King of Saudi Arabia for convening those Taif meetings, and to the legislators that attended—the courage that they showed in going there. And the quest for freedom—I mean, the quest for peace in that country was so—you could just feel it in what those legislators are hoping to accomplish. And then along comes these followers that I would term totally out of order in going in there and trying to humiliate the Maronite patriarch, and it is just totally counterproductive.

And I hope that we can find a way to build on the new election, build on Syrian willingness to move those troops out, withdraw all foreign forces from Lebanon—and I'm talking about all foreign forces—reconciliation under President Moawad, and implement the reforms that have been addressed in Taif. And therein lies a formulation for peace.

But you're talking to one who feels the question of Lebanon all the time. I've been there. I've seen it as a peaceful crossroads in an always-troubled corner of the world. And I just hope that before I leave this job that I can, in some way, contribute to the restoration of peace in Lebanon.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President's 28th news conference began at 10:49 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Remarks Congratulating the Oakland Athletics on Winning the World Series

November 7, 1989

Mayor Wilson, officially, and to Mr. Walter Haas over here; an old friend of mine, and Wally, and Dr. Bobby Brown, the president of the American League; Tony La Russa and the players and staff of the Oakland A's; and also the distinguished Members of the enormous, effective congressional delegation from California; also the members of the Babe Ruth League championship teams from Forest Grove, Oregon; Cherry Hill, New Jersey; and Oakland, California, and anybody left over: Welcome to you. [*Laughter*]

It's a great day. And I feel this is a special and historic occasion. After all, I'll bet it's not often that the Oakland A's are honored by an unofficial scout for the Texas Rangers. [*Laughter*]

Today we're talking baseball and a team that is clearly and truly number one: the world champion Oakland A's. And the A's, of course, have this wonderful baseball heritage—nine world titles going back, what, 88 years, including four since coming to Oakland—a tradition of character and triumph, a tradition embodied, perhaps, by the elephant gracing your uniform sleeve. [*Laughter*] You read that any way you want, but I'm impressed. [*Laughter*]

And this year's champions were true to that heritage: 99 games won and the American League West. As Casey Stengel would say, "You could look it up." And then downing Toronto in the playoffs and sweeping the crosstown Giants in the "Battle of the Bay." I only wish Tony La Russa could help pilot my budget through Congress the way he piloted the A's to this World Series victory.

And what remarkable moments, really, for those of us that love sports you have given us: that saver, No. 43, charging from the bullpen. You know how the A's spell relief? E–C–K. And of the series' outstanding player—well, I'm just glad I'm not running for office against Dave Stewart. Perhaps a news weekly said it best of Dave's brilliance and community service: "In the eyes of his Oakland neighbors, Dave's MVP meant Most Valuable Person." And then there's perhaps baseball's all-time leading leadoff hitter, Rickey Henderson, stealing a ton of bases, stealing the hearts of Oakland, and Mark McGwire, of the Bash Brothers, and, of course, Jose Canseco and Walt Weiss and Carney Lansford and Terry Steinbach and, yes, Dave Henderson. Let me say: With your homers against the Giants, when I go to talk to Mr. Gorbachev about reducing offensive weapons, I'm going to tell him that Hendu's bat is not negotiable. [*Laughter*]

Big leaguers all, each contributing big-time to the cause, a cause led by Tony La Russa, a lawyer and an even greater manager, and one of baseball's pioneering front-office staffs as well—a club which hit superbly and fielded brilliantly and which, spurred by Mike Moore and Bob Welch, Storm Davis, an outstanding bullpen, echoed your franchise's founder, Connie Mack, who said, "Pitching is 90 percent of baseball."

And this year, the A's built on 1988, delighting some of baseball's greatest fans. Think of it: regular-season attendance of almost 2.7 million. No wonder the Haases are smiling here—[*laughter*]—with some of the greatest baseball played since Abner Doubleday got his tape measure out and started laying out the diamond.

And, yes, champions on the field and champions off it, for you helped the bay area through some hard and tragic times, as did those equally magnificent Giants. And the earthquake which shook northern California delayed the series and for a moment paralyzed the entire region. But like the citizens of Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose, you, too, bounced back, overcoming adversity, uniting a populace, showing how true pros perform when the odds are longest and the evening darkest and the game is on the line—the game of baseball or the larger game of life. And for that I congratulate you and each American salutes you.

The great pitcher Dizzy Dean used to say: "It ain't bragging if you can back it up." Well, first in the regular season, first in the post-season, here stand the championship Oakland A's. And in 1989 you sure backed it up. And to you we all say: Well done!

Thank you so very much for coming to the White House. Thank you for the example you set for the young people in this country, and God bless you all. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:02 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Oakland Mayor Lionel J. Wilson, team owner Walter Haas and his son Wally, and relief pitcher Dennis Eckersley.

Memorandum on Intellectual Property Rights

November 7, 1989

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Enforcement of Section 337 of the Tariff Act of 1930

In view of your memorandum advising me of the decision to permit adoption of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) panel report on section 337 of the Tariff Act of 1930, I am setting out the Administration's policy regarding Presidential review of section 337 orders.

I am committed to the adequate and effective protection of U.S. intellectual property rights. This Administration places the highest priority on strengthening the enforcement of intellectual property rights in the Uruguay Round and in bilateral negotiations.

Pending enactment of legislation amending section 337, which could most effectively occur through Uruguay Round implementing legislation, the Administration will continue to enforce section 337 without change. The Congress by law has authorized me to disapprove section 337 orders for policy reasons. In accordance with this Administration's existing practice, use of this authority should be considered only in those unusual circumstances where compelling public policy reasons may require disapproval. Pending legislative modification, the GATT panel report should not provide a basis for changing current practice with respect to Presidential review or for disapproving section 337 orders.

I appreciate your assurance that the USTR-led interagency process will give the highest priority to working with the Congress, the U.S. International Trade Commission, and the private sector to develop an effective, GATT-consistent section 337 mechanism.

GEORGE BUSH

White House Statement on the Ministerial Conference on Atmospheric Pollution and Climate Change

November 7, 1989

President Bush announced today that the United States has agreed with other industrialized nations that stabilization of carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions should be achieved as soon as possible. The United States also agreed that it is timely to investigate quantitative targets to limit or reduce carbon dioxide emissions. The United States was joined by over 70 countries attending the Ministerial Conference on Atmospheric Pollution and Climate Change in Noordwijk, The Netherlands.

In joining the declaration at the Ministerial Conference, the United States recommended that international funding be directed toward funding a chlorofluorocarbons (CFC's) phaseout in developing countries and promoting efficient use of energy. In addition, the declaration:

- urges all countries to take steps individually and collectively to promote greater energy conservation and efficiency;
- recognizes the need to stabilize the emissions of carbon dioxide and some other greenhouse gases, while ensuring sustainable development of the world economy;
- agrees that developing countries will need to be assisted financially and technically;
- urges all countries to join and intensify the ongoing work in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) with respect to a framework convention.

The President said: "I asked my EPA Administrator, Bill Reilly, and my Science Advisor, Allan Bromley, to continue the leadership role which the U.S. has performed since the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was formed in 1988."

The President also praised the conference for providing the United States an excellent opportunity for useful consultations, both informally and formally, with many of the participating countries, including many countries that have not previously been active in the IPCC process. President Bush also noted that such conferences contribute substantially to the growing consensus among policymakers with respect to global climate change.

William Reilly, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Dr. Allan Bromley, Science and Technology Advisor to President Bush, emphasized during the conference that the United States currently devotes $500 million to the study of issues related to climate change and plans to increase this to about $1 billion in FY 1991. Additionally, through such measures as the Clean Air Act, more stringent fuel efficiency standards for automobiles, aggressive energy conservation, and reforestation programs, among others, the United States is already playing a leading role in reducing CO_2 emissions. The President announced in March that the United States was committed to total phaseout of CFC's by the year 2000. CFC's account for about 25 percent of United States greenhouse emissions.

The United States delegates emphasized their support for the IPCC process, in which it chairs the Response Strategies Working Group, one of three such working groups. The IPCC will hold a plenary meeting in Washington, DC, in February 1990. Special reports on the science, effects, and responses to global warming will be available later in 1990.

In parallel with this work, a working group of the Domestic Policy Council, chaired by Dr. Allan Bromley, is undertaking an intensive program examining the potential impacts of climate change and their associated economic consequences. With the results of these working groups and the IPCC report in the fall of 1990, the United States expects to play a leading role negotiating the framework convention anticipated to be called for by the IPCC process. The

United States is currently developing policies based on sound analyses to guide national and international actions directed toward eventual solutions to greenhouse problems.

Nomination of Cynthia Shepard Perry To Be United States Ambassador to Burundi

November 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Cynthia Shepard Perry to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Burundi. She would succeed James Daniel Phillips.

Since 1986 Ambassador Perry has served as Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone. Prior to this, she was Chief of the Education and Human Resources Division at the Agency for International Development, 1982–1986; dean of international student affairs and professor of education at Texas Southern University in Houston, TX, 1978–1982; staff trainer for the United Nations Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1976–1978; and an in-country Peace Corps trainer in Kenya and a U.S. Information Service consultant in Kenya, Nigeria, and Zambia, 1974–1976. In addition, Ambassador Perry served as an associate professor of education and Associate Director of the Teacher Corps and Peace Corps at Texas Southern University in Houston, TX, 1971–1974; and Director of the National Teacher Corps at the University of Massachusetts School of Education, 1968–1971.

Ambassador Perry graduated from Indiana State University (B.S., 1968) and the University of Massachusetts (Ed.D., 1972). She was born November 11, 1928, in Terre Haute, IN. Ambassador Perry is married and has six children.

Nomination of Douglas B. Comer To Be Deputy Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks

November 7, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Douglas B. Comer to be Deputy Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks, Department of Commerce. He would succeed Donald W. Peterson.

Since 1987 Mr. Comer has served as an associate with the law firm of Akin and Gump in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was the president and chief executive officer of Electronic Processing, Inc.; chief counsel and staff counsel for the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts; and an Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Kansas.

Mr. Comer graduated from Baylor University (B.A., 1971) and Baylor University School of Law (J.D., 1975). He was born December 2, 1949, in Kansas City, MO. Mr. Comer is married, has one child, and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Appointment of Elliot L. Richardson as Special Representative of the President for the Multilateral Assistance Initiative for the Philippines

November 8, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Elliot L. Richardson to serve as Special Representative of the President for the Multilateral Assistance Initiative for the Philippines. As Special Representative, Ambassador Richardson will oversee and promote United States participation in the Multilateral Assistance Initiative (MAI). The MAI is a multisectoral, multilateral program of international support for democracy and economic growth in the Philippines. It is designed to help the Philippines restructure its economy in order to achieve broadly based, self-sustaining growth led by the private sector and to improve the quality of life of the people of the Philippines. Ambassador Richardson will work closely with the Philippine Government, the Congress, responsible U.S. Government agencies, other bilateral donor countries and multilateral institutions, and the private sector in carrying out his responsibilities as Special Representative.

Ambassador Richardson has a distinguished record of public service spanning more than four decades. Among the positions in which he served are Ambassador at Large and Special Representative of the President to the Law of the Sea Conference, 1977–1980; Secretary of Commerce, 1976–1977; Ambassador to the Court of St. James, 1975–1976; Attorney General of the United States, 1973; Secretary of Defense, 1973; Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970–1973; and Under Secretary of State, 1969–1970. Ambassador Richardson was the attorney general of Massachusetts, 1967–1969, and the Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, 1965–1967.

Ambassador Richardson graduated from Harvard College (A.B., 1941) and Harvard Law School (LL.B., 1947). He was born July 20, 1920, in Boston, MA. Ambassador Richardson served in the U.S. Army, 1942–1945. He is married, has three children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Appointment of Sig Rogich as Assistant to the President for Public Events and Initiatives

November 8, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Sig Rogich as Assistant to the President for Public Events and Initiatives. Mr. Rogich succeeds Stephen M. Studdert.

Before joining the White House, Mr. Rogich was the president and founder of R & R Advertising, the largest advertising and marketing firm in the State of Nevada. During the course of his career, he has participated in over 200 political campaigns. Most recently, Mr. Rogich served as director of advertising for the Bush/Quayle '88 campaign.

Mr. Rogich graduated from the University of Nevada-Reno (B.A., 1967). He has two daughters and resides in Las Vegas, NV.

Appointment of William T. Pryce as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

November 8, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of William T. Pryce as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Mr. Pryce will be Senior Director for Latin America and the Caribbean at the National Security Council.

Mr. Pryce is a career Foreign Service officer, whose most recent assignment was Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States in Washington, DC. He served as Minister-Counselor and deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Panama from 1982 to 1986. Prior to that he was deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Bolivia and Counselor for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City. Mr. Pryce joined the Foreign Service in 1958, after serving in the U.S. Navy from 1954 to 1958. During most of his career, he has specialized in Latin American and Eastern European affairs. His early assignments included Mexico City, Moscow, and Panama, as well as service in the Department as Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. After serving as chief of the political section in the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala City, Mr. Pryce was assigned in 1974 as chief of Soviet programs for the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. He attended the National War College in 1976, prior to serving as Executive Assistant to Ambassador at Large Ellsworth Bunker.

Born in San Diego, CA, Mr. Pryce grew up in Ebensburg, PA. He graduated from Wesleyan University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He is married to Joan MacClurg Pryce and has three children.

Continuation of Frank DeGeorge as Inspector General of the Department of Commerce

November 8, 1989

The President today announced that Frank DeGeorge will continue to serve as Inspector General of the Department of Commerce.

Since 1988 Mr. DeGeorge has been Inspector General at the Department of Commerce in Washington, DC, and has served as Acting Inspector General, 1987–1988. Prior to this he was Deputy Inspector General at the Department of Commerce, 1982–1988. He was Associate Deputy Administrator for the Veterans Administration, 1981–1982; Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Conservation and Renewable Energy at the Department of Energy, 1980–1981; Acting Assistant Secretary for Conservation and Renewable Energy at the Department of Energy, 1981; and Deputy Chief Financial Officer at the Department of Energy, 1979–1980. Mr. DeGeorge has served in several capacities at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, including Deputy Commissioner of Operations for Social Security, 1979; Associate Commissioner for Management and Administration, 1973–1979; Associate Commissioner for Management and Administration for Social Security, 1973–1979; Associate Administrator for Management, 1972–1973; and Assistant Administrator for Financial Management, 1971–1972.

Mr. DeGeorge graduated from LaSalle University (B.A., 1951). He was born September 18, 1929, in Philadelphia, PA. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1951–1953. He is married, has three children, and resides in College Park, MD.

Continuation of Charles A. Gargano as United States Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago

November 8, 1989

The President today announced that Charles A. Gargano will continue to serve as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

Since 1988 Mr. Gargano has served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. Prior to this, he served as the president of G.M. Development, Inc., in East Islip, NY, 1984–1988. He was vice president and general supervisor of construction and engineering at J.D. Posillico, Inc., 1983–1984; the Deputy Administrator at the Department of Transportation for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration in Washington, DC, 1981–1983; and vice president and general supervisor of construction and engineering at J.D. Posillico, Inc., 1963–1981.

Mr. Gargano graduated from Farleigh Dickinson University (B.S., 1976; M.B.A., 1977). He was born October 28, 1934, in Avellino, Italy. He is married, has two children, and resides in Dix Hills, NY.

Nomination of Robert Gregory Joseph for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as a Member of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Standing Consultative Commission

November 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Gregory Joseph for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United States Commissioner of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Standing Consultative Commission.

Since 1987 Dr. Joseph has served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy in Washington, DC. He also served as the Acting Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, 1987–1988. Prior to this, he was the Director of the Theater Nuclear Forces Policy, 1985–1987, and the Chief of the Nuclear Policy/Plans Section for the United States Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1982–1984. Dr. Joseph served at the Department of Defense in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy as the Assistant for Nuclear Policy, 1980–1981, and the Assistant for General Purpose Forces, 1979. He was the Assistant for Negotiations at the Department of Defense in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1978.

Dr. Joseph graduated from St. Louis University (B.A., 1971), the University of Chicago (M.A., 1973), and Columbia University (M. Phil., 1975; Ph.D., 1978). He attended the U.S. Naval Academy, 1967–1969. Dr. Joseph was born September 29, 1949, in Williston, ND. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Edward J. Philbin To Be a Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and Designation as Chairman

November 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward J. Philbin to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission for a term expiring December 31, 1993. He would succeed Heather J. Gradison. Upon confirmation he will be designated Chairman.

Since 1984 Mr. Philbin has served as Commissioner for the Federal Maritime Commission in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs, 1981–1984; assistant dean at the University of San Diego School of Law, 1970–1985; professor of law, 1973–1985; adjunct professor of law, 1969–1970; and partner with the law firm of Hesch, Hegner and Philbin, 1966–1970.

Mr. Philbin graduated from San Diego State University (B.S., 1957) and the University of San Diego School of Law (J.D., 1965). He was born August 7, 1932, in New York, NY. Mr. Philbin served in the United States Naval Air Reserve, 1949–1954, and the U.S. Air Force, 1957 to present. He currently serves as commander of the New Jersey Air National Guard. Mr. Philbin is married, has one child, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of Mary L. Schapiro To Be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission

November 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mary L. Schapiro to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 5, 1994. Ms. Schapiro has been serving on this Commission since November 1988 by recess appointment.

Ms. Schapiro served as general counsel and senior vice president for the Futures Industry Association, 1984–1988. Prior to this, she served as Counsel and Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Commodities Futures Trading Commission, 1981–1984, and as a trial attorney for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission in the manipulation and trade practice investigations unit of the division of enforcement, 1980.

Ms. Schapiro graduated from Franklin and Marshall College (B.A., 1977) and George Washington University National Law Center (J.D., 1980). She was born June 19, 1955, in New York, NY. Ms. Schapiro is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Tax Convention Concerning the Council of Europe and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

November 8, 1989

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification a Convention on Mutual Administrative Assistance in Tax Matters, among the member States of the Council of Europe and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), done at Strasbourg, January 25, 1988, and signed by the United States in Paris on June 28, 1989. I also transmit the report of the Department of State on the convention.

Under the convention, Parties will exchange information for the assessment, recovery, and enforcement of tax(es) and tax claims, and to assist in the prosecution of a taxpayer. The United States will exchange information on taxes on income or profits, capital gains, or net wealth imposed by the Federal Government and, in keeping with the U.S. Model Treaty, will not exchange information on State or local taxes.

The taxpayer protections available under the convention are at least as extensive as under the U.S. Model Treaty. Information provided by the United States to another party may not be released to a third party without U.S. consent.

The convention also provides for assistance in the recovery of taxes and for assistance in service of documents. The United States has chosen to reserve on these provisions, in accordance with the option available to all Signatories.

I recommend the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the convention and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 8, 1989.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua

November 8, 1989

The President met at 3 p.m. today with Violeta Chamorro, Presidential candidate of the United Nicaraguan Opposition. They discussed the great progress the opposition coalition has made in the struggle to bring democracy to Nicaragua. The President expressed to Mrs. Chamorro his best wishes for her and the Nicaraguan people. The President stated that the United States stands firmly behind the Nicaraguan opposition's demands for fairness in the campaign. The President and Mrs. Chamorro agreed that although the Nicaraguan Government has taken several measures to permit greater freedoms, the Sandinistas have not fully complied with their agreement of August 4 with the opposition coalition. More needs to be done, such as providing equal access to television and full amnesty for political prisoners.

The President and Mrs. Chamorro spoke about the need for the Nicaraguan Government to renew the cease-fire with the Nicaraguan resistance. Both expressed concern that a failure to do so might be used to suppress political activity and the free expression of political will by the Nicaraguan people. The President hopes that in the talks in New York between the Sandinistas and the resistance, the Nicaraguan Government will agree to make a cease-fire effective and permanent, and create the conditions whereby the resistance could voluntarily return to their homes in safety and with full political and civil rights.

Mrs. Chamorro stressed the importance of international observers to maintaining a free and fair electoral process. The President stated the Nicaraguan Government should welcome and fully cooperate with all observers, recognizing that a government that says it supports freedom should have nothing to hide. They also discussed international assistance to the electoral process and democratic forces in Nicaragua. Both leaders stated their conviction that such assistance will play a positive role in assuring a fair election.

The President looks forward to the day when, with a democratic government, Nicaraguans will have good political and economic relations with the United States and the rest of the free world, and will be able to begin rebuilding after decades of dictatorship. He received a letter from Mrs. Chamorro stressing that a Chamorro administration would be committed to reconciliation of the Nicaraguan people and reconstruction of the economy in peace and democracy. Should this occur, the President said the United States would be ready to lift the trade embargo and assist in Nicaragua's reconstruction.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Corazon C. Aquino of the Philippines

November 9, 1989

President Bush. Ms. President, welcome back to the United States, and welcome back to the White House. You last visited our country just months after the "miracle of people power." The changes in your country since that time are truly exciting. Your leadership has made the Philippines a beacon of democracy worthy of imitation throughout the world. Your economy is growing towards full recovery. We salute you, and we salute the Philippine people for vision, perseverance, and the successes that you have achieved.

We're looking forward to this opportunity to get better acquainted, to consult closely on the broad range of issues and concerns that we share. And high among these concerns, I know, is the promotion of private investment and trade between our two countries—the key to balanced, long-term growth.

Three years ago, when you rang the bell of freedom in Manila, America cheered and rose in awe. When your words rang from the rafters of our Congress, our leaders stood up and gave you the most thunderous reception given any foreign leader in more than a generation. And just yesterday, when you rang the bell on the New York Stock Exchange, the market climbed 26 points. [*Laughter*] So, the message is simple: From Main Street to Wall Street, America loves the Philippines, and America loves Cory Aquino.

You deserve our help, and you will get it. I pledge our continuing assistance to your government, and that means security assistance as well as aid to economic development. And it means cooperating in your important debt reduction program. Your priorities are our priorities: reform—administrative and economic; recovery—new investment, encouraged by sound infrastructure and sound policies; renewal—help with alleviating poverty and preserving the environment; resistance—to the murderous antidemocratic forces of the Communist insurgency.

Earlier this year, America's Independence Day marked the successful launch of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative. This unique program, developed with Japan and the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and other donors, bolsters your efforts to refuel and restructure the Philippine economy. Today Congress stands ready to provide support for the first year of America's contribution to this initiative. And my appointment of one of our most preeminent statesmen, Ambassador Elliot Richardson, as my personal representative for the initiative shows the priority we accord to its success. With your government's continued dedication to administrative reform, effective project implementation, economic restructuring, the promise of this initiative will be fulfilled.

It is fitting, President Aquino, that you should visit as we approach a Veterans Day weekend. In the darkest nights of this democracy, in the days immediately following Pearl Harbor, Americans and Filipinos fought and died together. Hallowed names like Bataan and Corregidor will always bind us together in pride as well as sorrow. It was because so many Philippine citizens sacrificed their lives that General MacArthur was able to wade ashore at Leyte Gulf with Philippine President Osmena. MacArthur had returned; and fighting side by side with your country, victory was achieved.

On a personal note, 45 years ago almost

to this very day, I was a 20-year-old kid piloting a torpedo plane on a raid against enemy shipping in Manila Bay. The exact date, I think, was November 13th. And President Aquino has often spoken of her belief that God has a plan, and I don't doubt it. For looking back today, I realize that, as I safely flew back to that ship on that November day in 1944, somewhere far below was the town of San Mateo, where an 11-year-old girl, a convent student, waited with her family. She was a remarkable child, devoted to her studies and to her faith, fiercely proud of her family and her people. And today it is a privilege and an honor for me to welcome her to the White House, the elected leader of the Republic of the Philippines, President Corazon Aquino.

Ms. President, in 1986, as in World War II, your nation faced a moment of truth. And once again the people of the Philippines proved their courage to the world. Down through the decades, our two peoples have shared a strong commitment to freedom, democracy, peace, and stability for the Philippines, for America, and for the Pacific region. And you noted here 3 years ago that the recovery of democracy brought with it the ability to deal with your major ally on an equal footing, the only basis for a relationship between friends. And so, it is in that spirit that we look forward to the discussions that we've already agreed will begin in December, discussions which, we are confident, will mold a new and mutually beneficial long-term security partnership in the future.

Welcome back, Mrs. President. God bless you. And God bless the people of the Philippines. And God bless the friendship between our two great nations. Thank you very much.

President Aquino. Mr. President, 3 years ago I came to Washington as the head of a country still reeling from two decades of misrule. With its economy just beginning to stir back to life, I stood here, nonetheless, as the representative of the Filipino people with a great deal of pride. For the Philippines had recovered its freedom and had become again a member in good standing, along side the United States, in the club of democracies.

It is true that authoritarian governments can be proud—and often are, excessively—but not their countries. Only free nations can truly feel pride. Today I stand here with a great deal of hope—hope for the full economic recovery of my country, a recovery that is well on its way to becoming sustainable economic growth with some help from our friends.

I have come to Washington at the kind invitation of President Bush. With him and with Vice President Dan Quayle, State Secretary James Baker, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, and other officials, I hope to discuss a wide variety of issues affecting Philippine-American relations in line with the United States long efforts to maintain stability, foster peace, encourage freedom, and uplift the living standards of peoples throughout the world.

We will raise, particularly, the means by which the Philippines and the United States can cooperate in more areas to our mutual economic benefit. We shall explore the means to increase trade between two countries with long historic ties and deep cultural affinities. We shall do these things so that, by the economic improvement of the one, these two oldest allies in Asia can be stronger together.

These issues will not be easily or quickly resolved. But it is good for the sake of a friendship that we want to deepen further to begin their discussion with face-to-face meetings, the establishment of personal rapport, and an affirmation of the values that we shall never compromise and ever uphold.

While in Washington, I also expect to renew my acquaintance with various Members of the Congress that received me so warmly on my first visit and to get down to serious discussions with the officials of the International Monetary Fund. And equally important, I shall be renewing contact with the Filipino communities in the cities I shall visit, for they represent in the most vivid way for Americans the other side of the longest standing alliance for peace in the Pacific.

I'm so happy to be back. Thank you very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:10 a.m. at *the South Portico of the White House, where President Aquino was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.*

Message to the Senate Transmitting an Annex to the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships

November 9, 1989

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate, Annex III (Regulations for the Prevention of Pollution by Harmful Substances Carried by Sea in Packaged Forms or in Freight Containers, Portable Tanks or Road and Rail Tank Wagons), an optional annex to the 1973 International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships, as modified and incorporated by the 1978 protocol relating thereto (MARPOL 73/78). I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with its attached analysis of Annex III.

MARPOL 73/78 is the global agreement to control pollution from ships. Annex III establishes uniform regulations for the transport of packaged harmful substances, including packaging, marking/labelling, documentation, and stowage requirements and, if necessary, quantity limitations. It complements the other annexes to MARPOL 73/78, which relate to the transport of oil (Annex I) and harmful substances carried in bulk (Annex II), and to ship-generated sewage (Annex IV) and garbage (Annex V).

The United States ratified MARPOL 73/78 on August 12, 1980, along with Annexes I and II, and it entered into force for the United States on October 2, 1983. U.S. ratification of Annex III at this time would bring the annex into force. Moreover, agreement has been reached that, once in force, the Parties will adopt U.S.-sponsored amendments to the annex that will strengthen its provisions and make it a more effective environmental instrument.

U.S. ratification of MARPOL Annex III will be an important step in minimizing pollution of the world's oceans from discharges of packaged harmful substances. I recommend the Senate give early consideration to Annex III of MARPOL 73/78 and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 9, 1989.

Statement on Signing the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

November 9, 1989

Today I signed into law H.R. 2916, the "Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990."

As we are about to celebrate Veterans Day, let me say that I am especially pleased that this Act provides resources for our Nation's veterans. Those men and women who have served in the military can expect to receive the benefits they deserve. The Act provides $11.4 billion for VA Medical Care, an increase of $0.5 billion over the 1989 enacted level. These funds will allow for continued medical services to our veterans in need of VA care. In addition, $50 million provided in Title IV of the Transportation Appropriations bill will help treat those veterans with substance abuse problems.

I am also pleased that the Act includes funding that will help maintain America's leadership in space. This commitment to space is important to our national security, our economic growth, and our quality of life. In particular, the funding provided for the Space Station Freedom, a keystone of the Nation's space policy, will enable us to continue a stable and sustainable program. This level of funding will allow for the development of the Space Station Freedom on a schedule leading to permanently manned capability in the mid-1990's.

I am also pleased that the Act substantially increased funding for the HUD and VA McKinney Act programs to help reduce the tragedy of homelessness. However, I am disappointed that the Congress did not fully fund McKinney and did not fund our new $50 million comprehensive shelter and services initiative or our $44 million proposal for a new low-income homeownership program.

I am concerned about some legislative provisions of the Act. In particular, I am concerned about the 23-percent increase the Act provided in the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) loan limit on single-family loans, without the reforms necessary to ensure the actuarial soundness of this FHA program. As a first step, I encourage the Congress to move quickly to adopt the specific FHA reforms that the Administration has just submitted to the Congress.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 9, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2916, approved November 9, was assigned Public Law No. 101–144.

Nomination of Susan J. Crawford To Be Inspector General of the Department of Defense

November 9, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Susan J. Crawford to be Inspector General of the Department of Defense. She would succeed June Gibbs Brown.

Since 1983 Mrs. Crawford has served as the General Counsel of the Department of the Army. Prior to this, she served as Principal Deputy General Counsel of the Department of the Army at the Pentagon, 1981–1983; partner with a law firm in Oakland, MD, 1979–1981; and an associate with the same firm, 1977–1979.

Mrs. Crawford graduated from Bucknell University (B.S., 1969) and received a law degree from the New England School of Law in 1977. She was born April 22, 1947, in Pittsburgh, PA. Mrs. Crawford is married, has one child, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Appointment of William J. Hilsman as a Member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee

November 9, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Lt. Gen. William J. Hilsman, USA, Ret., as a member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Robert S. Leventhal.

Since 1983 General Hilsman has served as president and chief executive officer of the International Mobile Machines Corp. in Philadelphia, PA. Prior to this, he served in the Army for 29 years as a lieutenant general, manager of the National Communications System, director of the Defense Communications Agency at the Department of Defense, commander of the Signal Corps Center, and as commander of communications for the research and development command at Fort Monmouth, NJ.

General Hilsman graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1954 and received his master's degree from Northeastern University. He was born March 13, 1932, in St. Louis, MO. General Hilsman is married, has four children, and resides in Philadelphia, PA.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on the Relaxation of East German Border Controls

November 9, 1989

The President. We just wanted to make a brief statement here. I've just been briefed by the Secretary of State and my national security adviser on the latest news coming out of Germany. And of course, I welcome the decision by the East German leadership to open the borders to those wishing to emigrate or travel. And this, if it's implemented fully, certainly conforms with the Helsinki Final Act, which the GDR [German Democratic Republic] signed. And if the GDR goes forward now, this wall built in '61 will have very little relevance. And it clearly is a good development in terms of human rights. And I must say that after discussing this here with the Secretary of State and the national security adviser, I am very pleased with this development.

Q. Mr. President, would the United States now consider doing more to help West Germany to take care of some of these East Germans coming into that country? Is there more that you could do now to help West Germany accommodate——

The President. Well, we have such a close relationship with the Federal Republic that if Chancellor Kohl asks us to be of some assistance I'm certain we would give it serious consideration. I mean, I don't know what it is they'd have in mind, because I think with a truly open border it is hard to predict how many will be trying to leave. And so, it's a dynamic development, and we just have to wait and see. But our relationship with the Federal Republic is such that we would want to be of the maximum help if it was needed. So far, Germany has done a magnificent job in handling those who have preceded this new exodus.

Q. Have you assured Mr. Kohl that if he does need help that we'll be there for them?

The President. Well, I haven't talked to him, Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News], since this development because he just went off to Poland. I talked to him about this last week and made very clear to him that we thought—I think it was last week—made very clear to him that we thought they were handling it with great sensitivity. It's an enormous burden on the Federal Republic. And I don't remember in that conversation if I said if we can be of any help, please let me know; but I'm sure he knows that's the case.

Q. Did he give any indication of how far he'd be able to go to accommodate this influx of refugees? I think the number stands at about 110,000 now. Did he say if it hits a million we're going to have real problems?

The President. No, he didn't go into numbers at all, but he demonstrates a quiet confidence that the Federal Republic can cope. As I say, they have done a good job. And here's a new development in this rapidly changing part of the world that we can salute. And it's a dramatic happening for East Germany and, of course, for freedom.

Q. Is this the end of the Iron Curtain, sir?

The President. Well, I don't think any single event is the end of what you might call the Iron Curtain, but clearly this is a long way from the harshest Iron Curtain days—a long way from that.

Q. Mr. President, what do you think the implications are for the Warsaw Pact now? I mean, can we say that this may be an indication that they're headed toward a loosening or even a dismantling of the Warsaw Pact?

The President. I think you have to say what you mean by Warsaw Pact. I mean, it seems to me that it's certainly a loosening up in terms of travel. It concurs with the Helsinki Final Act, and it is a very good development.

Our objective is a Europe whole and free. And is it a step towards that? I would say yes. Gorbachev talks about a common home. Is it a step towards that? Probably so.

Q. What do you think the implications are for immigration to this country, Mr. President? Do you think we'll be seeing very many of these new refugees?

The President. There's no indication of that. These are Germans going to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Q. What's the danger here of events just spinning out of control? Secretary Baker commented earlier about how rapid the pace of change has been in Eastern Europe. Nobody really expected this to happen as quickly as it did. Is there a danger here that things are accelerating too quickly?

The President. I wouldn't want to say this kind of development makes things to be moving too quickly at all. It's the kind of development that we have long encouraged by our strong support for the Helsinki Final Act. So, I'm not going to hypothecate that anything goes too fast.

Q. So, you don't see——

The President. But we are handling it in a way where we are not trying to give anybody a hard time. We're saluting those who can move forward with democracy. We are encouraging the concept of a Europe whole and free. And so, we just welcome it. But I don't like to go into a lot of hypotheses about too much change or too rapid change or what I'd do, what our whole team here would do, if something went wrong. I think it's been handled by the West very well; and certainly we salute the people in East Germany, the GDR, whose aspirations for freedom seem to be a little further down the road now.

Q. Mr. President, do you think now that East Germany appears to be moving in the direction of Poland and Hungary that the rest of the Eastern bloc can continue to resist this? I'm thinking of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania—will they be the next?

The President. No, I don't think anyone can resist it, in Europe or in the Western Hemisphere.

Q. Did you ever imagine——

The President. That's one of the great things about dynamic change in Central America [Europe]: It's moving in our direction.

Q. Did you ever imagine anything like this happening?

Q. On your watch?

The President. We've imagined it, but I can't say that I foresaw this development at this stage. Now, I didn't foresee it, but imagining it—yes. When I talk about a Europe whole and free, we're talking about this kind of freedom to come and go, this kind of staying with and living by the Helsinki Final Act, which gives the people the rights to come and go.

Q. In what you just said, that this is a sort of great victory for our side in the big East-West battle, but you don't seem elated. And I'm wondering if you're thinking of the problems.

The President. I am not an emotional kind of guy.

Q. Well, how elated are you?

The President. I'm very pleased. And I've been very pleased with a lot of other developments. And, as I've told you, I think the United States part of this, which is not related to this development today particularly, is being handled in a proper fashion. And we'll have some that'll suggest more flamboyant courses of action for this country, and we're, I think, handling this properly with allies, staying in close touch in this dynamic change—try to help as development takes place, try to enhance reform, both political and economic.

And so, the fact that I'm not bubbling over—maybe it's getting along towards evening, because I feel very good about it.

Q. Well, what I wanted to ask is—the second part of that was, is your second thought: What are we going to do if it really does explode over there—coming into play here? I mean, obviously, if they just flood into West Germany, they're handling it now, but they've only gotten 200,000. What if they get a million? What if they get 2 million?

The President. Well, what I'd like to think is that the political change in the GDR would catch up very fast with this liberation, if you will. You may remember that before I went to Poland—I think, I don't know whether Jim Baker was sitting next to me, I know Brent was there and John Sununu—and I was asked by a Polish journalist if I were a young Pole, what would my advice be. And what I said is I think you ought to stay there and participate in this dramatic change in your country. You ought to feel the surge of freedom, feel the move toward democracy, and be a part of it.

These are Germans, and Germans love their country. And at some point, I think a lot of Germans who had felt pent-in and unable to move are going to say, look, we can move. But wouldn't it be better to participate in the reforms that are taking place in our own country? So, I think it's too early to predict that because these openings are there that that means everybody is going to take off.

Q. Do you think this will give you a stronger position when you go on the ship next month and you're talking to President Gorbachev—I mean, that your side is winning? I mean, is that the kind of thing you're going to communicate to him? Are you going to say the——

The President. He's already expressed his interest in a common European home. We've phrased it differently. We've said a Europe whole and free. And when you see citizens wanting to go and flee what has been an oppressive society, clearly that is a message that Mr. Gorbachev will understand. He sees it not only in Eastern Europe, but he sees it inside the Soviet Union. And so, we'll have a good, lively—before these developments took place, I have said that we would be discussing the rapid change inside Eastern Europe. And we've been talking about that today, just before you all came in here. We've been talking about the Gorbachev meeting. And one of the things that we are determined we will discuss, and I know he'll want to discuss, is this change.

Q. Mr. President, are you saying you think maybe East Germans will want to stay and participate in reforming their country? That suggests you think German reunification is some ways off. What is your view on German reunification? Does this bring it closer?

The President. I don't know. I think it's way too early to speak on that. I've spoken out on the question of German reunification. I notice the President of France, President Mitterrand, spoke out. I've heard what Chancellor Kohl has had to say about it. But Michael [Mike Gelb, Reuters], I don't know whether the development of today speeds up the day or not.

Q. Mr. President, will you consider lifting Jackson-Vanik restrictions on East Germany?

The President. I will be discussing a wide array of those subjects with the Soviets, I'm sure, including—I know of their interest in talking about that, so we'll be prepared to talk about it.

Q. Are you going to be speaking to Chancellor Kohl in the next couple of days?

The President. I'd like to talk to him soon, but he's off in Poland. I may try to get him there, but I talked to him quite recently. We confer quite regularly.

Q. Do you talk to any of the other Western European——

Q. Will you try to reach Mitterrand?

The President. Well, personally I don't know. We're in—again, I talked to him very recently, but he might want to talk about it.

Note: The President spoke at 3:34 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Assistance for East German Emigrants

November 9, 1989

The United States is responding urgently to a request from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for assistance in accommodating the continuing influx of East Germans into the Federal Republic. The commander of U.S. Air Forces, Europe, has offered temporary housing for up to 6 months in 3 facilities. Processing has begun at a U.S. Air Force contingency hospital at Donaueschingen in the Black Forest.

Additionally, the commander, U.S. Army, Europe, headquartered in Heidelberg, has inventoried all available facilities and established a task force, which is in direct contact with the Federal Government in Bonn. The President has instructed all U.S. military authorities in the Federal Republic, as well as our Embassy in Bonn, to make available to the FRG all possible assistance.

The President salutes the Federal Republic for opening its doors to so many seeking to resettle in the West, and pledges our full support and assistance.

Remarks to the National Association of Realtors in Dallas, Texas

November 10, 1989

Thank you, Ira. I know I speak for everyone here today when I salute you for serving so ably as the president of the National Association of Realtors. And my best wishes to your successor, Norm Flynn. And let me also recognize—rerecognize, if you will—the man who is doing such wonderful work, bringing vision to HUD, putting through the tough new reforms that ensures that his agency serves people in need, my outstanding Secretary of HUD, Jack Kemp. I am so proud he's with me here today. And of course, an old friend and a fine Member of Congress who traveled down on Air Force One with Barbara and Jack and me today, Dallas' own Congressman Steve Bartlett. And of course, I'm delighted that the mother of the Texas Rangers boss is here today, my wife, Barbara, the "Silver Fox."

Before going into my main remarks, let me just say a word about the momentous events in East Germany. I was moved, as you all were, by the pictures of Berliners from East and West—standing atop the wall with chisels and hammers—celebrating the opening of the most vivid symbol of the Iron Curtain. And then today, just on the plane coming down, I read a report where 18 new border crossings would be made in the wall in the near future.

And to be honest, I doubted that this would happen in the very first year of this administration. Twenty-eight years after the desperate days of 1961, when tanks faced off at Checkpoint Charlie and that terrible barrier was built—now the East German Government has responded to the wishes of its people. And while no one really accurately predicted the speed of the changes underway in Eastern Europe—and certainly I didn't. But last May, right here in Texas, over at Texas A&M, I noted hopeful, indeed, remarkable signs of a Soviet break with the cycles of the past. And I called upon the Soviet Union to support self-determination for the nations of Eastern and central Europe and to tear down the Iron Curtain. And now we're seeing it happen. And when I visited Poland and Hungary in July, I sensed that historically important events there held the seeds for even more dramatic change.

And this played a big part in the decision last July made, really, at the G–7 meeting in Paris. On the way back, I proposed a face-to-face meeting with President Gorbachev before next spring's summit. And the Malta meeting, given recent events, takes on, I think, even more importance than when I conceived the idea 3½ months ago.

The changes in recent months make clear that the process of reform initiated by the Eastern Europeans and supported by Mr. Gorbachev and by America and by our allies is real, offers us all much hope, and deserves our continued encouragement. We're living in fascinating times, and we will seize every opportunity to contribute to a lasting peace and to extend democracy. And in doing so, I will conduct the foreign policy of this great country with the prudence that these fascinating times, times of change, demand—and with the imagination. The 1980's has been the decade of American renewal. And I believe that around the world, the 1990's will inevitably be the decade of democracy.

Ira mentioned to me that my speech is a special occasion for this association, and I said I was honored. And then Ira said: "Well, it's not often that we're addressed by someone who lives in public housing." [*Laughter*] And you know something: Barbara and I get just as emotional about it today as the day we first walked in there. The truth is, I am not a real estate wizard.

When I was elected to Congress—and I get reminded about this by Barbara—when I was elected to Congress in 1966, we needed to make housing arrangements up in Washington. We were in Houston. And at that time, Senator Al Simpson's father, Milward Simpson, was retiring and moving back to Wyoming. So, I bought the Simpson house, sight unseen, over the telephone. And when we got to Washington, there were just two problems: We found out right away that the house wasn't quite big enough for our family, and we found out when we put the place up for sale that it wasn't worth quite as much as we paid for it. [*Laughter*] And that's my claim to fame in your business. I'm the only person who ever lost money in Washington real estate in the last 20 years. [*Laughter*] Ira, where the hell were you when I needed you? [*Laughter*]

But few people have done more for the real estate industry than Barbara and I have. We've moved 28—this is true—we have moved 28 times in our 44 years of marriage. [*Laughter*] You ought to be smiling. Now, I know what you're thinking: What a dream client my family would make for any realtor. [*Laughter*] In fact, Dick Darman over at OMB is calculating the commissions we've paid over the years, measured as a percentage of the gross national product. [*Laughter*]

But I came here today to lay out a comprehensive agenda to help bring basic shelter and affordable housing within reach of millions of Americans, and I call it America's HOPE, Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere.

But before I tell you about HOPE, I want to speak for just a minute about the single most important factor in helping millions of Americans realize the American dream: the economy. Because the truth is, there is no better housing policy than a growing economy. And we've got one, one that provides jobs and wages and opportunities for advancement—long-term interest rates that open ownership opportunities to hundreds of thousands of first-time homebuyers because every drop in interest rates makes it possible for more families to buy that home they want. And I pledge that my administration will vigorously support the mortgage-interest and property-tax deductions. These deductions encourage home ownership, and they are vitally important to our overall economic prosperity.

And all signs point to continued strength in the economy. November marks the 84th month of economic expansion—the longest peacetime expansion on record. And here's one statistic that really hits home: Mortgage rates are down from almost 14 percent back in November of '82 to less than 10 percent today. And my goal and Jack's goal—the goal of our entire administration—to pursue policies that will bring them down even further.

Of course, part of any responsible economic policy is getting our fiscal house in order. And I want you to know that my administration is hanging tough for a responsible budget, with real deficit reduction—no smoke and no mirrors. We don't like sequestration; no one does. But we'll have to live with it if we have to and if it's the only way to rein in spending and bring that deficit down to the Gramm-Rudman target. I am ready to sign a budget bill whenever Congress is ready to strip off all those costly extras and add-ons hidden away in those omnibus spending bills.

We're getting down to the wire, and I'm optimistic—optimistic that my administration and the Congress can agree on a responsible budget; optimistic that we'll see more and more Americans prospering—providing better lives for their families and looking to all of you to help them realize their dreams. And I know we can count on you, just as we counted on your strong support in helping to pass that 1988 Fair Housing Act. Ira, that is a tribute to your leadership, to your strong organization, and to its dedication to the right of all people to be free from discrimination and prejudice.

But more must be done, and that's where the HOPE initiative comes in. This initiative will address the full range of housing concerns, from shelter for the homeless to affordable housing for low-income families to initiatives that open access to expanded job opportunities and help millions more Americans own their homes.

Let's start right there, with what HOPE can do for first-time home buyers. You all know about families working to buy that first home. Well, they deserve our help, and they're going to get it. I will ask Congress to enact legislation allowing first-time buyers to draw, without penalty, on IRA savings as a downpayment for that first home.

Our HOPE initiative also means efforts to improve low-income housing. As you know, my administration rejects these costly new public construction programs that, in the past, have too often produced the housing projects that symbolize the very absence of hope in our inner cities. There's a better way: housing vouchers that empower low-income families to choose where they want to live.

So, our idea is to create incentives for the construction and rehabilitation of the housing low-income families need. And that's why I'm calling on Congress to renew the low-income housing tax credit, but make it part of a package that also includes the cut in the capital gains tax. I don't care what the political opponents say, what the critics say. A cut in capital gains means an increase in jobs, investment, and growth. And I'm grateful for the fact that the National Association of Realtors has fought hard to make a capital gains cut a reality. Well, let me tell you something: That fight is not over.

And we've got to go one step further, as a matter of fact. In those pockets of poverty where despair has driven out hope, we've got to eliminate the capital gains tax altogether. And that's a key element in the enterprise zone legislation that I want to see enacted, that Jack Kemp has worked so hard to produce. I've called on Congress to create at least 50 enterprise zones over the next 4 years to help create the jobs and incomes that are the real key to affordable housing. And I hope Congress gets the message; it is time that we gave the green light to our inner-city entrepreneurs.

And HOPE can help us reverse a trend that's stunting growth and development in low-income areas. Over 9 million Americans live in these FHA-insured homes, and every year nearly a half a million first-time homebuyers use FHA to help them make their dream affordable. My administration has announced major reforms to ensure that FHA is true to its primary mission of making housing affordable for low- and moderate-income families. We will change the destructive practices which have kept FHA out of the inner cities and distressed communities that most need its support.

And frankly, at all levels of government, we have got to take a second look at some of the well-intended housing policies that actually decrease our housing supply. I'm talking about the excessive rules, regulations, and redtape that add unnecessarily to the cost of housing by tens of thousands of dollars or that create perverse incentives to allow existing housing to deteriorate. And so, I've asked my able Secretary, Jack Kemp, to convene a blue-ribbon commission to identify barriers to affordable housing and then to make recommendations on how these barriers can be removed. And let me make the first recommendation right here, Mr. Secretary: No city, State, or town should receive a single penny of HOPE funding until they have identified barriers to affordable housing in their own backyard and take steps to remove them.

Someone once said: "We shape buildings; and thereafter, they shape us." The same is true when it comes to low-income housing policy. That's the real centerpiece of our HOPE initiative: to recapture the American dream of homeownership for those who have been left behind, through resident management and resident ownership.

It's already working—Kenilworth-Parkside, back in Washington; Cochran Gardens in St. Louis; in East L.A., public housing through community leaders, like Alicia Rodriguez, and by encouraging nonprofit and resident groups. It's going to work right here in Dallas—at places like Rhoads Terrace under the take-charge leadership of a courageous mother named Jessie Toles—and all across the United States.

The results are promising because, you see, with tenants in control, we see better maintenance, more rents paid on time, a decrease in people on the welfare rolls. And we see something more: a sense of pride that is the very core of any thriving community. I don't know any better way to revive hope in our inner cities than to give tenants themselves a say in running their communities, a stake in the future, and the belief that they, too, can own a home. Because the true measure of success isn't how many families we add to housing assistance rolls; it's how many families move up and out and into the ranks of homeowners.

But let's face it: There's more to the HOPE initiative. And now I'm talking about people who stand in the shadows of what is otherwise a very bright economic picture, who live a nightmare in the midst of the American dream. We see them every day on the streets of our cities, sleeping on the steam grates, living out of cardboard boxes. Of course, I'm talking about the homeless.

And for most of us, November is the time of year when we start looking forward to the holiday season: Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's. For the homeless, November is the time of year the temperature starts to drop and simply making it through the night becomes a life-and-death struggle.

Think about the children. Pretty soon your kid, our kids, will be dreaming about Christmas toys—new video game or the bike they'd like. And it's different for kids on the street, though. I read a story not long ago that stuck in my mind about a little boy without a home. And here's what he dreams about at night: "I dreamed my Mom got her housing assistance," he said, "and we got a house with a great big backyard." But in the morning, for that little boy, the dream is over. He is up at 5:30, out of a shelter and back onto the streets. Now, that is a tragedy because no child in America should have to grow up on the streets, and every family in America should have a roof over its head.

And we've got to do better. And my administration is going to do its part to expand emergency shelters. And yesterday I signed a bill that substantially increases funding under the McKinney Act to reduce homelessness. And we're going to continue to push for full funding of homeless programs under that law. And today I'm also asking Jack Kemp to find new ways to put a portion of our FHA foreclosures into the hands of nonprofit groups, groups that are doing such wonderful work rehabilitating abandoned homes, fighting poverty in our inner cities.

But the real answer for the homeless, those with mental problems or dependent on drugs or alcohol, is shelter plus care: shelter supplemented by the necessary support services to get these people the help they need to live in dignity. And that means a partnership—a combined Federal, State, and local effort—to supply the funding and other resources that constitute a comprehensive solution for the hardcore homeless. And if we care about them, we've got to take more than a one-dimensional approach to the problem.

The HOPE initiative will include improved coordination of basic needs like shelter, with other social services, to help the homeless get the treatment that they need to get control of their lives; to help them find and hold down jobs; to help them regain hope and leave life on the streets, leave that life behind for good.

Helping the homeless; helping low-income families find affordable housing, decent housing; helping more of the 80 million Americans who don't own a home join the ranks of homeowners. These are the aims of the HOPE initiative, and these are aims well within our reach. And think about that little boy I spoke about a moment ago. Think about his dream because it really is the American dream, what all of us want for ourselves and our families.

We must unleash the resources of the profit and nonprofit sectors, of churches and synagogues, States and localities, in our great national enterprise to assure safe, decent, and affordable housing for all. And only then will we be able to replace hopelessness with hope, and only then will we be able to wage war on poverty and despair. And only then will we be able to complete our vision of a free and prosperous America, full of opportunity for people everywhere.

Thank you all very much. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in the Chantilly Ballroom at Loew's Anatole Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Ira Gribin, president of the association.

White House Fact Sheet on the HOPE Initiative: Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere

November 10, 1989

President Bush today announced an initiative to increase homeownership opportunities for low- and moderate-income families and to create jobs and entrepreneurial activity in the Nation's distressed urban and rural communities. The President's forward-looking plan for housing is called HOPE—Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere.

The major components of the plan include a $2.1 billion matching grant program to encourage resident ownership of low-income housing, a program to combine housing resources with supportive services for the long-term homeless, and a proposal to allow the use of tax-deferred Individual Retirement Accounts (IRA's) as downpayments by first-time homebuyers.

Today's announcement builds on a comprehensive set of reforms introduced by Housing and Urban Development [HUD] Secretary Kemp on October 3, 1989, to restore ethical, managerial, and financial integrity to the Department's programs, including the Federal Housing Administration.

The President's housing and inner city job creation strategy embraces the following fundamental principles:

- empowering low-income families to achieve self-sufficiency and have a stake in their communities by promoting resident management and urban homesteading;
- expanding homeownership and affordable housing opportunities for low-to-moderate income families and young families just starting out;
- helping to end the tragedy of homelessness and to provide special emphasis on the long-term homeless who are in need of social services or health care;
- creating jobs and economic opportunities in our nation's distressed inner cities and rural areas.

HOPE GRANTS

Goal: To empower low-income families to become homeowners with a stake in their communities by providing funds for resident homeownership in public housing, government-held vacant and foreclosed properties, and financially distressed properties held in the FHA portfolio.

Background: Although homeownership for low-income families and empowerment of the poor through resident management are two of the administration's key goals for housing policy, HUD does not have permanent programs for these purposes. Currently, these goals are funded by special set-asides from other programs. HOPE grants will enable many public housing residents to purchase their homes, will capitalize on the existing strengths and abilities of nonprofit organizations and community-based housing development organizations, and will increase the housing resources available to the Nation's poor.

- HOPE grants will provide $2.15 billion over 3 years to increase homeownership opportunities for low-income families. The grants will be used in public housing, vacant and foreclosed properties currently held by the Government, and distressed properties held in the FHA portfolio.
- States, localities, or nonprofit organizations will be required to provide $1 for every $2 in Federal HOPE grant funds.
- HOPE grants will be used for rehabilitation, acquisition, technical assistance, capital reserves, security, and mortgage assistance, but not for new construction. $250 million in HOPE grant funds will be set aside to provide replacement housing for public housing developments that convert to low-income homeownership.

SERVICE-SUPPORTED HOUSING

Goal: To combine Federal housing assistance for the long-term homeless with social and health care services that many homeless may need to address problems of substance abuse or mental impairment.

Background: The McKinney Act authorizes assistance to the homeless through a wide variety of programs administered by almost every agency of the Federal Government. The President remains committed to obtaining full funding of the McKinney Act. HUD administers several McKinney Act programs, including Transitional Housing, Supportive Housing, Assistance for Single Room Occupancy Dwellings, and Supplemental Assistance for Facilities to Assist the Homeless. These programs work well for those who are temporarily homeless. The long-term homeless, however, are not equally well-served by either the housing delivery system or the social service network. The long-term homeless need intensive services and long-term supportive housing arrangements provided in a more systematic, coordinated manner.

- Service-Supported Housing will coordinate Federal housing assistance with supportive services that can best be provided by States, localities, and nonprofit organizations.
- $728 million in Federal housing funds will be provided over 3 years, to be matched dollar for dollar by States, localities, or nonprofit organizaitons. Certain programs that are federally funded but locally administered, such as the Mental Health Block Grant program, may be used to provide the needed matching funds.

USE OF INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS FOR FIRST-TIME HOMEBUYERS

Goal: To expand homeownership opportunities for young families and first-time homebuyers.

Background: As housing prices increase, it is often difficult for first-time homebuyers to accumulate the savings needed for a downpayment and closing costs. While moderate-income families are eligible to receive tax-deferred treatment for savings through IRA's, they are not currently permitted to make IRA withdrawals without penalty for what is likely to be the biggest investment in their lives: their homes.

- The HOPE initiative will help achieve homeownership by allowing first-time homebuyers to withdraw funds in their tax-deferred IRA's without penalty.
- The maximum amount that can be withdrawn from an IRA for a downpayment is $10,000 and the maximum house price is 110 percent of the average area purchase price.

PRESERVATION OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING

Goal: To empower low-income residents of federally insured and subsidized housing communities by giving them the opportunity to buy their own homes in cases where their owners opt out of the low-income housing program.

Background: Over the next 15 years, owners of some 334,000 units of FHA-insured multifamily housing will become eligible to prepay their mortgages, thereby potentially eliminating low-income use restrictions on these properties. With the HOPE initiative, and depending on circumstances, different methods may be used to protect tenants. These include giving tenant groups first right to purchase and convert their building to a resident-owned cooperative; providing Federal aid for such conversions; giving owners additional financial aid to maintain lower income occupancy, or if owners elect to convert their projects and sever their relationship with HUD, protecting tenants with housing vouchers, thereby helping them afford higher rents.

- If an owner decides to prepay, HOPE will offer resident groups and nonprofit organizations the opportunity and the resources to purchase their buildings and become homeowners. In such cases, tenants will have a right of first refusal to purchase their projects.
- Tenants will receive an amount equal to the present value of 10 years of housing vouchers, to be used for acquisition, rehabilitation, technical assistance, and other uses. Housing vouchers, the administration's principal tool for assisting low-income families with housing, give eligible families the difference between 30 percent of their income and the amount that is needed to obtain suitable housing in their community.
- Once purchased by a low-income family, units may only be resold to other low-income families.

LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT

Goal: To extend tax incentives needed to encourage the private sector to construct and rehabilitate the Nation's rental housing stock and make it available to low-income families and the working poor.

Background: Tenant-based housing vouchers and certificates are the Federal Government's primary tool for assisting rental households. However, direct rental assistance is only one tool for meeting the need for low-income rental assistance. The low-income housing tax credit was included in the Tax Reform Act of 1986 as an incentive for the development of new rental housing opportunities. States have the authority to allocate credits to their most important needs, and the program encourages the participation of nonprofit organizations. The tax credit expires at the end of this year.

- The HOPE initiative proposes to renew the low-income housing tax credit as part of a package of reforms that includes a cut in the capital gains tax.
- Residents and nonprofit organizations will ultimately be given an option to purchase properties constructed or rehabilitated using the low-income housing tax credit.

ENTERPRISE ZONES

Goal: To provide tax incentives to help promote entrepreneurship and create jobs in our nation's distressed urban and rural communities.

Background: Incentives are needed to create jobs and promote entrepreneurial activity in distressed urban and rural communities that have too often been redlined for despair.

- HOPE includes a proposal to create 50 enterprise zones that will provide incentives for low-income workers and attract seed capital for business development. It will eliminate the capital gains tax rate on tangible investments located in the enterprise zones.
- The refundable tax credit for low-income employees provides for a tax credit of up to $525, or 5 percent of the first $10,500 in wages earned by an employee in an enterprise zone.
- Expensing of investor purchases of corporate stock in enterprise zone businesses will create the seed capital needed for new businesses by allowing investors immediately to deduct the cost of their investment, up to $50,000 per investor.
- A zero capital gains tax rate will apply to capital gains realized on tangible assets in enterprise zones and will be a powerful incentive for entrepreneurship in inner cities that are now without appreciable business activity or jobs.

HOUSING OPPORTUNITY ZONES

Goal: To help eliminate barriers that States and localities all too often erect that make housing less affordable for low- and moderate-income families.

Background: The principles behind the enterprise-zone concept can be used to spur construction or rehabilitation of housing in many inner city areas that have large amounts of poor housing, limited home ownership, vacant land, or abandoned and substandard housing.

- The HOPE initiative proposes 50 housing opportunity zones, which will target Federal incentives to those distressed communities that best remove tax and regulatory barriers to affordable housing.
- Zones will be chosen through a competitive process from applications by local and State governments. Applicants that best identify and institute plans to remove barriers—such as exclusive zoning, regressive property tax burdens, complex building codes, rent controls, excessive fees—will be selected.
- The Federal incentives provided include targeted FHA insurance and rental rehabilitation grants at $70 million per year.

ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS OF THE HOPE INITIATIVE

Frail Elderly: Elderly people are often in need of supportive services to help them stay in their homes and avoid institutionalization. The HOPE initiative includes a demonstration project to provide service-supported housing for the frail elderly by coupling housing vouchers with assistance to help pay the costs of the services they need.

Operation Bootstrap: Housing assistance is an essential part of the social safety net, but for families capable of working it should be a transitional tool that helps them achieve self-sufficiency and join the economic mainstream. Beginning in fiscal year 1991, all tenant-based vouchers and certificates will require public housing authorities and local governments to help welfare families and those with low earnings achieve upward mobility through job training, child care, transportation, and other assistance.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Telephone Conversation With West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl

November 10, 1989

Chancellor Kohl called to give the President a thorough briefing on the first part of his trip to Poland and on developments in East Germany. The President congratulated the Chancellor on the Federal Republic's handling of the situation with respect to East Germany and promised the full cooperation of the United States. The Chancellor asked the President to tell the American people: "Without the United States, this day would not have been possible." The President and Chancellor Kohl agreed that these dramatic developments make the Malta meeting even more important and agreed to consult closely between now and the meeting. They agreed to talk again next week.

The call occurred at 3:29 p.m. c.s.t. and lasted approximately 18 minutes.

Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner Honoring Governor Bill Clements in Dallas, Texas
November 10, 1989

Thank you very much, Governor, and thank all of you for that warm welcome. Thank you, Bill. Rita, it's so good to see you. Our secretary of state, George Bayoud, and Fred Meyer and Penny Butler and so many others.

Fred McClure, who you just heard sing, is an Assistant to the President at the top level of the White House. And he's in charge of our congressional relations—a very difficult and trying job, it seems. But nevertheless, he has a lovely voice, and I'm delighted to know of this talent. He's hidden it, hidden his light under a bushel up there. We may have a new way of cajoling Senator Mitchell and some of the others to do it the way we want done. [*Laughter*] Fred, thank you.

And of course, seeing Bob Dedman here and the other chairmen and cochairmen just reminds me that if you want to get something done and done right, get a busy person, a successful person. Bob, I'm so pleased to see you again, and your coworkers. And it's great to be back in the Metroplex, especially in a city that forgot to finish the roof on its biggest stadium. [*Laughter*] And of course, in the good old days, as Jerry knows, any Dallas Cowboy fan would tell you this was so God could see His team play. [*Laughter*] Well, the Cowboys are coming back. They kicked the Redskins in our new hometown the other day.

But, Bill, you and I do go back a long way—long before either of us got into politics. And we shared common goals in business and in politics. We also have a lot in common as public speakers. We've certainly been accused of making our share of verbal gaffes. But so what if we've been known to put our foot in our mouth from time to time? I just hope that your foot is as silver as mine. [*Laughter*]

At least you're a colorful character. I guess the whole country has heard of the story—at least it got widespread play up in Washington—of how the Governor, eating in a Dallas restaurant when a holdup took place—and how he just kept right on eating his hamburger through the whole ordeal. I'm not sure that was Texas courage, hunger, the need for new glasses or a hearing aid, but nevertheless—[*laughter*]——

I would not, nor Barbara—we wouldn't have missed this affair for anything. Over the years, I have come to depend on Bill's steady friendship and his sound advice, and so have the people of Texas. And tonight's tribute is our way of letting you know just how much we appreciate you.

Your first term, Bill, was a glorious time for Texas and a memorable chapter in the political history of our State. They say in west Texas that a mile between fenceposts is a long distance, but a mile between towns is short. Well, Bill, the time between these two terms of yours was short enough to preserve the gains you had achieved, but it was long enough to prove just how right you were about what works for Texas. Of course, there are those cynics who still say that on the day Bill Clements returned as Governor that the Texas National Guard switched back to plaid fatigues. [*Laughter*]

But we all know that in the middle years of the decade humor was in short supply in our State. And when you hit the comeback trail, houses could be had for payments, and tens of thousands of blue-collar providers just couldn't provide. Bill, Texas was in trouble, and Texas needed a leader, and Texas needed you.

Now, optimism has returned to the most optimistic State in the Union. Texas employment is up. Construction permits are up. Retail sales are up. Once again, Texas is a magnet for business and for research projects like the superconducting supercollider. The space industry is starting to take off, and the eyes of Texas are once again on the stars. All this adds up to jobs, prosperity, and a decent shot at happiness for countless families. So, the comeback of Bill Clements has meant nothing less than the comeback of Texas.

And these have also been comeback years

for America. True, we still do face some extraordinarily difficult national problems. But tough national problems require nothing less than national solutions. And that's why I'm pleased to work so closely with Bill Clements and the other 49 chief executives in the States.

Bill and I share a similar approach on many issues, starting with crime fighting. Thanks to him, prison sentences in Texas are again measured in years, not meted out by the available square feet. And I believe we need this same disciplined, tough approach in Washington, starting with my administration's crime control legislation to toughen Federal sentences. And I believe Congress should help us now by putting the handcuffs on the criminals and not on the courts. And I'd like to see them get moving on this anticrime legislation.

And we share a similar approach, the Governor and I, to fighting drugs. Texas has tightened its probation, its parole system, so that ex-cons must now be drug free to be free. And the Texas Narcotics Control Program, I am told, has used a $12 million Federal investment to seize more than $350 million worth of drugs, and the Texas National Guard is on the alert for smugglers. And this is exactly the kind of tough-minded strategy that America needs and that I proposed and, again, that the Congress must pass.

And Bill and I also share a similar approach on education reform. At this Charlottesville summit that I'm sure you read about, the Governors joined me in an historic compact to give our schools all across the country greater flexibility in return for greater accountability. And I am pleased to note that this was exactly what Governor Clements is already doing: rewarding good schools through the Educational Excellence Program.

And finally, as a former Deputy Secretary of Defense, Bill shares my view that the best way to keep America and the West free is to keep the United States of America strong. Of course, we all look now with hope in our hearts at the amazing changes in Eastern Europe—indeed, in the Soviet Union itself. We look at it with encouragement and with hope. Yet this country must not and cannot base its foreign policy or its national security aspirations on one man inside the Soviet Union or anywhere else.

I do look forward to meeting with President Gorbachev off the coast of Malta early in December. Because this is not a summit, we will leave the detailed arms controls proposals to the true summit to be held next year. But there will be plenty for us to talk about this year: regional issues, some global ones, including the environment. And I'll also make it clear to him that we want to see his reforms succeed. We all have a stake, and our kids and our grandchildren, in seeing his reforms succeed. And I will tell Mr. Gorbachev what his government can do to improve relations with the United States of America and with our allies.

We're living in exciting times. The rapidity of change is mind-boggling. And I will do my level-best to conduct an imaginative foreign policy. But I will be prudent. I must be that. I will do my best to move freedom forward.

One last point, and I think you will enjoy this. I just talked to Chancellor Kohl over at the hotel. He called me from Germany. He came back from Poland, as you know, to Germany, and now he's returning either tonight or tomorrow to Poland. And I talked to him, and he asked me to share with the American people his conviction, which he stated publicly in Berlin today, that this remarkable change that is taking place in Eastern Europe, most recently in the German Democratic Republic, could never have taken place without the steadfast, loyal support of the United States of America. And he asked me to tell the American people this, and he is absolutely right about it.

We've touched on several issues here—many issues important to Texas and the Nation. But I must note that Texas is now at the threshold of a new era. In just a little more than 1 year, Texans will choose a new Governor. And when I consider the talented Republicans who are running to succeed Bill, I can't help but say that, with continued Republican leadership, Texas cannot lose. And I am proud to be on this platform with several of these very distinguished Texans who are in this race—willing to roll up their sleeves, get into the public arena, and go to work to help our State.

As you would expect, a Texas Democratic friend of mine had his own ideas about the election. He offered me his prediction that the next Governor of this State would be that smart, silver-haired, feisty, outspoken Lone Star lady with a sharp sense of humor. And I said, no way, not possible—Barbara is very happy in the White House. [*Laughter*]

But the election is a year away. Tonight, we're gathered here to honor this Governor who's still at work—still building a safer legacy of safer streets and better schools, of good government, decency and honor, greater opportunity.

Governor, Texas is a mythic place, a land of heroes. And their very names are the stuff of legend: Davy Crockett and Sam Houston and Stephen Austin. And I predict that when some future historian writes the history of modern Texas, there will be room for another hero, another great Texas leader, and his name will be Bill Clements. Thank you, Bill, for your service to our great State. And may I ask you to join me in a toast. To Bill and Rita, to you, and to Texas. And God bless our wonderful State, and God bless the United States of America. To the Clements! Thank you all. It's a great pleasure to be with you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:56 p.m. in the Crystal Room at the Grand Kempinski Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Mrs. Rita Clements; Fred Meyer, Texas Republican Party chairman; Penny Butler, Texas Republican national committeewoman; Bob Dedman, chief executive officer of Club Corp. of America; and Jerry Jones, owner of the Dallas Cowboys football team.

Statement on Signing the Child Nutrition and WIC Reauthorization Act of 1989

November 10, 1989

As I sign into law H.R. 24, the "Child Nutrition and WIC Reauthorization Act of 1989," I commend the Congress for including a provision in this bill that will provide help to thousands of needy pregnant women, infants, and children who are at nutritional risk.

As President, I seek to improve the health and well-being of our children. I am firmly committed to helping nutritionally deficient children obtain improved nourishment that will give them a better start in life. The WIC program is vital to this effort.

But as I explained in my Inaugural Address, we have more will than wallet. I called for us all to work together—State and Federal governments and local communities—to find ways to address national priorities. One of the changes made by H.R. 24 to the WIC program is an excellent example of how innovative ideas can overcome the constraints of our limited "national wallet."

Over one-third of WIC food dollars are spent on infant formula. Unfortunately, formula prices have risen rapidly, putting additional pressure on already tight WIC budgets. A few years ago, several innovative States began looking for ways to reduce infant formula prices for WIC babies. Today, 28 States are running competitive bidding systems in which the infant formula company offering the lowest net price becomes the State's formula supplier. Most other States also have started infant formula cost-reduction initiatives. By utilizing the competitive forces of the market, these State laboratories of innovation were able to use savings of $300 million to increase WIC participation by 500,000 this year.

H.R. 24 will expand WIC participation even more. States buying infant formula through competitive bidding save more than States using other cost-cutting systems. By moving all States to competitive bidding systems, this bill will save an additional $40 million and allow 68,000 more needy pregnant women, infants, and children to participate in WIC.

In joining to support this improvement in WIC, the Administration and the Congress have created an opportunity to help the neediest segments of our population. We will implement competitive bidding as quickly and effectively as possible so that thousands of poor, nutritionally deficient women, infants, and children may receive the help they need. The Secretary of Agriculture will make speedy implementation of this initiative a top priority. The results of the many State competitive bidding experiments will also be evaluated for their value in increasing participation in the nationwide WIC system.

This is the kind of action we must pursue—obtaining better value for each dollar of Federal spending—if we are to make progress on pressing national concerns.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 10, 1989.

Note: H.R. 24, approved November 10, was assigned Public Law No. 101–147.

Remarks at the Dedication Ceremony for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Dallas, Texas

November 11, 1989

Thank you, Governor. Thank all of you, on this beautiful day. Governor Clements, thank you, sir. Mayor Strauss, Mayor Bolen, Brad Wright, Mr. Russell, Judge Burkett, and Art Ruff and Chaplain Adickes, members of the foundation, but especially my fellow veterans and Texans and fellow Americans, I am just delighted to be back here, and so is Barbara. It's a privilege to be with you and to officially dedicate a monument that is proud and patriotic and thus quintessentially Texan: the Texas Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Four times in this century, the sons of America have crossed the oceans to fight for the freedom of others. Their blood has consecrated ground in places well-known and obscure, from Argonne to Bougainville, from Omaha Beach to Inchon, from Con Thien to the Mekong Delta. And because they gave the last full measure of devotion, our nation is at peace. And because of them, the peaceful ideals of America are now the ideals of the world.

Look to the very heart of Europe, to Berlin, and you will see a great truth shining brighter with each passing day: The quest for freedom is stronger than steel, more permanent than concrete. Victor Hugo said: "Nothing can stop an idea whose time has come." Well, my fellow veterans, the idea is democracy. And around the world, the 1990's will be the decade of democracy.

Memorials like these are the very embodiment of our nation, expressing our deepest values and our character as a people, for we Americans navigate by such symbols. The St. Louis Arch, pointing toward the West; the Statue of Liberty, its silhouette a morning star of freedom; the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials, whose majesty proclaims the principles of self-government—each reflects what we are as a nation and as a people.

And so it is here today, for the Lone Star heroes of America's longest war. For this memorial moves us and inspires us, and its lessons live as oral history, passed from one generation to another. This memorial is not merely stone and masonry, as striking as they are; it's a tangible testament to America's love for the living, and for the dead.

Last year nearly half of the visitors to America's Vietnam memorials were boys and girls age 12 years and younger, and these children don't necessarily remember the Southeast Asia conflict. And when they wonder, what is this memorial all about?—we owe them an answer, an answer whose honesty will be worthy of our veterans.

And they will ask, first: Who were these men and women, these Lone Star heroes of

Vietnam? And we must tell them they were black and white, red and brown—almost a quarter of the names on this memorial are Hispanic—native-born, foreign-born, the privileged and the poor. But most of all, they were Americans—Americans from the barrios of San Antonio or the city streets of Houston, the vast expanse of west Texas; Americans who were young and probably often frightened, so very far from home.

And next, the kids will wonder: Well, what did they value, these brave young soldiers? And we must tell them they valued freedom, they valued human dignity, and they loved the U.S. And so, they overcame their fear, which after all is the very definition of courage. In a struggle which, like every war, showed man's inhumanity to man, they strove to prove man's fidelity to honor.

And then the kids will say: Why were these boys in Vietnam? And we will say, because to defend democracy and liberty is always a valiant cause—in the fields of Flanders to the rugged cliffs of Normandy, whether scaling Korea's hillsides or trudging through those rice paddies of the Mekong.

And we will tell them further the story of the boat people, gallant men and women who fled the very brutality that we were fighting, and of that memorable day when those Vietnamese refugees—alone and vulnerable in an overloaded, sinking boat—were spotted by the aircraft carrier *Midway*. And as the carrier approached, many were crying and all were waving, calling out, "Hello, American sailor! Hello, freedom man!" So, when our children ask why were we in Vietnam, we must point to those boat people, regrettably some of them still fleeing, and say, for them—for the liberty that can ensure for individuals, choice; for society, pluralism; and for nations, self-determination.

And finally, our children will ask: Well, how do we salute the men who fought for freedom? We salute them by never forgetting that true peace means the triumph of freedom—not merely the absence of war, but the triumph of freedom. And we salute them through memorials like this and by thanking the volunteers who made it possible—Vietnam vets, cities and towns, communities, foundations, organizations, and other contributors. And we honor them by giving all our vets the hope and opportunity that they have earned and by teaching our children what this memorial teaches us: about selflessness and sacrifice, qualities which know no generation.

Unlike other veterans, the brave boys who went to Vietnam had to endure two wars. The first was that one waged in the swamps and the jungles abroad, and the second was fought for respect and recognition at home. And with the passage of time, they have won the battle for the hearts of their countrymen—and in my view, it's about time. The children who come here today and will come tomorrow evidence that victory. They must know about the courageous people whose names illuminate these tablets. The men who died would want our kids to have a future they never knew—a future without war, without fear. Their sacrifice helped make that possible.

Abraham Lincoln termed that sacrifice "the last full measure of devotion." And we must never forget it. For if the Texans we honor today could speak, they might say, "Praise us as you will, but above all, we want to be remembered." And today we do remember the Lone Star heroes of America's longest war, and through them, heroes throughout our history—America's uniformed sons and daughters who took up arms and bore our burden for a cause larger than themselves.

And today we remember the more than 3 million Americans who served in Vietnam, among them, so many proud Texans. Men like Plano's Sam Johnson, a prisoner for 7 years in what they called the Hanoi Hilton—tortured, but never defeated—now a State legislator representing the people of his district here in our great State.

And also this morning, we remember America's wounded from the Vietnam conflict and the many brave Texans who paid a heavy price. They were proud of the United States; they make us proud today.

And then there's another: there are our missing or unaccounted for, and we remember them, too. For while they may be missing—missing in action and from our lives—they are not missing from our thoughts or our hearts. And so, that POW/MIA flag now flies at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington on Memorial Day, Veterans Day, and POW/MIA Recognition Day. And we will continue to see that every one of them is accounted for.

Finally, we remember the 58,175 Americans who gave their lives in Vietnam and the 3,427 brave men—the third largest number of any State—who came from over 600 Texas cities and small towns. Men like Ruben Jose Carbajal of El Paso, 21 when he was killed by a fragmentation device; Robert Larry Oaks from Lamesa, 20, killed by rifle fire. Both died exactly 20 years ago today. And, yes, think of these men and honor them. Recall how they served in Dak To and Khe Sanh.

Last month, I got a letter that I'd like to share with you. It was from Connie McWright, of Dallas, and in it she talked of her family—four sons, a daughter—and how she lost two of those boys on the battlefields of Vietnam. "Ed and Dale," she wrote, "died with the marines. They were both extremely proud to represent Texas. Ed asked that I send him a Texas flag." She said his buddies called him "Big Tex."

And several moments ago, I met with her—Mrs. McWright; her daughter, Connie; son, Wayne. And in her letter, she told me that each of her children had a dream: Wayne, to have an antique car; Ed, to be a ballplayer; Dale, to own a stable. Connie's dream, her mother said, had been to one day shake hands with the President of the United States. Well, Mrs. McWright and Connie, it is I who am honored to shake your hands. For it is you and millions of other mothers, fathers, daughters, and sons who embody the decency, service, and courage that makes this memorial a monument to everything that America is and can become.

And so, this is your memorial, Ed and Dale's memorial, the memorial which honors the spirit of the Alamo and San Jacinto and earlier heroes named Travis and Houston and Bowie. And now it is my great privilege to officially open this tribute to the greatest sons and daughters any nation could ever have: the Texas Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Fellow vets, I salute you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:51 a.m. at the memorial. In his remarks, he referred to Mayors Annette Strauss of Dallas and Bob Bolen of Fort Worth; Brad Wright, master of ceremonies for the dedication; Paul T. Russell, Jr., and B.G. Burkett and Art Ruff, president and cochairmen of the Texas Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, respectively; and Rev. Donald K. Adickes, who dedicated the memorial. Following the ceremony, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

Statement on Alfredo Mustelier Nuevo's Hunger Strike and the Treatment of Cuban Political Prisoners

November 11, 1989

I view with grave concern the news that long-term Cuban political prisoner Alfredo Mustelier Nuevo has been on a hunger strike since completing 20 years in Castro's prisons on October 27. For the past week he has been refusing liquids as well, and his current health situation is extremely serious.

The revised Cuban penal code limits incarceration for all offenses to no more than 20 years, except when the death penalty may be imposed. In addition to Mustelier, two other political prisoners have languished in Cuban prisons for over 20 years: Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez and Mario Chanes de Armas. All three men are serving out these long prison sentences after trials which lacked any semblance of due process. These three men, who have bravely endured years of harsh prison conditions, are no threat to the Cuban Government.

I call upon the Cuban Government to release these men immediately, as well as to free all remaining political prisoners. I call upon the international community to raise its collective voice and press the Cuban Government to let these people go and to conform to accepted international standards regarding human rights. The intolerable present human rights situation in Cuba, where some 50 human rights activists have been arrested since the U.N. Human Rights Commission visited late last year, underscores the need for continued United Nations monitoring of Cuba's human rights practices.

Remarks on Signing the Executive Order Creating the President's Drug Advisory Council

November 13, 1989

Today I am signing an Executive order creating the President's Drug Advisory Council. I have asked 27 very prominent Americans to serve on this Council. They are all leaders in their various fields, experienced in antidrug efforts. And they reflect a cross-section of views, but all share my goal of ridding America of illegal drugs. The Council will advise Director [of National Drug Control Policy] Bill Bennett and me on ways to implement the National Drug Control Strategy in the private sector. This Council will recommend ways to involve all elements of the private sector in the war against drugs.

When I announced the first National Drug Control Strategy last September, I asked the question: Who's responsible? Everyone who uses drugs, everyone who sells drugs, and everyone who looks the other way. This Council is composed of people, leaders in each of their fields, who will not look the other way and who will help Director Bennett find ways to enlist the support and help of all Americans in this struggle. And, Bill, I want to work with this Council in every way possible.

I'm specifically asking the Council to make recommendations to the Director and me in the following areas: better ways to encourage employers to ensure that their workplaces are drug free; better ways to enlist the aid of many Americans who want to volunteer their time and energy to winning the war on drugs; better ways to communicate to all Americans, especially our young, the importance of staying off drugs; and better ways to coordinate the many existing private sector and nonprofit antidrug efforts; better ways to involve the private sector in the building of prisons and jails.

The scourge of illegal drugs upon the lives of many Americans is simply devastating, and with the help of this Advisory Council, I look forward to stopping this devastation and guiding our nation toward an intolerance of illegal drug use wherever it may be found.

I am delighted to be here. I thank all of you for your willingness to serve on this. I will sign this commission and then I will ask each of you, if you would, to come into the Oval Office, and we'll get pictures and then go out for our class portrait—[*laughter*]—out in the Rose Garden, if you have the time—I hope so.

Note: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The Executive order is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Appointment of the Chairman and Members of the President's Drug Advisory Council

November 13, 1989

The President today announced the formation of the President's Drug Advisory Council.

The Council will assist the President and the Director of National Drug Control Policy, William Bennett, in the development and promotion of our national drug policy. The Council will complement Director Bennett's public sector efforts by communicating with the American people, encouraging private sector involvement, establishing a national support group, and soliciting the views of the American people.

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as the Chairman and members of the President's Drug Advisory Council:

Chairman:

William Moss, of Texas. Mr. Moss is president and chairman of the board of William Moss Corp.

Members:

Alvin L. Brooks, of Missouri. Mr. Brooks is director of the Kansas City Human Relations Department and executive director and founder of the Ad Hoc Group Against Crime.

Patricia Ann Burch, of Maryland. Mrs. Burch is a founding member of the National Federation of Parents for Drug Free Youth and the National Partnership to Prevent Drug and Alcohol Abuse.

James E. Burke, of New Jersey. Mr. Burke is former chairman and chief executive officer of Johnson and Johnson and is chairman of its strategic planning committee.

Alvah H. Chapman, Jr., of Florida. Mr. Chapman is former chairman of the board of Knight-Ridder, Inc., and is director and chairman of its executive committee.

Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., USN, Ret., of Virginia. Admiral Crowe is former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Lee I. Dogoloff, of Maryland. Mr. Dogoloff is executive director of the American Council for Drug Education.

Robert A. Georgine, of Maryland. Mr. Georgine is president of the building and construction trades department at the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Elsie Hilliard Hillman, of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Hillman has an extensive background in community, civic, and volunteer involvement, and is the Republican national committeewoman for Pennsylvania.

Mary L. Jacobson, of Nebraska. Mrs. Jacobson is the cofounder of Parent Resources and Information on Drug Education, Omaha, NE.

Sterling Johnson, Jr., of New York. Mr. Johnson is special narcotics prosecutor of the Special Narcotics Courts, New York City.

Ewing Marion Kauffman, of Kansas. Mr. Kauffman is chairman of Marion Laboratories.

Thomas W. Landry, of Texas. Mr. Landry is the former coach of the Dallas Cowboys.

Burton J. Lee III, of Connecticut. Dr. Lee is Physician to the President.

Brenda Lee, of Ohio. Mrs. Lee is principal of Edison Elementary School, Dayton, OH.

Edward A. Malloy, of Indiana. Father Malloy is president of the University of Notre Dame.

William J. McCarthy, of Massachusetts. Mr. McCarthy is general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Ruben B. Ortega, of Arizona. Mr. Ortega is the chief of police of Phoenix, AZ.

Richard D. Parsons, of New York. Mr. Parsons is president and chief executive officer of the Dime Savings Bank.

Sandi Patti, of Indiana. Ms. Patti is a nationally acclaimed gospel music singer.

Herman Paul Pressler III, of Texas. Judge Pressler is Justice of the Court of Appeals of Texas, 14th District, Houston, TX.

Jonas Salk, of California. Dr. Salk is founding director and distinguished professor in international health sciences at the Salk Institute.

Richard F. Schubert, of Virginia. Mr. Schubert is former president of the American Red Cross and a member of the boards of the National Assembly of National Voluntary Health and Social Welfare Organizations, Inc., and the National Commission Against Drunk Driving.

Roger B. Smith, of Michigan. Mr. Smith is chairman and chief executive officer of General Motors Corp.

William French Smith, of California. Mr. Smith is senior partner at Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, and was Attorney General during the Reagan administration.

Frank J. Tasco, of New York. Mr. Tasco is chairman of Marsh & McLennan Co. and chairman of the board of the Phoenix House.

Robert C. Wright, of Connecticut. Mr. Wright is president and chief executive officer of National Broadcasting Co.

Remarks at the Opening Session of the Universal Postal Union Congress

November 13, 1989

Thank you, Tony Frank, our distinguished Postmaster General. Thank you all for that warm welcome. Thanks to the chairman of this Congress, Ed Horgan; and the dean, just introduced, Mr. Murthy; the director general, distinguished Mr. A.C. Botto de Barros. And also I want to single out—but I don't see him up here—our Ambassador to the United Nations, Tom Pickering, who I know is here someplace. But in any event, it is important he be here—one of our top officials, and he has my full confidence. And I'm pleased to have been greeted by him outside. I also see some distinguished Members of the United States Congress. And to all of you members of this Congress, welcome to the United States.

It's a pleasure for me to address the Universal Postal Union because it brings to mind so many images from our own past, from our history. From the appointment of our first Postmaster General, Benjamin Franklin, to the trails blazed by the riders of the Pony Express, to the convenience of modern post offices, the story of the Postal Service is tied to the whole story of our country. And the mail itself reflects the American saga. In 1814 Dolley Madison wrote her sister to describe her escape from the burning White House. Alexander Hamilton sent a farewell letter to his wife before his duel with Aaron Burr. And Harry Truman wrote to folks back home about his first night as President of the United States. And I'm sure there are similar letters in the history of every single nation assembled here today.

But only once before in our history has the United States had the honor of hosting a Congress of the UPU: the fifth Congress, which took place in 1897 right here in Washington, DC. At that meeting, 106 delegates from 55 countries gathered in the Renwick Gallery, which stands on Pennsylvania Avenue right across from the White House.

The world has changed much since the last time your Congress met in Washington. The delegates to that fifth Congress had never heard of radio or television, much less computers, airplanes, space shuttles, or satellites, which now seem so commonplace. In 1897 the employees of the U.S. Post Office Department were still sorting out the mail by hand, much as their predecessors had sorted mail in 1775, when Benjamin Franklin was appointed. Today the United States Postal Service has made great strides in the use of automated equipment, some capable of sorting letters at speeds of up to 35,000 pieces an hour.

The postal systems of the world, too, have changed through the advances of technology. From Hammerfest, Norway, on the Arctic Ocean to Alice Springs, Australia, in the Outback, postal administrations have consistently adapted technology to their operations to ensure that the mail always gets through.

Stories abound of amazing deliveries through the mail system. In 1916 a 40,000-ton brick building was mailed across Utah, brick by brick, because it was cheaper than the freight charges. [*Laughter*] This year 120 live bees were mailed from Hawaii to Virginia. And they were en route when the airplane crashed. The bees survived, and they were delivered in a thick envelope with a note from the Sioux City, Iowa, postmaster explaining the delay. [*Laughter*] And then, of course, there was the man who once mailed himself from New York to

Los Angeles on a $500 bet. However, after the 8-hour flight in a styrofoam crate, he decided to stay out of the mail in the future. [*Laughter*] While these stories may be out of the ordinary, Americans are proud of the extraordinary job being done by our United States Postal Service and its 800,000 employees.

But I'm also proud of the contribution that the United States has made, and continues to make, to the Universal Postal Union. The first attempt at organizing a worldwide postal union was, in large part, the inspiration of Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster General during the first administration of President Abraham Lincoln. At his invitation, delegates from 15 countries met in Paris in 1863 to propose regulations governing the international mails. Historians describe national postal systems in those days as total chaos: at least 1,200 separate postal rates worldwide. Nations were forced to maintain bilateral agreements with every country just for the exchange of the mail. Postmaster General Blair, along with many others, envisioned a universal system that would consider the entire world as one unified postal territory. Much wisdom, eloquence, and effort were devoted to the creation of the Universal Postal Union. The original foundation was not the work of any one man or any one nation but rather that of many men from many nations. The idea of universal collaboration, bold in design, daring in concept for its day, gained support from a world that recognized international obligations and increasing interdependence of all peoples.

Written letters conveyed through the mails, linking the peoples and the nations of the world, have served many notable enterprises: the advancement of civilization, the expansion of commerce and trade, the promotion of industry and science, and the encouragement of peace and good will. In fact, I understand that here at your World Stamp Expo a new set of Soviet stamps will be issued, two of which portray American astronauts.

The need to communicate by mail across national frontiers, despite the march of time and the advent of telecommunication, has remained constant to this very day. The expansion of the world's postal systems, represented by the 170 nations of the UPU, staggers the imagination. For even our latest technology and instant delivery services cannot do what the postal system alone can do: get the mail through, anywhere on Earth, to any recipient, at a very small cost.

Every week, I receive up to 60,000 letters from every State in the Union and from nearly every country in the world. You can get a lot of free advice in this job. [*Laughter*] Letters arrive from children to our oldest citizens. In a world of faxes and fiber optics, the mails still represent the most intimate means by which the people of this nation and other nations reveal their thoughts, their hopes, and their dreams—whether it's a young child, crayon in hand, writing a letter to Santa Claus or a soldier waiting for a special letter from home.

"Letters mingle souls," John Donne, the poet, wrote. "Letters mingle souls." So, look at it this way. Yours is a noble profession, for through your efforts, the written word stirs the imagination, improves the human condition, and touches the heart. So, I came over here today to say to you: good luck in your endeavors over the next 3 weeks of this Congress. God bless you all in your work. You are indeed—if you look at it this way, you can be, just as the magnificent symphony—you can be catalysts for peace, too. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at [illegible] a.m. in the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Nomination of Martin H. Gerry To Be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services

November 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Martin H. Gerry to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services for Planning and Evaluation. He would succeed Robert B. Helms.

Since 1978 Mr. Gerry has served as president of the Fund for Equal Access to Society, and since 1977 he has served as special counsel for the Wednesday Group of the House of Representatives. Prior to this, he served in various capacities at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, including Director of the Office for Civil Rights, 1975–1977; Assistant to Secretary Caspar Weinberger, 1973–1975; Assistant to Secretary Elliot Richardson, 1970–1973; and Executive Assistant to the Director of the Office for Civil Rights, 1969–1970. In addition, he served as an associate attorney for the law firm of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander in New York City.

Mr. Gerry graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1964) and Stanford Law School (J.D., 1967). He was born January 3, 1943, in San Francisco, CA. Mr. Gerry is married, has one child, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of William Hughes Graves III To Be Director of the National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research

November 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Hughes Graves III to be Director of the National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research, Department of Education. He would succeed David B. Gray.

Since 1982 Dr. Graves has served as director of the Rehabilitation Research and Training Center on Blindness and Low Vision and is associate director of the Rehabilitation Counselor Education Program at Mississippi State University. Since 1988 he has served as a professor in the department of counselor education at Mississippi State University. In addition, he served as director of the Rehabilitation Counselor Education Program at Mississippi State University, 1968–1982; and as a rehabilitation counselor at the South Carolina Vocational Rehabilitation Commission, 1965–1967.

Dr. Graves graduated from Wake Forest University (B.A., 1964) and the University of Florida (M.R.C., 1965; Ed.D., 1969). He was born September 3, 1940, in Sumter, SC. Dr. Graves was awarded the Distinguished Career Service Award in 1989. He is married, has one child, and resides in Starkville, MS.

Nomination of H. Douglas Barclay To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation

November 13, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate H. Douglas Barclay to be a member of the Board of Directors for the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency, for the term expiring December 17, 1991. He would succeed Thomas A. Bolan.

Since 1961 Mr. Barclay has served as a partner and associate in the law firm of Hiscock and Barclay in Syracuse, NY. Mr. Barclay graduated from Yale College (B.A., 1955) and Syracuse University College of Law (J.D., 1961). He was born July 5, 1932, in New York, NY. Mr. Barclay was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Artillery in the U.S. Army Reserve in 1955. He is married, has five children, and resides in Pulaski, NY.

Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Lech Walesa and the Presidential Citizen's Medal to Lane Kirkland

November 13, 1989

The President. Just before Christmas 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the third time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression. In snow-filled crossroads and town squares across Poland, iron tanks rumbled to a stop. Lech Walesa made the sign of the cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing the Polish Nation, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

But you can't lock up a dream. One by one, candles in the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of liberty, still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing with solidarity with the Polish people.

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And in colleges and universities approaching graduation, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard: Lech Walesa and Solidarity. Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so, in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place—an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner—awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois. And at Notre Dame, the crowd stood for 3 minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he'd never seen.

For 8 years, these empty chairs and the American people have waited for you to come. We waited because we believe in freedom. We waited because we believe in Poland. And we waited because we believe in you. And today, the waiting is over. Lech Walesa, man of freedom, is in the White House. We think of it as the house of freedom. Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you: Take your place in the house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair. Now you can have a seat.

In just a few days, you will be the second private citizen from abroad—second in our history—to ever address a joint meeting of Congress, after the Marquis de Lafayette in 1824. And like him, you helped win on his own struggle. And like him, you represent not only a people but also an idea—an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. That idea is freedom. The time is now.

You were called a nobody, but Lenin and Stalin have been disproved not by Presidents or princes but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and his fellow workers in a brave union called Solidarity. The Iron Curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era, a failed ideology. And the change is everywhere—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. And ladies and gentlemen, the week that brought Lech Walesa to America is the week that the headlines proclaimed, "And the Wall Comes Tumbling Down."

So, what is happening in Berlin and on our television screens is astounding. World War II, fought for freedom, ironically left the world divided between the free and the unfree; and most of us alive today were born into that sundered world. And now almost 50 years have passed, and some have wondered all these years why we stayed in Berlin. And let me tell you! We stayed because we knew, we just knew—all Americans—that this day would come. And now a century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

The story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand. Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire others—in them a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself—changed the course of a nation. History may make men, but Lech Walesa has made history. And I believe history continues to be made every day by small daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every field, in steel mills, mines, and shipyards—everywhere." And none is stronger than them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the country, they have stood firm in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own." And like Franklin, who seized lightning from the skies and brought it to Earth, Lech Walesa seized an idea, a powerful idea, and with it electrified the world. The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages—Spanish, German, Chinese, Russian. And yet from these varied lips comes a word all can understand: freedom. And with one voice, the people of the world have spoken: freedom. In America, it's our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success. And freedom will bring success to Poland, too. American aid has begun, and more is coming. From Washington to Warsaw, Kansas City to Krakow, from Green Bay to Gdansk, Americans are linked in spirit with the Polish people in their brave struggle for opportunity, prosperity, and freedom.

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that is sweeping the world, East and West—the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy. And even while Solidarity was banned, your example and the example of the Polish people was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines and then in Pakistan and South Korea and, yes, even in Tiananmen Square. The whole world is watching, and the whole world is with you.

Thank you, Poland, for showing us that the dream is alive. And thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of stone. Thank you, Poland, and thank you, Lech Walesa.

And now, it is with great pride that I bestow the medal, previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King and President John F. Kennedy, Anwar Sadat, Mother Teresa. It is our nation's highest civilian honor. So, Mr. Walesa, if you'll come over here, let me read the citation:

> To Lech Walesa of Gdansk, Poland, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Lech Walesa has shown through his life and work the power of one individual's ideals when combined with the irresistible force of freedom. Through moral authority, force of personality, and demonstrated heroism, he has inspired a nation and the world in the cause of liberty. The United States honors a true man of his times and of timeless ideals: Lech Walesa, distinguished son of Poland, champion of universal human rights.

Mr. Walesa. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I'm deeply moved and gratified that I'm here, in the Capital of the United States of America and the White House, greeted so warmly by President George Bush in the company of American-Polish friends.

One of the greatest dreams of my life has thus been fulfilled. I'm full of admiration for your country not because it's a big power and not because it's rich, even though one could envy that. I admire America as a country of freedom—freedom of man and freedom of a nation. You took that freedom yourself. Nobody gave it to you as a present. You built it through your hard work, step by step. You created wonderful democratic institutions, which are an example for many other countries. But most, before others, you created human attachments to freedom.

America is a free country because American workers and farmers are and want to be free—technicians and engineers, bankers and industrialists. America is rich with its freedom. It shares it with the immigrants. Some are looking for freedom from misery, and others are looking for freedom from persecutions. That is why I so highly cherish the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Poles know the price of freedom as very few nations of the world. They know how to fight for freedom. They know how to defend freedom. Now my country has entered the road of freedom. It's rebuilding its independence and democracy. It's restoring sense to labor and economy. I'm sure that we will not get away from that road.

Mr. President, for yours and our freedom, for the American Nation, for the freedom of all nations of the world, thank you very much for this wonderful, wonderful distinction.

The President. Please be seated. Before we conclude, there is one more person with us today whose dedication to Solidarity and to free trade unions I feel we must recognize. You all know how crucial has been the work of the AFL–CIO in helping *Solidarność* through difficult times and in promoting free trade unions and democracy around the world. So, Lane Kirkland, would you please come up here, sir. For over a decade, under your leadership, you and the union have been pathbreakers for freedom, continuing the support for free trade unions around the world. And in Eastern Europe, your support was crucial. And you were there—you, personally, were there—in the hour of greatest need, helping to keep alive the dream of democracy in Poland.

And so, Lane, on behalf of a grateful nation, I want to present you with the Presidential Citizen's Medal. And the citation reads:

> As President of the AFL–CIO, Joseph Lane Kirkland has worked tirelessly and effectively in support of Solidarity, free trade unions, and democratic principles. America honors him for this dedication, which has helped spread the lamp of liberty in Eastern Europe and across the globe.

Congratulations!

Mr. Kirkland. Mr. President, you must like surprises because I was extraordinarily surprised by your very generous act in enabling me to share an honor with the man who towers in the world today for his achievements: Lech Walesa.

I can only say that it's what I think I try my best to stand for today that merits any such recognition. And what I do stand for—the instrument and the principle of free trade unionism—is today a lever that can move the world. And to serve that is a privilege for any person. Thank you again, Mr. President.

Note: The President spoke at 6:07 p.m. in the East Room of the White House. Mr. Walesa spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Informal Exchange With Reporters
November 14, 1989

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. Mr. President, do you have any reaction to Czechoslovakia's decision to ease travel restrictions?

The President. Well, I'm very pleased about the move in Czechoslovakia. Several months ago we called for a Europe whole and free, and as I survey the changes taking place, it seems to be moving towards a Europe whole and free. So, I would welcome this as a very encouraging first step.

The people of Czechoslovakia have the same aspirations for freedom that others have; and I would expect we'd see further changes there, just as we have seen in Poland, Hungary, and in the German Democratic Republic. So, it's a very good and encouraging step. And this is further manifestation that Europe someday will be whole and free. Gorbachev talks about a common home. We talk about a Europe whole and free. And it's a most exciting time.

Q. The Wall Street Journal reported this morning that some members of the administration feel it's moving too fast. Do you think so, sir?

The President. No, I don't think it's moving too fast, and I don't know of anybody in my administration that feels that it's moving too fast.

NATO Allies

Q. Do you intend to go to Brussels, sir, after the Malta summit?

The President. Go where?

Q. To Brussels, to brief the allies?

The President. We're thinking right now how we might stay in touch with our allies. That is very, very important. And not only we'll be doing this after the summit but, as I think I've told some of you, I have already talked to some and will be talking to more before the summit.

May I say, while the cameras are still here, what a pleasure it is to have Tunisia's President with us today. The man has great respect here in this country, and I'm just delighted that he's with us.

Note: The exchange began at 11:06 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, following a meeting with President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia.

Remarks on Signing the American Education Week Proclamation
November 14, 1989

Thank you all very much. Before celebrating American Education Week, I was out celebrating a physical fitness day, so if I'm dripping from—[*laughter*]—I apologize, but I just ran my miles.

But first of all, I just want to thank all of you, and it's good to be back among so many leaders, from our own Department of Education to the American Legion to the ten professional education associations that have sponsored this American Education Week—sponsored it for so long and with such dedication. Let me also thank and welcome the representatives of the many leading educational organizations out here in the audience today. And finally, I want to thank the students among us for unveiling this beautiful statue, this remarkable statue—an inspiration for us—and say to them, particularly, welcome to the White House!

As educators, I'm sure you'll appreciate the story about the scholar who was grading an exam shortly before Christmas when he came across this note from a student: "God only knows the answer to this question. Merry Christmas." And the scholar returned the paper with this annotation: "God gets an A; you get an F. Happy New Year." [*Laughter*]

Well, we are here today not to flunk our system but to earn a higher grade. As a nation, we proclaim that America is serious about lifting the hopes and the dreams of young Americans, serious about education and the future. And this concern with education is to be found wherever men and women seek to extend human liberty. Just yesterday—that's why I'm wearing my *Solidarność* bracelet here—I met with Lech Walesa and once again was deeply impressed by the changes that are underway in Poland and the fervent commitment of the Polish people to make that change permanent through education.

For Americans, this vital connection between education and a strong, free nation is symbolized by the Flag of Learning and Liberty. It was this same flag that Christa McAuliffe took with her on the *Challenger*. She appreciated this symbol, as only a teacher could. And now, recovered by NASA, it is being taken to every State in the Union.

Concern for education and democracy brought me together with the Nation's Governors in that recent summit there in Charlottesville, Virginia—only the third summit of chief executives in our country's 200 years as a nation. As we worked together in Charlottesville, the handiwork of our first education President, Thomas Jefferson, was all about us. And it was Jefferson, after all, who forever linked American democracy with universal public education. He put the matter in a letter in 1816 with these words: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."

So, if there was a sense of urgency to this summit of ours, it was because, like Thomas Jefferson and then Christa McAuliffe, all the participants understood that the future of American education really is the future of America itself. That's why we worked at the summit to reach an historic agreement—a compact, a Jeffersonian compact—to protect our democracy by bettering our schools. Perhaps no one expressed our aspirations in a better way than a group of teachers in North Carolina who hung a little sign on the outside of their classrooms that read: "Quiet, please. Teachers at work. Future under construction."

It is to construct a better future that we agreed to define national goals in education. We agreed to loosen rules that restrict the creativity of States and schools. And then we agreed that everyone should be accountable for the results. It is in the spirit of this compact that I'm going to sign this document today. And some may ask: What difference, what possible difference, can a proclamation make? And it makes no difference whatsoever, if we're satisfied with a simple declaration; but I'm not, and certainly none of you are. So, we are not satisfied.

Secretary Cavazos is making a difference today, conducting a regional strategy meeting to determine how to best reform our schools with the principle of choice. And parents need the power to choose their children's schools. And schools need the power to choose knowledgeable members of the community through alternative certification of teachers.

The men and women here today are also using American Education Week to make a difference, to shine a spotlight on the millions of dedicated teachers, concerned parents, and active volunteers. And during this week, November 12th to the 18th, Americans will work together on school boards, in adult learning centers, in raising funds for higher education, and in countless other ways.

So, this will be a week of board meetings and open houses and of special projects, plays—a week to reflect, to plan, and then to act. And to kick off American Education Week, Barbara is—the Silver Fox, we call her—is hosting a special show on the Disney Channel, introducing 31 outstanding teachers from around the country. So, just imagine that, the channel that features Mickey and Minnie now has a "Silver Fox." [*Laughter*]

But what this week comes down to is not just a Federal effort, not just a State effort, not just a local effort. American Education Week is a national effort, and one that calls on every one of us to pitch in and to make a difference. And this really is, then, the true spirit of American education and democracy; and this is the fondest dream of the greatest American dreamers, from Thomas Jefferson to Christa McAuliffe. And this is what American Education Week, then, is all about.

And so, I really wanted to come over here and to thank you for all that you do. May God bless your work and you. And now it will be my pleasure to sign this proclamation designating American Education Week. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:38 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to a bronze statue depicting the Flag of Learning and Liberty. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Remarks to the Organization of American States

November 14, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Secretary and distinguished Members of the U.S. Congress. I really wanted to come over here to salute your work and to suggest that, after these few brief remarks for those Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers here, I'd love to be able to just shake hands individually. And maybe we could impose on you to suggest we file through out there and have a quick picture and a handshake, if you're agreeable. But I want to add my voice of welcome to that of the Secretary and of Larry Eagleburger and everybody else here. Welcome to Washington, to those who have come in for the meetings.

I am pleased, also, to see many faces that were in San José last month—a meeting that I thoroughly enjoyed, and I know Jim Baker did, too. I wanted to emphasize here the importance that we place on multilateral diplomacy, particularly in this hemisphere. I have tried very hard, and I will continue to try, to reach out to the various Presidents of the democracies here in this hemisphere and to establish the proper respectful lines of communication. And I can tell you that—I don't know how your Presidents feel, but I have learned a great deal from the consultations that I've had, and I am going to continue that practice. And we will not neglect the neighbors to our south.

I will say this, that the OAS seems to be a very special organization. I think Canada's addition, as I said down there, is a very healthy thing for the Organization. We have so much in common, and we have special relationships. And if we properly exercise the OAS, those relationships will not be taken for granted.

I hope that at this session the OAS will demonstrate to the hemisphere and, indeed, to the entire world that it does indeed have a capacity to deal effectively with the problems its members face in our common objective: the promotion of democracy. And I believe that Latin America and the Caribbean are reaching out to the U.S., as I hope we are to you, in a new partnership: a partnership based on, as I said earlier, mutual respect and, I would add now, mutual responsibility. We've stopped pointing fingers of blame at each other, and instead, we're trying to cooperate and to defend and advance democracy and development. We've got to join together to combat these narco traffickers, and I think we're moving in the right direction there. And obviously, we're all committed to building a lasting peace.

And I must say that I want to tell you how upset I am that, in a time when we're all trying to build peace in Central America through diplomatic means, the FMLN in Salvador, aided and abetted by Nicaragua and the Cuban Government, regretfully has reverted to senseless bloodshed and gross violation of all the agreements reached to promote peace in Central America.

And for those who were in that meeting in Costa Rica, you will know that there was an embarrassing moment when President Cristiani [of El Salvador] turned to Comandante Ortega and said, "Stop sending these military weapons across in contravention of our agreements." It was a dramatic moment, and the President was absolutely right in his insistence that that stop. And so, we support President Cristiani. After all, he did go through what many of us have gone through, many of us in this room: certifiably free elections. He's made a determined and politically courageous effort to talk to the FMLN; and I just think that, if we're democrats here, we ought to be supporting the concept of stopping the weapons going in there—senseless violence today in a country that I'm convinced wants peace.

I'm committed to working, as the Secretary is, with all the nations in the hemisphere in building this new relationship, this new partnership, if you will. That is why, in the first place, I went to San José. And that's why I wanted to take this time to come over and just give you that assurance, or in some cases, reassurance. I want to tell you, as I told the Presidents there in San José, that I am delighted with the new moves towards democracy in Eastern Europe. We're all caught up in this; I'm sure the people in every country here are caught up in this fantastic change that's taking place. But despite the excitement about those developments, we are not going—and I'm speaking for the United States—we are not going to neglect this hemisphere. And I want to continue to make that point to the leaders of these various countries: We are building the world's first democratic hemisphere. We're close to achievement there—the help of so many here on the cutting edge that have done your parts in this.

And so, I just want you to know, as we work with the problems of Eastern Europe and as I go to meet with Mr. Gorbachev in Malta not so many weeks from now, there will be nothing in all of that that will adversely impact on the democracies in this hemisphere. Indeed, I hope maybe we can have some action from him that will help the democracies in this hemisphere. So, this will be very much on my mind. And I simply do not want any of the Presidents in the countries you represent to think that because we're paying a lot of attention to the change that's taking place there, trying to figure out how we can facilitate the change, that that means a lack of interest in the Western Hemisphere.

Thank you all very much for being here. Good luck in your meetings. And for those who do have a minute, I'd love to have you step outside through this magnificent room and say hello. Thanks a lot.

Note: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. in the Thomas Jefferson Room at the State Department. He was introduced by Secretary of State James A. Baker III. In his remarks, the President referred to Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger.

Nomination of La Verne G. Ausman To Be Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration

November 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate La Verne G. Ausman to be Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, Department of Agriculture. He would succeed Vance L. Clark.

Since 1989 Mr. Ausman has served as a consultant with the Farmers Home Administration in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Under Secretary for Small Community and Rural Development at the Department of Agriculture, 1987–1989; Director of Intergovernmental Affairs in the Office of Government and Public Affairs at the Department of Agriculture, 1986–1987; secretary of the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture for trade and consumer protection, 1981–1986; agricultural policy adviser and home office director for Representative Steve Gunderson, 1981; labor and industry review commissioner for the State of Wisconsin, 1979–1981; and State representative for the 69th assembly district in Wisconsin, 1974–1977. In addition he had been a farmer in Elk Mound, WI, since 1963; State director of the Wisconsin Farm Bureau Federation; and director of Tri-State Breeders Cooperative, 1961–1969.

Mr. Ausman attended the University of Wisconsin. He was born February 18, 1930, in Eau Claire, WI. Mr. Ausman is married, has two children, and resides in Oakton, VA.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Iran

November 14, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last report of May 23, 1989, concerning the national emergency with respect to Iran that was declared in Executive Order No. 12170 of November 14, 1979, and matters relating to Executive Order No. 12613 of October 29, 1987. This report is submitted pursuant to section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c), and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa–9. This report covers events through September 6, 1989, including those that occurred since the last report under Executive Order No. 12170, dated May 23, 1989. That report covered events through March 28, 1989.

1. Since the last report, there have been no amendments to the Iranian Assets Control Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 535 (the "IACR"), or the Iranian Transactions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 560 (the "ITR"), administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control ("FAC"). The major focus of licensing activity under the ITR remains the importation of certain non-fungible Iranian-origin goods, principally carpets, which were located outside Iran before the embargo was imposed, and where no payment or benefit accrued to Iran after the effective date of the embargo. Since March 28, 1989, FAC has made 151 licensing determinations under the ITR.

During the reporting period, the Customs Service has effected numerous detentions and seizures of Iranian-origin merchandise, primarily carpets, caviar, and pistachios, for violations of the Iranian Transactions Regulations. FAC and Customs Service investigations of these violations have resulted in forfeiture actions and imposition of civil monetary penalties amounting to more than $2.6 million. Numerous additional forfeiture and civil penalties actions are under review.

In the case of *United States* v. *Benham Tahriri*, the defendant (who is also subject to forfeiture and civil penalty actions) was sentenced to 90 days in a halfway house and 2 years' probation. Criminal proceedings in eleven (11) additional cases involving several individuals and corporate entities are pending in various jurisdictions. One arrest warrant is outstanding. Indictments have been issued in the case of *United States* v. *Ahmad Elyasian*, which is now pending in the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina.

Finally, FAC has issued a Directive License to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York ("FRBNY") authorizing disbursement to the Iran-United States Claims Tribunal by FRBNY of $316,361.17, plus accrued interest. This amount represents an award granted by the Tribunal in December 1987 in favor of a U.S. national. An FAC investigation revealed the award had been obtained by fraudulent means. The return of this award to the Tribunal demonstrates to Iran the commitment of the United States to the continued viability of the Tribunal as a legal forum for the resolution of claims arising from the Iranian hostage crisis.

2. The Iran-United States Claims Tribunal (the "Tribunal"), established at The Hague pursuant to the Algiers Accords, continues to make progress in arbitrating the claims before it. In the period since the last report

through September 6, 1989, the Tribunal has rendered 20 awards, for a total of 438 awards. Of that total, 321 have been awards in favor of American claimants: 197 of these were awards on agreed terms, authorizing and approving payment of settlements negotiated by the parties, and 124 were decisions adjudicated on the merits. The Tribunal has dismissed a total of 26 other claims on the merits and 59 for jurisdictional reasons. Of the 32 remaining awards, two were withdrawn, and 30 were in favor of Iranian claimants. As of September 6, 1989, awards to successful American claimants from the Security Account held by the NV Settlement Bank stood at $1,282,257,009.20.

As of September 6, 1989, the Security Account has fallen below the required balance of $500 million 30 times. Iran has replenished the account 29 times, as required by the Algiers Accords, by transferring funds from the separate account held by the NV Settlement Bank in which interest on the Security Account is deposited. Iran has also replenished the account once when it was not required by the Accords, for a total of 30 replenishments. The total amount in the Security Account as of September 6, 1989, was $496,118,287.84. The amount in the interest account as of September 6, 1989, was $112,138,515.00. The aggregate amount that has been transferred from the interest account to the Security Account is $667,998,999.39.

On July 7, 1989, Mohammad K. Eshragh resigned from his position as Iranian agent to the Tribunal. He had served as the Iranian agent since the Tribunal's inception. He was replaced by Ali Heyrani-Nobari, who had been serving as Iran's deputy agent.

3. The Tribunal continues to make progress in the arbitration of claims of U.S. nationals for $250,000 or more. Over 70 percent of the nonbank claims have now been disposed of through adjudication, settlement, or voluntary withdrawal, leaving 153 such claims on the docket. The largest of the large claims, the progress of which has been slowed by their complexity, are finally being decided, sometimes with sizable damage awards to the U.S. claimant. Since the last report, 16 large claims have been decided. One U.S. company received a judgment of $110 million.

4. The Tribunal continues to process claims of U.S. nationals against Iran of less than $250,000 each. As of September 6, 1989, a total of 394 small claims have been resolved, 32 of them since the last report, as a result of decisions on the merits, awards on agreed terms, or Tribunal orders. Four contested claims have been decided since the last report, raising the total of contested claims decided to 28, 17 of which favored the American claimant. These decisions will help in establishing guidelines for the adjudication or settlement of similar claims. To date, American claimants have also received 56 awards on agreed terms reflecting settlements of claims under $250,000.

The Tribunal's current small claims docket includes approximately 160 active cases. It is anticipated that the Tribunal will issue new scheduling orders later this fall to bring its active docket to approximately 225 active cases.

5. In coordination with concerned Government agencies, the Department of State continues to present U.S. Government claims against Iran, as well as responses by the U.S. Government to claims brought against it by Iran. Since my last report, the Department has filed pleadings in ten government-to-government claims. The Department defended a claim brought by an Iranian individual against the United States in a hearing before the Tribunal. In addition, two claims have been settled.

6. Between March 28, 1989, and October 17, 1989, seven bank syndicates have completed negotiations with Bank Markazi Jomhouri Islami Iran ("Bank Markazi," Iran's central bank) and have been paid a total of $2,016,007.17 for interest accruing for the period January 1–18, 1981 ("January Interest"). These payments were made from Dollar Account No. 1 at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York ("FRBNY"). Moreover, under the April 13, 1988, agreement between the FRBNY and Bank Markazi, the FRBNY returned $2,961,225.28 of Iranian funds to Bank Markazi. That transfer represents the excess of amounts reserved in Dollar Account No. 1 to pay off each bank syndicate with a claim for January Interest against Bank Markazi.

7. Since the last report, there have been

no amendments to the Iranian Assets Control Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 535, administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control. There have been no amendments to the Iranian Transactions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 560, since their publication on November 17, 1988.

8. The situation reviewed above continues to implicate important diplomatic, financial, and legal interests of the United States and its nationals and presents an unusual challenge to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. The Iranian Assets Control Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order No. 12170 continue to play an important role in structuring our relationship with Iran and in enabling the United States properly to implement the Algiers Accords. Similarly, the Iranian Transactions Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order No. 12613 continue to advance important objectives in combatting international terrorism. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to deal with these problems and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 14, 1989.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Presidential Election Monitoring Commission on Nicaragua

November 14, 1989

The President today appointed congressional members of the Presidential Election Monitoring Commission on Nicaragua. The members include:

Senator Richard Lugar (R–IN), Cochairman
Representative Anthony Beilenson (D–CA), Cochairman
Senator David Boren (D–OK)
Senator Dave Durenberger (R–MN)
Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R–KS)
Senator Patrick Leahy (D–VT)
Senator Connie Mack (R–FL)
Senator John McCain (R–AZ)
Senator Claiborne Pell (D–RI)
Senator Harry Reid (D–NV)
Senator Terry Sanford (D–NC)
Representative David Bonior (D–MI)
Representative William Broomfield (R–MI)
Representative Rod Chandler (R–WA)
Representative Mickey Edwards (R–OK)
Representative Henry Hyde (R–IL)
Representative G.V. Montgomery (D–MS)
Representative John Murtha (D–PA)
Representative Jim Slattery (D–KS)
Representative Tom Tauke (R–IA)

As set forth in the bipartisan accord on Central America, Republicans and Democrats share an interest in seeing a free and fair electoral process in Nicaragua to bring freedom and peace to that troubled country. The members of the Commission will travel to Nicaragua from now through the February election to monitor closely the degree to which the Nicaraguan Government is keeping its commitment to hold a free and fair election. The President expressed his hope that this Commission, as well as all other election-observer groups, will be welcomed by the Nicaraguan Government and receive its full cooperation.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Environmental Youth Awards

November 15, 1989

I told Administrator Reilly he looked a little lonely standing up here with all these about-to-be-filled places. But I am very pleased to be here. And let me, at the outset of these remarks, while we're talking about the Environmental Youth Awards, say how proud I am to have Bill Reilly, an outstanding environmentalist, heading this big agency, the EPA, and being at my side as we try to move forward—legislatively and every other way—our concerns and your concerns about the environment. We're lucky to have a man of his stature doing what he's doing.

Speaking of environmentalists, I don't want to embarrass Gil Grosvenor, but there he is—head of the National Geographic Society. And I think of what they do, every single issue, in one way or another, and in many other ways as well, to help in this crusade.

It's a pleasure to be about to meet so many young people who are deeply involved in protecting our environment. I am told that you come from as far away as Alaska, from every corner of this beautiful country of ours. And I want to thank you for what you've done and welcome you warmly to the White House.

Some people might ask: What can young people do to protect our environment? Well, we had five kids, and there were times when I thought that the kids could make a major improvement in the environment just by cleaning up their rooms—[*laughter*]—but I realize now we have broader responsibilities. And anyone who has seen all of you at work knows just how much kids can do to protect and preserve this world that we live in.

And I've heard about your projects. I've been briefed on those, everything from recycling to conservation to some very sophisticated environmental research—impressive, all of them, but what impresses me the most is how many times you took an idea that began in the classroom out into the community. And every one of your projects is making your communities a little cleaner, a little more pleasant, a little more aware of how much the environment matters. And that's a credit to each of you and to your schools and your teachers and your parents, who gave you the necessary encouragement and support.

But your work has an impact even beyond your own communities. Your projects teach other kids that no one's ever too young to care about the environment. And they tell us something else, too: that if kids can be environmentally aware, maybe a few more adults will join in. The fact is that everyone can be an environmentalist—every one of us has got to be. What we're seeing today, not just here but, as Bill knows so well, all around the world, is a new sense of urgency about the environment, about the state of our world; greater awareness that pollution and the destruction of our environment hurt all of us, that every one of us has a common interest in the fate and the future of this planet, and that it's simply not acceptable to continue to do environmental damage today and leave the cleanup for you and your children to worry about later on.

All of your projects are special, but I hope I don't offend anybody—I hope the rest of you won't mind if I mention two projects, the ones done by our youngest environmentalists. There's last year's 4th grade class here from St. Joseph, Missouri—I see them smiling away here—[*laughter*]—that decided to adopt a polluted river, adopt the river in their community, and clean it up. For 1 full year, you picked up the litter, tested the water, stocked the river with all kinds of wildlife, and you planted willow trees along the bank, I'm told, to protect against the erosion. I can tell you that, years from now, when you sit on the bank beneath those willows—maybe with some of your children, some of your grandchildren—watching that river roll along, you're going to get a very special feeling, then, for what you've done today.

There's another group here today—Marquette, Michigan—where are they? Right over here, scattered—all right, I see you guys—who collected enough money to save an 80-acre stand of white pine trees from being cut down. And you knew how many trees there were and how much it would cost to buy the land, so you did a little math and came up with a slogan: Save a Pine Tree for $155.28. [*Laughter*]

I've tried to make a habit myself, in various events, of planting trees to call attention to the need to care for the future of this planet. Planting a tree is not an act that we do just for ourselves but for future generations, including future 4th graders from Marquette, Michigan, and elsewhere who haven't even been born yet. Well, the people in your community who heard your slogan thought that saving those trees was worth every penny.

What's true about those trees is true about the rest of our environment—our lakes and our rivers and our streams, our forests and our mountains, the very air we breathe. And nothing gives me more confidence in your generation than to see what you've already done to protect the gifts that nature has given us. Because "America the Beautiful" is more than just a song that we all sing; it's a treasured inheritance. And so, together, we can keep it that way—America the beautiful.

So, I'm glad to join Bill Reilly in congratulating all of you. And now, with no further ado, he and I have the great pleasure of passing out these awards. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel

November 15, 1989

The President met today with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who is in the United States on a private visit. Prime Minister Shamir and President Bush discussed the state of the U.S.-Israeli relationship. The President reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to the security of Israel.

They also reviewed the importance of moving ahead in the peace process. The President focused on the effort to bring Palestinians and Israelis together in a dialog on elections and a negotiating process. The President reaffirmed his conviction that all parties should demonstrate the necessary flexibility and imagination to take advantage of the historic opportunity for direct negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis offered by Israel's peace initiative.

The President noted that the U.S. five points offer a framework that will allow Israel and the Palestinians to engage on the substantive issues of elections and the negotiating process, while safeguarding the legitimate interests of all who accept those points. In this regard, the President expressed his pleasure with the Israeli Inner Cabinet's decision of November 5 to accept the five points, while noting that any assurances that might be provided by the United States to any party should not result in a renegotiation of these points. The United States and Israel agreed to continue their close consultations.

Nomination of John T. MacDonald To Be an Assistant Secretary of Education
November 15, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John T. MacDonald to be Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education at the Department of Education. He would succeed Beryl Dorsett.

Since 1986 Dr. MacDonald has served as commissioner of education for the State of New Hampshire. Prior to this, he served as superintendent of Dartmouth public schools in Dartmouth, MA, 1978–1986; superintendent of Walpole public schools in Walpole, MA, 1973–1978; superintendent of Wallingford public schools in Wallingford, CT, 1970–1973; and teacher and elementary supervising principal for Groton public schools in Groton, CT, 1958–1970.

Dr. MacDonald graduated from Northeastern University (B.S., 1958; M.Ed., 1966) and the University of Connecticut (Ph.D., 1970). He was born November 21, 1932, in Utica, NY. Dr. MacDonald served in the U.S. Air Force, 1949–1953. He is married, has six children, and resides in Concord, NH.

Nomination of Harriet Winsar Isom To Be United States Ambassador to Benin
November 15, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Harriet Winsar Isom, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the People's Republic of Benin. She would succeed Walter Edward Stadtler.

Since 1986 Ms. Isom has served as Chargé d'Affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Vientiane, Laos. Prior to this, she served as Director of Korean Affairs in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State, 1984–1986; senior assignments officer for the Bureau of Personnel at the Department of State, 1982–1984; and senior seminar at the Department of State, 1981–1982. In addition, she has served as political counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, 1978–1981; consul at the U.S. consulate in Medan, Sumatra, Indonesia, 1977–1978; deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Bujumbura, Burundi, 1975–1977; Asian regional affairs officer at the Department of State, 1974–1975; consular and political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, 1969–1974; economic officer at the U.S. Embassy in Niamey, Niger, 1967–1969; and personnel officer for the Bureau of Personnel at the Department of State, 1965–1967. In addition, she served as a watch officer for the operations center at the Department of State, 1964–1965; political and economic officer at the U.S. Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1961–1964; and a foreign affairs analyst in the U.S. Air Force, 1960–1961.

Ms. Isom graduated from Mills College (B.A., 1958) and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (M.A.L.D., 1960). She was born November 4, 1936, in Oregon.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Presidential Economic Delegation to Poland
November 15, 1989

The President today announced the private sector members of the U.S. Presidential economic delegation to Poland, scheduled to visit that country November 28 through December 2 as part of the administration's continuing efforts to assist in Poland's economic reform and restructuring and to support its democratic transition.

Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter will head the delegation, which will provide the President with recommendations as to the most effective use of U.S. assistance to Poland and assist the Poles in developing their economic restructuring program.

Other senior administration officials joining the delegation are Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth H. Dole, and Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisers. The private sector members are:

Thomas Carroll, chief executive officer, International Executive Service Corps, Stamford, CT;
Theodore Cooper, chairman and chief executive officer, Upjohn Corp., Kalamazoo, MI;
William Donaldson, chairman and chief executive officer, Donaldson Enterprises, Inc., New York, NY, and founding dean, Yale Graduate School of Organization and Management;
Robert Galvin, chairman, Motorola Corp., Schaumburg, IL;
John [illegible], president, National Pork Producers Council, [illegible], IA;
Robert Georgine, president, building and construction trades department, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO), Washington, DC;
Ray Goldberg, professor, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston, MA;
Arnold Harberger, professor, University of Chicago Department of Economics, Chicago, IL;
Charles M. Harper, chairman and chief executive officer, CONAGRA Corp., Omaha, NE;
D. Gale Johnson, professor, University of Chicago Department of Economics, Chicago, IL;
Lane Kirkland, president, AFL–CIO, Washington, DC;
Robert [illegible], chairman and chief executive officer, [illegible] Food Marketing Corp., Chicago, IL;
John McGillicuddy, chairman and chief executive officer, Manufacturers Hanover Corp., New York, NY;
Edward Moskal, president, Polish American Congress, Chicago, IL;
Robert Quenon, president, Peabody Coal Corp., St. Louis, MO;
William Ruckelshaus, chairman and chief executive officer, Browning-Ferris Industries, Houston, TX;
[illegible], chairman, [illegible], Inc., Indianapolis, IN, and chairman, U.S.-Polish Economic Council;
Barry Sullivan, chairman and chief executive officer, First National Bank of Chicago, Chicago, IL;
Murray Weidenbaum, director, Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University, St. Louis, MO, and former Chairman, White House Council of Economic Advisers;
W.S. White, Jr., chairman and chief executive officer, American Electric Power Co., Inc., Columbus, OH.

Remarks at the Unveiling Ceremony for the Official Portraits of Ronald and Nancy Reagan
November 15, 1989

President Bush. What a wonderful welcome back to the White House for the Reagans. When the announcer here said, "Mr. President," why, I fell back to where I comfortably was for 8 years—[*laughter*]—and seemed most appropriate.

And it's a joy to welcome the President and Mrs. Reagan back here. And to Mr. Petrie, Mr. Buhler, to many members of the Reagan administration and members of the White House Historical Association, and to all of you: it's a pleasure to have you with us today as we properly salute these two very special people, the President and First Lady, who helped bring greatness to our country and, certainly, grace to America's House.

And, Mr. President, you did make this nation strong, respected abroad; and because of your leadership, America stood tall then, stands tall now. And I really believe that history will record that you, more than any individual, helped stimulate the changes that we're all fascinated with and that's taking place all around the world today, changes for the democracy that you've spoke about over and over and over again.

And Nancy, Barbara and I are just delighted to see you. How we enjoy this home whose beauty you enhanced so much! And you know, over the years there have been many wonderful Presidents and First Ladies, but thanks to you, I don't believe this place has ever had a better team. And I know that America will not soon forget your courage and advocacy, your love of your husband, and certainly, your love of country. It's really good to have you both back. You can tell that California agrees with them, just looking at them. [Laughter]

The Reagan portraits were painted by the noted artist Aaron Shikler. They are donated jointly to the White House for its permanent art collection by the Knapp Foundation and the White House Historical Association.

Mr. President, these portraits will remind future generations about two of its greats. Look at the portrait of our 40th Chief Executive, which will be hung on the State Floor with the other 20th-century Presidents. It reflects the qualities that make him so special: kindness, gallantry, decency, and humor. And then, look then at the portrait of Mrs. Reagan. It will hang in the Ground Floor Corridor with those of the most recent former First Ladies. Here stands a person who refurbished the White House with grace and with elegance, who helped millions of Americans say no to drugs and alcohol. And that has become a fad, a trend across our country—thank God—no to drugs and yes to life.

You know, for years our opponents were referring to our President, Reagan, being up against the wall here at the White House. I don't think this is exactly what they had in mind when they talked about a Reagan legacy—but it's a good thing.

Mr. President, you are one of the most beloved Presidents in the history of the Republic. And as friends, Barbara and I cherish both you and Nancy. What you began, I really want to build on and keep America, as you often said, "that shining city on a hill."

And so, it's now my official honor and pleasure to present the official portraits of President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan.

President Reagan. Thank you. And Nancy, don't fail to take a look. They're more different than a lot of those cartoons we had to put up with. [*Laughter*]

Well, George and Barbara and distinguished guests, as Henry VIII said to each one of his six wives, I won't keep you long. [*Laughter*] My days of speechmaking here are over, but I do want to share a few thoughts with you on this very special day in Nancy's and my life.

Incidentally, I want to say here—with the very kind things that George was saying—I think attention has to be called to the fact that whatever we accomplished, the fact that George Bush was a major part of anything we did.

Maybe it's because my staff is a lot smaller now than it used to be, but I can't quite find the words to express how I feel to be back here in this house. [*Laughter*] I suspect, though, that the reason I can't find the words is because there are really no words to convey what it means to Nancy and me to be here.

To walk in these hallowed halls again and to see all of you brings back so many memories of success and disappointment, of triumph and tragedy, of great joy and, yes, even some tears. But more than anything else, we're overwhelmed by the memory of the great sense of purpose that we all shared. Well, all of us who served here together were a part of a great undertaking: a chance to serve our fellow countrymen and, hopefully, with a little luck and a lot of help from God, make our country stronger and make the world a better place. And I think that looking back, we can say that, and I'll always be proud of what we all accomplished together. To serve in this great house, the unique American symbol of freedom and democracy, is a special privilege and a sacred trust. To work here, too, is an opportunity which few have. But for those who do, we're forever linked in the great adventure known as history.

We gather today not to honor any individuals—though we are enormously grateful to the White House Historical Association and the Petrie Foundation for making possible this ceremony. We gather today to look back with great fondness at a time in our lives that, no matter where we go, will always be special. And no matter what we do, or [illegible], will the memory of today be special and one that we'll carry with us in our hearts always.

There aren't any words to describe what this is like. Nancy and I will be looking at each other on the plane going back and trying to think of something. But just know how grateful we are, how honored we are, and how much we shall cherish the memory of this moment forever.

God bless you all, and thank you all very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 2:37 p.m. on the State Floor at the White House.

Remarks at the Biennial Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

November 15, 1989

Lane Kirkland, thank you, sir. Tom Donahue, and of course, your special guest and my special guest—America's special guest—Lech Walesa. I've got some good news for you and some bad news for you. After Lech Walesa's stirring oration before the United States Congress today, it is clear that he's ready to run for office in the United States. The good news for some of you is he's going to run as a Republican. Thank you very much. [*Laughter*] Now, I knew you'd like that—come on.

So, but in all seriousness, this is a great moment for the AFL–CIO. After 8 long years of struggle, Mr. Walesa has accepted the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here to claim that prize, and the waiting began.

I can really identify with Lech. [*Laughter*] I understand what it's like to wait so long to get here. But I don't regret a minute of it because, after all, it is great to be with you and to see the members who endorsed me sitting back there in the back—you see them. [*Laughter*] All four of them. [*Laughter*] Lately I have been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch that I'd be addressing this group today. And this morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Untouchables" theme song. [*Laughter*]

Let me begin, sincerely, by congratulating the leadership. And some of you were over at the White House the other day, and I really wish every one of you could have been there for the ceremony in which not only was Lech Walesa honored by the country but Lane Kirkland was as well. He's now serving his 10th year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him. Your unions finally are uniting under the banner of the AFL–CIO, as Lane promised. UAW [United Automobile Workers], mine workers, teamsters, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, longshoremen, Warehousemen's Union, Writer's Guild East—all have affirmed their ties to this great organization. Lane Kirkland has done—as he continues to do—outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. And his work to consolidate and renew labor's strength gives the

AFL–CIO the power to play its best role: protecting the rights of working Americans at home and striving for those rights abroad through the support of democracy around the world.

Labor has been an enduring force for freedom, at times a lonely cry in the wilderness, at times the conductor of a thundering chorus, rejecting all forms of totalitarianism, Fascist and Communist alike. With each passing year, through the labor movement, freedom is finding its voice.

You understand that democracy rests not on cold marble and pieces of paper but on institutions freely formed, fully free. Look down the main street of any small town, and you see them—churches, libraries, schools, union halls, free associations that are the beating heart of American liberty. Such liberty calls for a democracy created less by governments than by people, through the give-and-take of competing interests, and individual and collective; a democracy that rejects management-by-decree or intervention from any centralized all-knowing government; a democracy where people speak for themselves, rather than a government which speaks for them.

You and I—look, I know that we have differences, but those differences are a sign of democratic life, a way of life that demands respect for differences and respects an honest opinion as much as it respects an honest day's work. And that is the kind of frankness and directness I get from the leaders of these unions, and I appreciate it very, very much.

And clearly, there are times when the need for progress demands that we put differences aside. Where Poland is concerned, now is such a time. Last July in Gdansk, standing with Lech Walesa at the Worker's Monument, I pledged to the enormous crowd out there before us that America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity. And in Warsaw, we announced our initiative to assist Solidarity and Polish workers in making that difficult transition from a discredited centrally planned economic system to one of free markets and hope for a better future.

Our Labor Secretary, Elizabeth Dole, who met today with Prime Minister Thatcher and Britain's Labor Minister, also went to Gdansk in August to discuss the ways that our government, working together with organized labor in the United States, can help. In just 2 weeks, Secretary Dole and Lane Kirkland and some other leaders will join forces on a Presidential mission to Poland—our government, together with the AFL–CIO, in solidarity with Polish workers.

Today I appeal to the unions and call on the American labor movement, the business community, and government to look for ways to support a partnership for progress in Poland for the sake of a nation and a people that need and deserve our help. Labor, business, and government can and should be partners and activists for Poland's future.

Last night, Lech Walesa came to dinner at the White House. Barbara and I wanted to try to reciprocate for the very special, warm hospitality that he and his wife, Danuta, gave to us in his own home there at Gdansk. There was only four of us there last night. We treated him like family. Barbara said the grace before the meal, and Lech joined in. It was a very special moment for me personally—very special moment for the White House.

And we talked then about business. We talked about investment, the need to attract new capital to Poland, much in the spirit of Lech's words to this very convention. And yesterday he said, "Such is the fate of a Polish trade unionist. He has to launch a publicity campaign for private entrepreneurship." Well, he's one smart trade unionist. Last night, labor's son and democracy's advocate was talking about banks and investment because he knows that means economic reform, and he knows that economic reform means jobs.

And business and government can learn from, and lend momentum to, labor's unflinching demand for dignity on behalf of every working man and woman not just in Poland but around the world. And let us join hands; let us work together as never before to fulfill that great promise of freedom.

You know, there is so much to learn from labor's history of democratic struggle. During Hitler's rise to power—Lane is old enough to remember this and, regrettably, so am I—during Hitler's rise to power in the 1930's, American labor was among the very first to recognize that great evil. You extended your hand in solidarity to those fighting in the early underground movement. And then when the Nazi regime was finally destroyed, American labor went to work building democratic institutions and these independent trade unions. And later, when postwar Western Europe was threatened by the spread of international communism, it was American labor that stood firm. Tough, behind-the-scenes operators like Irving Brown, your AFL's European representative, saw to it that the alliance was preserved and democracy prevailed in Western Europe. When Irving Brown died last winter, after four decades of fighting for workers' rights, he was widely recognized as an architect of Western democracy, symbolizing American labor's commitment to freedom around the world.

Today the tradition continues nowhere more powerfully than in Poland. The AFL–CIO was at the forefront, standing with Solidarity in its darkest hour, firm in the belief that the dawn would come. Because of that support, courageous leaders like Lech Walesa are now transforming Poland before the eyes of an admiring world.

Stories of that transformation continue to unfold. Early in this century, in the Polish town of Lodz, David Dubinsky, later to become the renowned head of the ILG, was arrested for organizing. In 1908 that would-be organizer was sent from Lodz to Siberia by the czar. Last week a Solidarity candidate was elected mayor of Lodz. Look at how things have moved.

In Poland, Solidarity unlocked freedom's door. Today, holding Poland in their hearts as an example and inspiration, workers around the world are risking everything for democracy. The door cannot be locked again. Miners are striking peacefully in the Soviet Union for the first time since the early 1920's, one of them even calling their independent union—and this is high praise for our special guest today, Lech Walesa—one of them even calling that union Solidarity.

They and those like them offer hope for peaceful change, which the AFL–CIO is supporting actively through direct contact and assistance on workers' rights, union organization, collective bargaining. These are the tools your brothers and sisters abroad need most to hammer out justice on the anvil of freedom.

With new legislation in the Supreme Soviet recognizing the right to strike in all but a handful of essential industries, the people of the Soviet Union now have an opportunity to voice their grievances. This will be a challenge to President Gorbachev as he works through *perestroika* to raise productivity and living standards at the same time.

Across Eastern Europe, we see vindication of the AFL–CIO's refusal to deal with puppet unions controlled by either employers or governments. Hungarian workers are turning to the Democratic League of Free Unions. Bulgarian workers are laying the foundations of a nascent free trade union to be called Support. East German workers have created their first independent trade union, free of Communist influence, to be called Reform.

The idea that motivated Lech Walesa and the members of *Solidarność* as they sat down to negotiate with the Polish Government is a powerful one: that men must be free in order to prosper. That idea spread to Hungary, where the physical dismantling of the Iron Curtain began. Uplifted by the hope that Europe will one day be whole and free, last week we watched in awe as Berliners danced atop the Berlin Wall. And we watched as a deep wound, a wound that has scarred the heart of Europe for 28 years, began to heal. And we saw it in the joyful faces of families reunited, in the smiles and laughter and tears of people greeting freedom like a long-lost friend, and in the wonder of children getting their first taste of freedom.

Last summer, I remember predicting that the wall would come down. I expected it during my lifetime; I hoped for it during these next 3 years. But you know, quite apart from predictions, change has a way of sweeping through like a fast-moving train. And no one and no government should stand in its way.

Just yesterday, we welcomed the news of freedom—more freedom—freedom of travel in this case for the citizens of Czechoslovakia as a positive step forward. But in that country, where the tradition of democracy runs deep, and in others, freedom of travel is not enough. Only free and unfettered elections can satisfy the yearnings of a free people.

It is against this backdrop of change that I will meet with President Gorbachev near Malta next month. We are not meeting—and, Lech, take this message back with you—we are not meeting to negotiate the future of Europe. The peoples of Eastern Europe are speaking their own minds about that future; and they are calling for democracy, freedom of the press and of conscience, the right of the governed to choose their leaders.

At Malta, I will work to advance that process of reform and democracy. And I also want to know what President Gorbachev thinks of the challenges that he faces at home and of the new course that he has set out for Soviet policy in Eastern Europe. I plan to discuss with him the importance of free trade unions in building a free country. The AFL–CIO has fought for that freedom around the world. And I'm going to carry that message to Mr. Gorbachev. I also want to talk with President Gorbachev about the opportunities to move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations, to find areas of mutual advantage in our relationship.

Everywhere you look in the world, members of the AFL–CIO are fighting to keep the door for freedom open for all: working against such evils as apartheid; struggling for peaceful democratic change toward a system of one man, one vote; supporting free trade union movements in Paraguay, Guatemala, and El Salvador, Nicaragua; and helping workers in Chile's plebiscite last year, fighting for free elections now scheduled for next month. Manuel Bustos, president of the United Labor Confederation there, was until recently exiled in his own country. But thanks to you, thanks to the AFL–CIA—[*laughter*]—he is now free—free enough to attend the great convention. That was a Freudian slip. [*Laughter*] Did you explain it to him [Lech Walesa]? [*Laughter*]

Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions are often caught in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El Salvador, two of your own—Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman—died at the hands of a right-wing death squad. And in Nicaragua, the Confederation of Trade Union Equity has been harassed and brutalized by the Sandinista regime's left-wing thugs.

It takes uncommon courage for workers to fight the scourge of tyranny because dictators know that free unions mean pluralism and pluralism denies complete control. So, the tyrant's first targets for suppression, arrest, or murder are often independent unions and their members. In all, over 200 free trade unionists were murdered last year around the world. We grieve deeply for these sacrifices. And let there be no mistake: We condemn any efforts by any government to try to intimidate democratic unions or their members.

In Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, the AFL–CIO's support of worker education, libraries, and conferences on human rights all add to the inevitable momentum toward worker representation and collective bargaining. Workers in Southeast Asia by the millions—especially children and young women—are being used and abused and abandoned. Looking for a solution, we've enforced worker rights as part of the Generalized System of Preferences, and in our trade policy review mechanism under the GATT we've incorporated workers' rights. In the long run, the surest solution to the struggle for workers' rights is to support the growth of democratic institutions like free labor unions, and to encourage economic development that will render child labor and nightmarish working conditions not merely illegal but unthinkable.

Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change as a leading force for democracy. Labor's strength has opened the door to freedom for millions. The door must remain open.

You know, last week the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. In a protest march, a banner was carried that said, "Workers of the world, we apologize." It was the first time in memory that Soviet authorities allowed such demonstrations on that holiday. That banner is another sign that democracy is doing the unthinkable by saying the unspeakable.

The 1984 of George Orwell has come and gone. And I am hopeful that 1989 will be remembered as the year when American labor, business and, yes, government first began to work together in a real partnership for the freedom and dignity of workers everywhere, not out of some utopian vision but because we simply believe in the same basic values. The key to freedom rests in our hands. With that key, nothing is impossible. The door to democracy will remain unlocked, to each according to his ability to dream.

Thank you all very, very much. God bless you, and may God bless working people everywhere. And, Lech Walesa, God bless you, sir. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. in the Sheraton Washington Ballroom at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Thomas R. Donahue, secretary/treasurer of the AFL–CIO.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Proposed Federal Pay and Ethics Legislation
November 15, 1989

Dear Tom: (Dear Bob:)

I want to commend you and your colleagues for reaching bipartisan agreement on reform of the ethics standards that guide the actions of Federal officials.

I fully support the reforms you are prepared to bring before the House of Representatives this week. I am also pleased that you have made essential adjustments in compensation for individuals in all three branches of government. The skills of these individuals are essential to the quality of service government provides to the American people.

The progress made thus far in obtaining Congressional enactment of ethics reform legislation is encouraging. Indeed, many of the recommendations in the ethics legislation I submitted earlier this year were incorporated by the House Bipartisan Ethics Task Force in your proposal. Issues such as the ban on Congressional honoraria, limits on gifts and travel, increased financial disclosure, restrictions on outside income, conflict of interest rules, and many other important reforms have been addressed. In my view, the bill would effect a tremendous change in the landscape of government ethics standards.

I am confident that through continued bipartisan cooperation and an ongoing commitment to reform, we can, working together, continue to enhance ethical standards throughout government. In that same spirit, we can also meet our mutual commitment to reform of Federal campaign practices.

I look forward to providing assistance to you so that the package we have agreed upon thus far can be signed into law before the Congress adjourns *sine die.* I hope this same bipartisan spirit will be continued so that we may complete the important tasks at hand during the next session of the 101st Congress.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert H. Michel, House minority leader.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Telephone Conversation With President Alfredo Cristiani Buckard of El Salvador

November 15, 1989

The President today telephoned Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani to tell him that we have been following closely the events in El Salvador and that we stand behind the Salvadoran Government in the face of recent FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] attacks. The President said that the FMLN bears full responsibility for this tragedy and that he wanted to express the solidarity of the American people for the great suffering in San Salvador and elsewhere.

The President commended the efforts of the Salvadoran Armed Forces to avoid causing casualties to the civilian population. He also said that the United States would continue to speak out about Cuban and Nicaraguan support for the FMLN guerrillas, which flies in the face of the Esquipulas peace process.

President Cristiani thanked the President for his support. He said that the Armed Forces were having increasing success against the guerrillas and that the Government would continue to give the highest priority to protecting the civilian population in military operations against those guerrillas that remained.

Nomination of Everett Ellis Briggs To Be United States Ambassador to Portugal

November 16, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Everett Ellis Briggs to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Portugal. He would succeed Edward Morgan Rowell.

Currently Mr. Briggs serves as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Latin America and the Caribbean at the National Security Council at the White House in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Ambassador to Honduras, 1986–1989, and as Ambassador to Panama, 1982–1986.

Mr. Briggs graduated from Dartmouth College (A.B., 1956) and George Washington University (M.S., 1972). He was born April 6, 1934, in Havana, Cuba. Mr. Briggs is married, has five children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of Edward Morgan Rowell To Be United States Ambassador to Luxembourg

November 16, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward Morgan Rowell to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Luxembourg. He would succeed Jean Broward Shevlin Gerard.

Since 1988 Ambassador Rowell has served as Ambassador to the Republic of Portugal. Prior to this, he served as chief of mission in Lisbon, Portugal, 1987–1988; Ambassador at La Paz, Bolivia, 1985–1987; Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs, 1983–1985; Minister-Counselor (deputy chief of mission) at Lisbon, 1978–1983; Director of West European Affairs, 1976–1978; Deputy Director and economic officer for Iberian Affairs, 1974–1976; Foreign Service inspector, 1971–1974; Sloan executive fellow at Stanford's Graduate School of Business, 1970–1971; first secretary in Tegucigalpa, 1968–1970; second secretary in the political section in Buenos Aires, 1965–1968; officer-in-charge of Honduran affairs, 1962–1964; consul/principal officer in Curitiba, Brazil, 1959–1961; and vice consul and economic/commercial officer in Recife, Brazil, 1958–1959.

Ambassador Rowell graduated from Yale University (A.B., 1953). He was born October 31, 1931, in Oakland, CA. Ambassador Rowell served in the U.S. Army, 1954–1956. He is married, has three children, and resides in Berkeley, CA.

White House Fact Sheet on the National Space Policy

November 16, 1989

On November 2, 1989, the President approved a national space policy that updates and reaffirms U.S. goals and activities in space. The updated policy is the result of a review undertaken by the National Space Council. The revisions clarify, strengthen, and streamline selected aspects of the policy. Areas affected include civil and commercial remote sensing, space transportation, space debris, Federal subsidies of commercial space activities, and space station *Freedom*. Overall, the President's newly issued national space policy revalidates the ongoing direction of U.S. space efforts and provides a broad policy framework to guide future U.S. space activities.

The policy reaffirms the Nation's commitment to the exploration and use of space in support of our national well-being. United States leadership in space continues to be a fundamental objective guiding U.S. space activities. The policy recognizes that leadership requires U.S. preeminence in key areas of space activity critical to achieving our national security, scientific, technical, economic, and foreign policy goals. The policy also retains the long-term goal of expanding human presence and activity beyond Earth orbit into the solar system. This goal provides the overall policy framework for the President's human space exploration initiative, announced July 20, 1989, in which the President called for completing space station *Freedom*, returning permanently to the Moon, and exploration of the planet Mars.

These and other aspects of U.S. national space policy are contained in the document entitled "National Space Policy."

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Murders at the University of Central America in El Salvador

November 16, 1989

We condemn in the strongest possible terms the outrageous murder of Father Ignacio Ellacuria, rector of the University of Central America, and the other Jesuit priests in El Salvador. The six priests and two university employees were killed by unknown gunmen earlier today. We understand that the Salvadoran Government has begun an investigation, and we will be watching this investigation closely.

Designation of the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the National Women's Business Council

November 16, 1989

The President today designated Susan Shannon Engeleiter to be Chairperson of the National Women's Business Council and Marilu B. Meyer to be Vice Chairperson of the National Women's Business Council. These are new positions.

Susan Shannon Engeleiter. Currently, Mrs. Engeleiter serves as Administrator of the Small Business Administration in Washington, DC. She received her bachelor of science degree and her juris doctorate degree from the University of Wisconsin. Mrs. Engeleiter is married and has two children.

Marilu B. Meyer. Currently, Mrs. Meyer is president of the Castle Construction Corp. in Chicago, IL, and she serves as an appointed House of Representatives member of the National Women's Business Council. She received her bachelor of arts degree from Mundelein College and her master of arts from the University of Chicago. She is married, has two children, and resides in Chicago, IL.

Remarks on Signing the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1989

November 17, 1989

Welcome, everybody. First, let me just say that this gives me great pleasure to sign into law the first increase in the minimum wage since 1981. Under this bill, the wage will be set at $4.25 an hour by April 1st, 1991, and also, for the first time, provides a training wage—this differential, we call it—for workers under the age of 20.

I have called for an increase in the minimum wage that would protect jobs and put more money into the pockets of our workers. In my view, this bill does exactly that. I'm pleased to sign it. It offers the promise of better wages for the working men and women and gives incentive to create new jobs for our young people.

And in conclusion—particularly with the distinguished leaders that came down to the White House to join in this little ceremony—I want to really thank them and commend the spirit of bipartisanship in which this agreement was hammered out. My administration, the congressional leadership, and organized labor, working together, made this legislation possible, and I think it's a good example of what we can do in the future on other matters. But in any event, I'm delighted, and I appreciate all of you for being here—the Speaker; the leaders of both parties in the House and in the Senate, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Dole, Mr. Gephardt, Bob Michel; and of course, our Secretary, who was caught up in the middle of all this and did a wonderful job; and all the rest.

But thank you very much. And now I shall sign this with a pen that I don't have to give away. [*Laughter*]

[*At this point, the President signed the bill.*]

But I'm very, very pleased you all are here. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:58 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Speaker of the House of Representatives Thomas S. Foley, Senators George J. Mitchell and Robert Dole, Representatives Richard A. Gephardt and Robert H. Michel, and Secretary of Labor Elizabeth H. Dole. H.R. 2710, approved November 17, was assigned Public Law No. 101–157.

Statement on Signing the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1989

November 17, 1989

Today I am pleased to sign H.R. 2710, the "Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1989." This law will increase the minimum wage, in two increments, to $4.25 an hour beginning April 1, 1991. It also:

—authorizes a training wage for teenagers for up to 6 months, at 85 percent of the regular minimum wage;

—expands the exemption for small business and raises the tip credit; and

—exempts employer-provided remedial education programs from Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) overtime requirements.

This legislation is consistent with the increase in the minimum wage I proposed last March. H.R. 2710 represents an agreement reached between the Administration, the leadership in Congress, and the leadership of organized labor.

The agreement in this bill on a training wage for teenagers is an historic step. Through much of this decade, resistance to a training differential has stalled efforts to enact any minimum wage increase.

H.R. 2710 balances the widespread sentiment for an increase in the minimum wage with the very justifiable concerns of employers, particularly small businesses, about the effects of higher costs, and at the same time provides protection for young workers' job opportunities. On average, our growing economy has created a quarter million jobs a month, every month, for the last 7 years—most of them in small businesses. By expanding and increasing the FLSA small business exemption, we have done much to preserve the admirable capacity of American entrepreneurs to grow from today's small employers into the larger employers of tomorrow. That is good for the economy; it is good for America's work force.

Similarly, increasing the tip credit will enhance job security for those so employed and increase job opportunity for those seeking such work.

The enactment of this historic minimum wage increase, containing a first-ever training wage, is indeed a positive step. Now that this bill is law, I reiterate my call for us to work together, the Congress and the executive, on improvements in Federal education and training policy. In the wake of our Education Summit with the Governors, this is all the more urgent. As the Summit made clear, not only do the States and the Federal Government agree that this deserves high priority, but there is also much agreement, in general terms at least, on what kinds of steps need to be taken.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 17, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2710, approved November 17, was assigned Public Law No. 101–157.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Telephone Conversations With Allied Leaders

November 17, 1989

President Bush this morning telephoned the President of France, François Mitterrand, to discuss his views on the upcoming Malta meeting and events in Eastern Europe. President Bush wanted the unique perspective provided by the French President. They discussed a number of issues regarding the impact of recent events in Eastern Europe on the countries of Western Europe. The two Presidents agreed to talk again after the EC [European Communities] summit and before the Malta meeting.

President Bush also called the Prime Minister of Canada, Brian Mulroney, to discuss the Malta meeting and his views on these issues. President Bush and Prime Minister Mulroney have very similar thinking on these issues. President Bush and Prime Minister Mulroney will talk again after the Malta meeting.

In addition, Chancellor Kohl of West Germany telephoned President Bush this morning to discuss the events in his country and Eastern Europe.

Remarks on Signing the Thanksgiving Day Proclamation
November 17, 1989

Welcome to the Rose Garden on this lovely day. Mr. Wickliffe, my old friend Peter, and everybody else, I just want to thank you for joining me as I participate for the first time in a tradition as old as the American Presidency: the signing of the annual Thanksgiving Day proclamation.

Two hundred years ago, George Washington signed the original proclamation for a day of thanksgiving: a day of thanks for the bounty we enjoy—[*laughter*]—and, above all, for the blessings of freedom. And that's why I'm so pleased to welcome the young Americans and recent newcomers to our country who are here today. [*Laughter*] Like every American—come on, this is serious stuff—[*laughter*]—you, too, are descendants of the first Pilgrims united by a love of liberty. And this year, especially, as that yearning for freedom inspires millions around the world, giving thanks for the freedoms we enjoy takes on a special meaning.

That brings me to another traditional moment involving our special guest over here today—the guy in the cage there, who seems understandably nervous. [*Laughter*] It is my great privilege to receive the traditional Thanksgiving turkey. Millie has been put upstairs, looking wistfully out of the window, I'm sure. But let me assure you, and this fine tom turkey, that he will not end up on anyone's dinner table, not this guy—he's granted a Presidential pardon as of right now—and allow him to live out his days on a children's farm not far from here.

And finally, let me ask all of you to remember another American tradition. Let this holiday time spent with family and friends remind us that helping others less fortunate than ourselves may be the best way we have of giving thanks.

And so, thank you all for coming. God bless you, and may the whole country have a very, very happy Thanksgiving.

And now I will sign the proclamation.

Note: The President spoke at 11:56 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Peter P. Stewart, chairman of the National Thanksgiving Commission, and John Wickliffe, president of the National Turkey Federation. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Nomination of Robert William Farrand To Be United States Ambassador to Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu
November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert William Farrand, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Papua New Guinea and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambas-

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sador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Solomon Islands and to the Republic of Vanuatu. He would succeed Everett E. Bierman.

Since 1987 Mr. Farrand has served as Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Director of the Office of Foreign Service Career Counseling and Assignments, 1985–1987; deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1983–1985; Deputy Director of the Office of Eastern European/Yugoslav Affairs at the Department of State, 1981–1983; student in the National War College, 1980–1981; officer in charge of bilateral affairs in the Office of the Soviet Union at the Department of State, 1978–1980; Director of the U.S. Commercial Office in Moscow, 1976–1978; chief of the economic/commercial section at the U.S. Embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1973–1976; economic officer for the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs at the Department of State, 1970–1973; chief of the consular section at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, 1968–1970; Russian language training, 1967–1968; and rotational officer at the U.S. Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1965–1967.

Mr. Farrand graduated from Mount St. Mary's College (B.S., 1957) and Georgetown University (M.A., 1968). He was born April 7, 1934, in Watertown, NY. Mr. Farrand served in the U.S. Navy, 1957–1961. He is married, has five children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Nomination of J. Steven Rhodes To Be United States Ambassador to Zimbabwe

November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Steven Rhodes to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Zimbabwe. He would succeed James Wilson Rawlings.

Since 1987 Mr. Rhodes has been managing director and office manager of the public finance office of Smith Barney in Los Angeles, CA. Prior to this he was vice president of the public finance division of Smith Barney in New York, 1985–1987. He was chief domestic policy adviser to then Vice President George Bush at the White House, 1983–1985; Special Assistant to the President in the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House, 1981–1983; director of government affairs for Dart Industries, Inc., 1976–1981; and a manager of the wage and salary administration for Dart Industries, Inc., 1973–1976.

Mr. Rhodes graduated from Loyola University (B.S., 1973) and Pepperdine University (M.S., 1977). He was born September 29, 1951, in New Orleans, LA. He resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Nomination of Jerome G. Cooper To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force

November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jerome G. Cooper to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Manpower and Reserve Affairs. He would succeed Karen R. Keesling.

Mr. Cooper is currently vice president for marketing for David Volkert and Associates in Mobile, AL. Prior to this he was president of the Christian Benevolent Insurance Co. Mr. Cooper graduated from Notre Dame (B.A., 1958). He was born October 2, 1936, in Lafayette, LA. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1958–1970, receiving the Bronze Star, two Purple Hearts, and three Vietnamese Crosses of Gallantry. Since 1970 he has served as a major in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve. He currently resides in Mobile, AL.

Nomination of James B. Edwards To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation

November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate James B. Edwards to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1990. He would succeed Michael A. McManus, Jr.

Since 1982 Dr. Edwards has served as president of the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston. Prior to this, he served as Governor of South Carolina, 1975–1981; South Carolina State senator, 1972–1975; chairman of the First Congressional District Republican Committee, 1970–1971; and chairman of the Charleston County Republican Party, 1964–1969. In addition, Dr. Edwards was an oral surgeon in Charleston, SC, 1960–1974.

Dr. Edwards graduated from the College of Charleston (B.S., 1950) and the University of Louisville (D.M.D., 1955). He attended the graduate medical school of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Edwards was born June 24, 1927, in Hawthorne, FL. He served in the U.S. Maritime Service, 1944–1947, and in the U.S. Navy, 1955–1957. Dr. Edwards is married, has two children, and resides in Mount Pleasant, SC.

Nomination of Gail Roggin Wilensky To Be Administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration

November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gail Roggin Wilensky to be Administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration, Department of Health and Human Services. She would succeed William L. Roper.

Since 1983 Dr. Wilensky has served as vice president of the division of health affairs for Project Hope in Chevy Chase, MD. Prior to this, she served as senior research manager for the National Center for Health Services Research at the Department of Health and Human Services, 1978–1983; associate professorial lecturer in the department of economics at George Washington University, 1976–1978; health service fellow for the National Center for Health Services Research at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975–1978; faculty associate for the Survey Research Center for Social Research at the University of Michigan, 1974–1975; associate research scientist for the Institute of Public Policy Studies and School of Public Health, 1973–1975; senior research associate for the Urban Institute in Washington, DC, 1971–1973; executive director of the Governor's Council of Economic Advisers in Baltimore, MD, 1969–1970; staff economist for the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs in Washington, DC, 1968-1969; and research associate in the department of economics at the University of Michigan, 1968.

Dr. Wilensky graduated from the University of Michigan (A.B., 1964; M.A., 1965; Ph.D., 1968). She was born June 14, 1943, in Detroit, MI. Dr. Wilensky is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Carol Mayer Marshall To Be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at San Francisco

November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Carol Mayer Marshall to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at San Francisco, Department of the Treasury. This is a new position.

Since 1986 Ms. Marshall has served as the president of Carol Mayer Marshall and Associates in San Francisco, CA. Prior to this, she served as the vice president of Public and Private Consultants, Inc., 1981–1986; an attorney with Washburn and Kemp, 1985–1986; and assistant to the president of the Investment Development Fund, 1979–1981. She purchased, renovated, and sold single-family homes in San Francisco, CA, 1977–1979. Ms. Marshall was a partner with Planning Research Consultants, Inc., 1973–1977.

Ms. Marshall graduated from George Washington University (B.A., 1960) and the University of California (J.D., 1975). She was born August 27, 1935, in Cincinnati, OH. Ms. Marshall has one child and currently resides in San Francisco, CA.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the National Medal of the Arts

November 17, 1989

The President. Excuse the delay—we've been out there trying to calm the national turkey, which has all worked out very well. [*Laughter*] No double entendres around here about that, either. [*Laughter*]

Thank you—all of you—for being here today for the fifth annual presentation of the National Medal of the Arts. It is a great pleasure and an honor for Barbara and me to welcome you to the White House. I just want to thank the National Council on the Arts; the Committee on the Arts and Humanities; as well as John Frohnmayer, our new and distinguished Chairman of the NEA [National Endowment for the Arts]; and of course, Hugh Southern, for the support and encouragement of America's cultural life.

Dante once wrote that "Art imitates nature as well as it can, as a pupil follows his master; and thus it is a sort of grandchild of God." Well, as this "grandchild of God," art embraces our values in history, gives meaning to our existence, and illuminates the basic human truths which give us purpose. In a way, art defines our civilization. But in another more personal way, art opens entire new worlds for each of us, letting us see and hear and even feel life through the mind of someone else, from new perspectives. And instead of seeing a single world, we can see as many worlds as there are artists and writers, dancers and musicians.

The diversity of art in this nation is truly a product of the diversity of our democracy. The American arts, like a many-faceted mirror, have been a colorful reflection of this nation's history. The music of the frontier led to the blues of the bayou and the swing bands of the cities. The primitivism of the early painters gave way to the romanticism of the Hudson River school and, later, American impressionism and abstract expressionism. In architecture, Americans see everything from the Federal style to postmodernism. Modern photography and filmmaking have their roots in the tintypes of the Civil War era. And from our earliest writings to this week's bestseller list, we've seen American poetry, novels, short stories earn a unique place in the literature of the entire world. Cities like New York and Los Angeles have become art capitals of international importance; and regional orchestras, museums, dance troupes, and opera companies have enjoyed spectacular successes.

We need to make this great diversity of art more a part of the lives of all Americans. And we need to begin this effort in our schools so that our young people will have a sense of their heritage and the creativity of the present. We need to make special efforts to reach out to those who do not regularly participate. The work of the National Endowment is especially important in these areas.

Today, we honor a group of men and women whose creative ideas, talent, and passion have added so much to the rich tapestry that is our nation's cultural heritage. Their work is not just of the mind but of the heart and of the soul. And some have challenged us, some have amazed us, and some have brought remarkable beauty of sight and sound to us, but all have helped us to think and to dream and to understand ourselves and our world a little better.

Today, we honor Alfred Eisenstaedt for his photography, Dizzy Gillespie for his jazz innovations, John Updike for his prose, Katherine Dunham for her dance and choreography, Walker Hancock for his sculpture, Czeslaw Milosz for his poetry, Robert Motherwell for his paintings, and Leopold Adler for his historic preservation. And we honor someone whose great talent and energy will live on, long after the sounds of his music has faded, and that is the late Vladimir Horowitz.

And we honor the patrons of the arts, those who understand that without the artistic creativity of its people no nation can be whole, and those whose dedication, energy, and commitment have sustained that creativity over the years. We honor Martin Friedman of the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, Leigh Gerdine of Webster University in St. Louis, and the Dayton Hudson Corporation.

And now I will ask John Frohnmayer if he will read the citations for the National Medal of the Arts to our recipients. John, all yours.

Mr. Frohnmayer. Thank you, Mr. President.

Leopold Adler II is a nationally recognized expert in historic preservation, one who has changed the face of his hometown, Savannah, Georgia. He was the driving force behind two remarkable revitalization experiments. One refurbished the historic section of Savannah, and the other renovated low-income housing in the Victorian district. Mr. Adler has also served as a trustee for almost a decade for the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

The citation reads:

> To Leopold Adler for his civic leadership in preserving for all time the beauty of Savannah, Georgia, and for making that city a model of the art of historic preservation.

Katherine Dunham is an outstanding dancer and choreographer. The Dunham Company, the first black professional dance company in America, performed throughout the world from 1938 through 1963, presenting the dance, music, and folklore of Third World countries and the United States. For over 30 years, Ms. Dunham has maintained the only permanently self-subsidized dance troupe in America. She also founded the Dunham School of Arts and Research in New York City.

The citation reads:

> To Katherine Dunham for her pioneering explorations of Caribbean and African dance, which have enriched and transformed the art of dance in America.

Alfred Eisenstaedt is the quintessential photojournalist who pioneered the introduction of the candid camera technique into news reporting. After emigrating from West Prussia in 1935, he joined the original photography staff of the new magazine Life. Mr. Eisenstaedt's most famous photo is that of a sailor kissing a nurse in Times Square at the end of World War II. As a photographer, he has won almost every major national professional award.

The award is received by his long-time friend and photo editor, Bobbie Baker Burrows.

The citation reads:

To Alfred Eisenstaedt for the extraordinary photographs that document the tragedies and triumphs he has witnessed over a lifetime.

John Berks "Dizzy" Gillespie is a virtuoso musician, pioneer, composer, and bandleader who has been a pivotal figure in 20th century American music. The founder of the jazz bebop movement, he developed a radical new approach to improvisation that was to change the course of modern music-making. For more than 40 years he has explored the varied music of different cultures. Mr. Gillespie has performed before countless world leaders and has won numerous awards. Dizzy Gillespie.

The citation:

To John Berks "Dizzy" Gillespie for his trailblazing work as a musician who helped elevate jazz to an art form of the first rank and for sharing his gift with listeners around the world.

Walker Kirtland Hancock is a renowned sculptor whose work spans a period of 70 years. He began by sculpting the bust of an orphan and was awarded a Prix de Rome while still an apprentice. He has spent a lifetime sculpting over 268 pieces, many of them portraits, busts, monuments, and medals in the heroic Renaissance style of Florence. Mr. Hancock has sculpted busts of American heroes and Presidents. He has said that just as the ancient Greeks did in their sculpture, celebrating heroes is still one of the worthy functions of sculpture today. Walker Hancock.

The citation:

To Walker Hancock for his extraordinary contribution to the art of sculpture and for demonstrating the enduring beauty of the classical tradition.

Vladimir Horowitz was a consummate pianist and a genius who was known for the controlled thunder and the electricity of his performances. Appropriately, Mr. Horowitz's first home was on Music Street in Kiev. He left the Soviet Union as a musical sensation in 1925 to play in Berlin, Paris, and ultimately in America at Carnegie Hall. He returned to Carnegie Hall 25 years later at the height of his popularity and returned to play in the Soviet Union in 1986. Vladimir Horowitz's music had a colorful blazing quality and technical excellence. Truly, he was a man with no equals.

The award will be delivered to Madame Horowitz upon her return from Italy.

And the citation reads:

To Vladimir Horowitz for his extraordinary achievements and distinctive style as a pianist whose concerts brought pleasure to audiences everywhere and whose contributions to music made him a citizen of the world.

Czeslaw Milosz is a poet and educator, whom Joseph Brodsky called "One of the greatest poets of our time, perhaps the greatest." Mr. Milosz was born in Lithuania in 1911 and became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1970. As one of the leaders in the avant-garde poetry movement in Poland during the 1930's, he edited an anti-Nazi anthology called "Invincible Song." Mr. Milosz won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1980 for his poetry on life in this century. Czeslaw Milosz.

The citation:

To Czeslaw Milosz for glorious poetry and prose that celebrates the freedom-loving spirit not only of his native Poland but that of his adopted country, the United States.

Robert Motherwell is an artist of global stature, renowned as one of the founders of the American abstract expressionism school, the first American art movement to receive recognition internationally as being on the leading edge of world art. He is best known for a series of monumental paintings on the "Spanish Eulogy" theme, for abstract paintings in the open series, and as a master of collage. He has received a multitude of honors in five decades of a very distinguished career. Robert Motherwell.

The citation:

To Robert Motherwell for reflecting in his art the very essence of American Freedom with paintings that have found a distinguished place in collections everywhere.

John Updike is the author of over 30 books of poetry, novels, short stories, and essays. Mr. Updike is one of the best chroniclers of American smalltown life in literature. He began as a writer for the New

Yorker magazine and then authored the novels "The Poorhouse Fair," "Rabbit, Run," and among many others, "The Centaur" and "The Witches of Eastwick." Among many other awards, in 1982 Mr. Updike received the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction for "Rabbit is Rich." John Updike.

The citation reads:

To John Updike, for novels and stories that, over a 40-year career, have given us a wryly affectionate, yet penetrating analysis of the complexity of life in today's America.

Martin Friedman is one of our nation's most innovative and scholarly museum directors. Mr. Friedman has served as director of the Walker Arts Center in Minneapolis since 1961, making it into one of the premiere small museums in this country, in exhibitions as well as in the performing arts. In addition to his activism in the arts community, he has written extensively on contemporary art and recently helped create the new Minneapolis Sculpture Garden.

The citation:

To Martin Friedman for opening the doors of his museum to the best of all of the arts in our time—from painting and sculpture to film, video, and performance—and for opening our eyes to the vital connections between these forms of expression.

Leigh Gerdine is an outstanding civic leader who has paved the way for development of every major cultural institution in St. Louis. Mr. Gerdine is a 40-year resident of that city, and for 18 years has been president of Webster University. He has been deeply involved in the St. Louis Symphony, the St. Louis Repertory Company and was founding chairman of the St. Louis Opera Theater, now one of the most widely acclaimed companies in the country. Mr. Gerdine.

The citation:

To Leigh Gerdine for his distinguished career as a musician and educator, and for the enlightened patronage which has earned him the title of spiritual father of the arts in St. Louis.

Dayton Hudson Corporation has been a leader in corporate giving for 43 years. Since 1980 the corporation has contributed nearly $70 million to arts programs in the United States. Dayton Hudson has targeted support to programs that, on a long-term basis, make a community a more vital place in which to live. During 1988 alone, Dayton Hudson generously awarded $7.4 million to 580 arts programs in 37 States and the District of Columbia. Accepting is Mr. Kenneth Macke, CEO of Dayton Hudson Corporation.

The citation:

To Dayton Hudson Corporation for helping to forge a vital partnership between the corporate sector and the arts community and for demonstrating how both can benefit in the process.

The President. Well, let me just say in conclusion, first, thank you, John Frohnmayer; and to all of you recipients, congratulations for your achievements, for the passion you bring to the arts. You have honored this country. Your nation is grateful to you. And congratulations to all of you. Barbara and I are just thrilled that you're here at the White House. And now I'd like all of our medal winners to join us up here for just a minute, if we could, for one quick—what they call in the trade a photo op. [*Laughter*] Please.

Note: The President spoke at 12:12 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Hugh Southern, former Acting Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Nomination of John W. Lyons To Be Director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology

November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John W. Lyons to be Director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, Department of Commerce. He would succeed Ernest Ambler.

Since 1983 Dr. Lyons has served as Director of the National Engineering Laboratory at the National Bureau of Standards in Gaithersburg, MD. Prior to this he served as Acting Deputy Director of the National Bureau of Standards and Director of the Center for Fire Research at the National Bureau of Standards, 1973–1977. In addition he served in various research and development positions at the Monsanto Co., 1955–1973.

Dr. Lyons graduated from Harvard University (A.B., 1952) and Washington University (A.M., 1963; Ph.D., 1964). He was born November 5, 1930, in Reading, MA. Dr. Lyons served in the U.S. Army, 1953–1955. He is married, has four children, and resides in Mount Airy, MD.

Nomination of John J. Maresca for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures

November 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John J. Maresca, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBM).

Currently Mr. Maresca serves as Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Negotiations on Confidence and Security-Building Measures. From 1986 to 1988, Mr. Maresca served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Policy at the Department of Defense. Prior to this, he served as a visiting fellow at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, 1985–1986; deputy chief of mission in Paris, France, 1982–1985; Director of the Office of Western European Affairs at the Department of State, 1980–1982; Deputy Political Counselor in Paris, France, 1977–1980; Deputy Chief of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1977; officer in charge of NATO political affairs at the Department of State, 1975–1977; Deputy Chief of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, Finland, and Geneva, Switzerland, 1973–1975; Deputy Director of the Office of the Secretary General of NATO in Brussels, Belgium, 1970–1973; assistant French desk officer at the Department of State, 1968–1970; and political officer at the U.S. Embassy in The Hague, Netherlands, 1967–1968.

Mr. Maresca graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1959). He was born December 9, 1937, in Stresa, Italy. Mr. Maresca served in the U.S. Navy, 1959–1965. He is married, has one child, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Telephone Conversations With Foreign Leaders

November 17, 1989

This afternoon the President called Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain to discuss the upcoming EC [European Community] meeting on Eastern Europe and his meeting in Malta with President Gorbachev. They discussed the ongoing reform movement in Eastern Europe, noting that they are encouraged by the peaceful nature of the changes. The two leaders will continue their discussions when the Prime Minister visits Camp David on November 24.

The President also called President Mubarak of Egypt to discuss the Middle East peace process. The President discussed his recent meeting with Prime Minister Shamir of Israel, emphasizing the continued U.S. involvement in the search for peace. The President and President Mubarak agreed that discussions among the parties to the process will continue.

Memorandum on the Caribbean Basin Initiative
November 17, 1989

Memorandum for the Vice President and Members of the Cabinet

Subject: The Caribbean Basin Initiative

The Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) provides important trade and investment benefits to our friends and neighbors in Central America and the Caribbean. This is an area of major strategic importance to the United States. This Nation's security and prosperity depend in large measure on continued progress toward democracy and economic development in that region.

I am proud to note that the CBI is now a driving force behind much of the economic vitality that is becoming evident throughout the region. The peoples of the Caribbean Basin nations have joined with the United States in an economic partnership; they look to us for continued support for their efforts in fostering economic growth and development.

I affirm the CBI's importance for achieving a more prosperous, democratic, and stable Caribbean Basin. The people of this region regard enhancement of the CBI program as a high priority. This is an objective which I enthusiastically support. I call on the Congress to act quickly to pass balanced legislation to extend and expand the CBI program in a way that is consistent with U.S. obligations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

In addition, I believe that we ought to examine all avenues currently at our disposal to ensure that the program achieves its goals as fully and as effectively as possible. I therefore call on all relevant departments and agencies to identify those actions which they can undertake, within existing budget constraints, to improve the operation of the Caribbean Basin Initiative. CBI countries should continue to enjoy special and more liberal treatment under our textile import program. The CBI program's effectiveness should be enhanced through appropriate assistance to investors, traders, and entrepreneurs in the region. I ask that all such efforts be coordinated through the Caribbean Basin Task Force, chaired by United States Trade Representative Carla A. Hills.

GEORGE BUSH

Interview With Peter Maer of Mutual/NBC Radio
November 17, 1989

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Good morning, Mr. President. We're very pleased to have this opportunity for this first radio interview with you. Some foreign policy questions, if I may, to start off. What will be item number one on the table when you sit down with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Malta?

The President. To be sure that we are not operating in a way that there will be unnecessary misunderstanding. In other words, I use the analogy of two big ships passing in the night: I don't want that to happen. I want to be on the same wavelength as much as we can. So, I would say the meeting is designed to see that the two ships do not pass in the night for lack of light.

Q. But what specifically will you bring up first?

The President. Well, as I say, we have not ever set an agenda. Clearly, I will be interested in getting his views on the dynamic changes taking place in Eastern Europe. We will have detailed conversations about his economy, and I will be glad to talk to him about ours. And so, I think along those two areas you'll see a lot of discussion. And also, I will be bringing up, and I expect he will be prepared to discuss, regional tensions: problems in this hemisphere, support for Nicaragua, for example; Afghanistan; other areas where Soviet interest and the United States do not parallel each other.

Q. You sent him a message in reply to his earlier cable, again saying that you support the reforms going on in his country and in Eastern Europe. Do you support them to the extent that you'd put your money where your mouth is, so to speak, and grant the Soviets some sort of economic assistance to spur those reforms?

The President. Well, I'm perfectly prepared to discuss economic reforms and what the Soviets would like to see in terms of interest from the West. But I noted with great interest Mr. Shevardnadze's [Foreign Minister] view when asked a similar question. He said: "We're not looking for aid. We are not wanting somebody to bail us out." That's good. They're a sovereign state, have a high degree of pride—but clearly, there will be a discussion of economic matters as they affect the Soviet Union.

Q. When you say, as you did in a speech this week, that the Malta summit—the Malta meeting, as you all here prefer to call it—will not be used to negotiate the future of Europe, what does that mean? Are you taking something off the table there?

The President. No. What I'm saying is we're not going to have a Yalta.

Q. To what extent? When you're not——

The President. To the extent that it's not the role of the United States of America and the Soviet Union to divide up things or alter borders or do some of the things that took place at the meeting I've just referred to. We're not going to get into that. It is a broad, general meeting—we wouldn't do it anyway.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. Another part of the world. Have you, indeed, approved a covert plan that allows the CIA to recruit people to overthrow Manuel Noriega in Panama?

The President. Of course I'd love to see Noriega out there, but you know I never discuss intelligence. I was head of the intelligence community for 1 year, a little over a year—about a year—and one thing that I know you don't do is discuss covert action or rumors about covert action, or confirm or deny covert action. And I wish other people would conduct themselves in that same manner, and then maybe some of the efforts of an intelligence community could be more effective. So, I will not confirm or deny anything of that nature.

Now, if you'd like me to state would we like to see Noriega out of office—absolutely.

Q. I know you want him out of office. How far will you go to get him out?

The President. Well, that is a question that's so open-ended it can't possibly be answered.

Q. Well, let me ask you this. Since you won't answer that and you won't talk about the specific plan, do you still feel that your hands are tied?

The President. I'm not saying there is a specific plan.

Q. Okay. Since you won't even confirm whether there is a specific plan——

The President. Now we're going, now we're talking. [*Laughter*]

Q. ——do you still feel your hands are tied by Congress on matters like this? This matter specifically?

The President. No, not on this matter specifically, and if there were to be a plan—and I think we have a pretty good understanding with the Intelligence Committee at this point, in the Senate and in the House.

German Reunification

Q. Back to Eastern Europe. Is reunification of the two Germanys—is that inevitable?

The President. I gave my view on that, and I said that that was a matter for the people of the Germanys to determine. And it's a highly sensitive matter as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, and it's better to leave it right there.

Q. But when you look at the way events are going there, is it inevitable in your opinion?

The President. Well, that's very hypothetical because there are so many things that can intervene. And I would say it is a matter for the determination of the German people.

Q. Well, many people look at the history books, and they worry about that prospect. Is that a legitimate concern?

The President. Well, we've had discussions with countries that express concerns in this regard because of certain historical precedents, but I don't think that history need repeat itself if there evolves a single German State. But that is down the road, and it is not something that is being pressed. And I repeat: That is a matter for the determination of the German people.

Defense Budget Cuts

Q. Some Members of Congress look at this situation in Europe, and they see it as ripe for debate on considering cutting the defense budget, taking a big chunk out of it. Does that make sense to you?

The President. No, it doesn't make sense to me.

Military Reductions in Europe

Q. What about reducing NATO and Warsaw Pact forces there? A lot of people think——

The President. We already have made proposals. We have a bold proposal, a leadership proposal by the United States that has wide support amongst our allies, to do exactly that.

Q. Will that be on the table in Malta?

The President. Well, it's on the table now.

Q. If Gorbachev comes in, and he says why don't we agree to it here?—a lot of experts think that he will come in and say that.

The President. He's already agreed to it in principle. The Soviet Union has—there's no great debate on the principles of the reductions that we've proposed. But the problem is we're hammering out a lot of detail now that can't be done at a Malta meeting or that has to be done in a multilateral forum.

And so, I've been very pleased that the Soviets have been quite supportive of this United States-NATO initiative.

Q. Would you be willing to use the Malta meeting as a setting to sign off on such an agreement once——

The President. I don't want to elevate the expectations of a watching world. That is not going to take place at Malta because the details have not been worked out in the multilateral forum where they're being discussed in Vienna. It just won't be ready by then.

Q. Quick domestic question——

The President. My hope is that it can meet the timetables I set and the alliance set. And they were very ambitious. But it's not December 2d.

Abortion

Q. Quick domestic question. Will you sign this DC appropriations bill that includes allowing the use of local funds for abortions for poor women?

The President. I have made very clear that I—they can test me all they want; they can package it any way they want, but if it expands the use of federally appropriated funds for abortion, I'm not going to sign it. And I've been very honest and direct with the District.

Q. This is local funds.

The President. Well, let me see what it is then, if there's something different. But if it's appropriated federally, why, I have great difficulty with that, and have been very open with the Congress on it.

Q. This is still a very painful subject for you, isn't it?

The President. It is, I don't like it. I know that our party is big enough to have people in it who differ on this question. There's no question about that. If that weren't true, I guess I wouldn't have been elected President, because this issue was widely presented to the American people and very openly debated in debates with Mr. Dukakis, who felt quite differently about it.

Q. Well, if the party is big enough, why is it that policymakers in the health area are required to share your views before they're——

The President. Because I was elected to perform on certain things. They don't have to share them on every iota—crossing every "t" and dotting every "i"—but I'm the President. I was elected to do certain things. And I want somebody in housing that can support the general initiative on housing. I want people on health that share my respect for human life. I want people in Treasury that like to see this deficit come down in a certain way. That's not such a radical concept.

The President's Dog

Q. They tell me the time is up. I have to ask one kicker. Can you confirm these widespread White House stories that your dog has been eating rats and squirrels?

The President. She's doing her part. [*Laughter*]

Q. Has she been eating rats and squirrels?

The President. Not eating them.

Q. Just killing them.

The President. Our dog is a fearless hunter, and what she does on her own time—that's her business.

Q. What does it tell us—that there are rats in the White House yard here?

The President. Look, I just want to keep them out of the swimming pool. One jumped in there when Barbara was swimming. And we're relying heavily on Millie to cut that down.

Q. Mr. President, thank you very much.

The President. There was a mouse in this very room you're sitting in. I hope that doesn't terrify you, but he was done in the other day, too.

Q. Thank you very much for joining us, sir.

The President. Not at all.

Note: The interview began at 11:13 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. It was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 18.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1990

November 19, 1989

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2939, the appropriations bill for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year 1990.

I do not take this action lightly. In a good faith effort to resolve the constitutional and other problems contained in the bill, the Administration has engaged in extensive negotiations with the Congress. Those negotiations have not succeeded, and serious problems remain. Consequently, I must veto this bill.

Several sections of the bill, and in particular Section 582, interfere with my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States. The bill would also require the expenditure of millions of dollars to support a United Nations fund that, in turn, strongly defends and supports a foreign nation's policy of coercive abortion. United States assistance to the fund reverses existing United States policy and is unacceptable.

Section 582(a) would prohibit the obligation or expenditure of funds appropriated by the Act "for the purpose of furthering any military or foreign policy activity which is contrary to United States law." Section 582(b) would prohibit the use of funds appropriated by the Act "to solicit the provision of funds by any foreign government (including any instrumentality or agency thereof), foreign person, or United States person, for the purpose of furthering any military or foreign policy objective which is contrary to United States law." Subsequent provisions include a set of limiting definitions as well as a general limiting construction for the entire section.

Although I believe that the limiting provision may allow for a constitutional construction of Section 582, the section as a whole remains sufficiently ambiguous to present an unacceptable risk that it will chill the conduct of our Nation's foreign affairs.

Section 582 appears designed to prohibit, among other things, consultation between the United States and another sovereign nation regarding actions that nation may wish to undertake. It has, however, long been recognized—by the Framers, by the Supreme Court, and by past Congresses—that the President, both personally and through his subordinates in the executive branch, possesses the constitutional authority to communicate freely with representatives of foreign governments, and to encourage foreign nations to take such actions as the President believes are in our Nation's interest. Although Section 582(e) states that the section is not intended to limit the ability of the President or his subordinates to express their views, I am not convinced that this provision is sufficient to remove all constitutional doubt concerning Section 582. There would remain an unacceptable degree of uncertainty concerning what the section is intended to cover, and this uncertainty would inevitably restrict our contacts with foreign governments. I believe that this section impermissibly circumscribes a fundamental responsibility that the Constitution had entrusted to the President—the protection of our Nation's security through a vigorous representation of our interests abroad. I believe it is neither fair nor wise to make those who formulate and execute foreign policy serve the public under a vague and sweeping prohibition.

I am sensitive to the concerns that have prompted the adoption of Section 582. I have repeatedly emphasized in my meetings with the congressional leadership that through close consultation with the Congress I intend to build a new spirit of cooperation and trust between the legislative and executive branches. Section 582, however, is inimical to that spirit of trust and would cast a shadow over the executive branch in the conduct of our foreign policy at a time when the course of world events necessitates great flexibility.

The bill would also require the use of appropriated funds to support the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, which supports and participates in the management of a program in a foreign nation that involves coercive abortion.

On October 6, 1989, I informed the Congress of my continued strong support of the Kemp-Kasten Amendment, also known as the Kemp-Inouye-Helms Amendment, which has applied to foreign operations appropriations since 1985. The Kemp-Kasten Amendment denies United States population assistance funds to any organization that, as determined by the President, supports, or participates in the management of, a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization. I stated that if this bill as ultimately presented to me by the Congress contained any language which would weaken the current Kemp-Kasten provision, or exempt the United Nations Fund or any other organization from its full application, I would veto the bill.

Let me restate my strong support for international family planning programs, and my view that the United States should support such efforts so long as they do not violate Kemp-Kasten or other established policies of the U.S. Government.

Unfortunately, the Congress has inserted in the bill the so-called Mikulski Amendment, which would fatally weaken the integrity of the Kemp-Kasten anti-coercion provision by earmarking funds for the United Nations Fund, the only organization that has ever been determined to violate that provision. The Fund participates in and strongly defends the program of a particular foreign government which relies heavily upon compulsory abortion. This fund has received no United States assistance since 1985, precisely because of its involvement in this coercive abortion policy. The current bill thus represents radical and unwarranted change in policy.

The Mikulski Amendment is rendered no more acceptable by a clause which requires the Fund to keep its books in a manner so as to prevent the direct flow of United States assistance to the particular foreign government. The current Kemp-Kasten law tells all family planning organizations that they must refrain from supporting coercive programs, or the United States will direct its resources to alternative organizations which respect the fundamental principle of voluntariness. The bill would negate this essential human rights principle through substitution of a simple accounting requirement, and I find this unacceptable. The bookkeeping provision would clearly place the United States in the position of supporting a program that in turn supports coercive abortions, a program that is inconsistent with American values. Such support would undermine our position that family planning must be voluntary and would contradict the human rights character of our foreign policy around the world.

Although these provisions, standing alone, would lead me to veto this bill, many other provisions of the bill also pose constitutional problems. The Administration has discussed those provisions in detail in letters to both houses of Congress.

I look forward to working with the Congress to craft a bill that I can enthusiastically support and to passage of an appropriations bill that will facilitate our many foreign policy initiatives.

George Bush

The White House,
November 19, 1989.

Nomination of Peter K. Nunez To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

November 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Peter K. Nunez to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement and Tariff Affairs. He would succeed Salvatore R. Martoche.

Since 1988 Mr. Nunez has served as a partner in the litigation department of the law firm of Brobeck, Phleger and Harrison. Prior to this, he served as the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of California, 1982–1988; as the chief assistant U.S. attorney, 1980–1982; as the assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern District of California, 1972–1980; and as a law clerk to the Honorable Gordon Thompson, Jr., U.S. district judge for the Southern District of California, 1970–1972.

Mr. Nunez graduated from Duke University (B.A., 1964) and the University of San Diego School of Law (J.D., 1970). He served in the U.S. Naval Reserve, 1964–1966. Mr. Nunez was born August 31, 1942, in West Reading, PA. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in San Diego, CA.

Nomination of William D. Hathaway To Be a Commissioner of the Federal Maritime Commission

November 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate William D. Hathaway to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner for the term expiring June 30, 1993. He would succeed Thomas F. Moakley.

Since 1979 Senator Hathaway has served as an attorney with the law firm of Patton, Boggs and Blow in Washington, DC, and he served as an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown Law Center from 1981 to 1983. Prior to this, he served in the U.S. Senate, 1973–1978, and in the U.S. House of

Representatives, 1965–1972. In addition, Senator Hathaway served as a hearing examiner for the State liquor commission in the State of Maine, 1957–1961; assistant county attorney for Androscoggin County, ME, 1955–1957; and as an attorney in general practice in Lewiston, ME, 1953–1964.

Senator Hathaway graduated from Harvard College (A.B., 1949) and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1953). He was born February 21, 1924, in Cambridge, MA. Senator Hathaway served in the U.S. Army Air Corps, 1942–1946. He is married, has two children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Nomination of David C. Fields To Be Director of the Office of Foreign Missions

November 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate David C. Fields, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Director of the Office of Foreign Missions at the Department of State, with the rank of Ambassador. He would succeed James E. Nolan, Jr.

Since 1986 Ambassador Fields has served as U.S. Ambassador to the Central African Republic. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security at the Department of State, 1984–1986; administrative counselor at the U.S. Embassy in London, 1980–1984; administrative counselor at the American Embassy in Islamabad, 1979–1980; administrative officer at the U.S. Embassy in Tunis, 1975–1979; budget officer for the Office of Budget at the Department of State, 1973–1975; university training at Cornell University, 1972–1973; administrative officer in Ouagadougou, 1970–1972; budget officer for the U.S. Embassy in Libreville, 1967–1970; chief accountant for Thorsen Manufacturing Co. in Emeryville, CA, 1965–1967; sales representative for the California-Western State Life Insurance Co. in San Rafael, CA, 1965; accountant for the Basalt Rock Co. in Napa, CA, 1962–1965; and export negotiator in the international division of the Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco, CA, 1960–1962.

Ambassador Fields graduated from Armstrong College (B.A., 1960), and he attended Cornell Graduate School of Industrial and Labor Relations. He was born January 13, 1937, in San Pedro, CA. Ambassador Fields served in the U.S. Army, 1955–1957. He is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Henrietta Hugentobler Holsman To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development

November 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Henrietta Hugentobler Holsman to be an Assistant Administrator for Private Enterprise at the Agency for International Development, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. She would succeed Mae Neal Peden.

Since 1977 Ms. Holsman has served as president and director of Stockton Wire Products in Burbank, CA, and since 1981 she has served as president and chairman of the board of Pozacorp, Inc., in Burbank, CA. Prior to this, she served as an independent business consultant in Denver, CO, 1975–1977; founder and manager of several entrepreneurial businesses, 1975–1986; realty specialist for the General Services Administration in Denver, CO, 1971–1975; and a bank apprentice for the Bank of Greece in Athens, Greece, 1968.

Ms. Holsman graduated from Wellesley College (B.A., 1970) and the University of Northern Colorado (M.A., 1975). She was born December 9, 1948, in Chicago, IL. Ms. Holsman resides in Ventura, CA.

Appointment of Curtis Means Dunbar as a Member of the National Commission on Responsibilities for Financing Postsecondary Education

November 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Curtis Means Dunbar as a member of the National Commission on Responsibilities for Financing Postsecondary Education. This is a new position.

Since 1987 Mr. Dunbar has served as assistant principal for Union High School in Union, SC. Prior to this, he served as assistant principal for Jonesville High School, 1985–1987; guidance counselor for Union High School, 1979–1985; science teacher for Jonesville High School, 1976–1985; and consultant for the Federal Trade Commission in Washington, DC, 1982.

Mr. Dunbar graduated from The Citadel (B.S., 1976) and Winthrop College (M.Ed., 1978, 1980). He was born January 10, 1953, in Union, SC. Mr. Dunbar is married, has three children, and resides in Union, SC.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Students at Pickard Elementary School in Chicago, Illinois

November 20, 1989

The President. Good to see you, all of you. Who's going to tell me about what's going on around here? Ana, are you starting, or shall we ask our principal to tell us? Come on, you've said stuff before.

Do you know who came with me? Does everybody know? The Governor of the State, Governor Thompson, who is over here; Congresswoman Lynn Martin, who is a Member of the United States Congress in Washington, but she's from Illinois; and then Mr. Daley, Rich Daley, who is the mayor. You probably see him on television every single night, but I bet you haven't met him before.

Now who is going to tell us some stuff about what you're doing in school here? First place, you all look real beautiful, so I know you got dressed up for me because I don't imagine you wear such a pretty dress every day, do you? No? You say something first, now. You can either ask questions or tell me what you're doing here in school, because I know about the school. I know something about the school. Because you know what I know about it? I know for a fact certain that they've done a wonderful job in joining the war against drugs, and it's not easy. But I know that you all are trying very hard and setting a wonderful example. That's one thing I know about your school. And I also know something else: that a lot of kids come from a lot of different backgrounds. Some from overseas—different countries. And I know that many speak Spanish in their homes. And I also know that you've got a good program in the school to teach people to—so everybody will understand English—get phased in to English.

Now you tell me some stuff. Do you want to go first? Okay.

War on Drugs

Q. President Bush, when some people use drugs, about how much do you arrest the people that use drugs?

The President. Well, we're beginning to make the case that the user, the person that uses drugs, has to pay a penalty. It varies in different situations. But for a long time, everyone felt, well, we'll just go after the real bad guys, you know, the people that were selling the drugs and bringing the drugs into the country. Well, we've got to do that.

In fact, we're working with some of the countries around the world, like in Colombia and Mexico and Peru and Bolivia, to try to stop things at the source. But when people break the law, like in any other subject, they've got to pay a penalty. And that's why I think more and more you're seeing various jurisdictions go after those who use the drugs. Understand that?

Q. Yes.

The President. How about you, Jesse? You got something?

Q. President Bush, how do drugs get into this country?

The President. They get them in through the darnedest ways you've ever seen. You know, they make false bottoms into boats. They put them in these great big cargo containers, these great big steel containers, and then seal them. They mix them in plastic bags. They drop them into different kinds of products coming in. They fly them sometimes in airplanes, like little planes, and then drop them out, and they're picked up by boats. They're carried in by people that they call mules. They use human beings to swallow the drugs in a container and then come in like that through customs and then regurgitate them. All kinds of ways—and it's very hard to stop them. We are not going to win the drug war by interdiction alone. We can do better; I think we are doing better. People are interdicting just tons of drugs. It still comes in. It's an important one.

You know anybody whose family came from Colombia here, in South America? Nope? Anybody from Mexico? Hey, well, in Mexico we're having great cooperation now. They've got a new President. And he's working very hard—his military—working with specialists from the United States, from our country, to stop the drugs right at its source, to the degree they come from there—you know, where it's planted there. And then soon I'll be having a meeting with the Presidents of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia to talk about what else we can do to stop them from—it's a good question, Jesse.

Hey, I've got to see your name and everything. Ricky, what have you got?

Q. President Bush, how can you stop drugs coming to our country?

The President. Well, you've got to stop them by having a coordinated effort along the border, all the law enforcement people working as a team. You've got to do it at sea as best we can, stopping—having the Coast Guard, who is doing a wonderful job. Now with me here was Secretary Skinner, Secretary of Transportation, who has jurisdiction over the Coast Guard. And they have these Coast Guard vessels that stop vessels on the high seas and in U.S. waters. You can do both if you work it out properly. And then they inspect them. Or you get intelligence—you know, somebody will tip you off: There's a shipment of drugs coming in here. And then the agents will be there to greet the shipment and make sure they take over the drugs and penalize the people that are bringing them in.

But there are so many ways, Ricky, that people do that—bring them in.

Q. President Bush, how do you stop drugs?

The President. How do you stop people using them? Well, do like your program in the school. You know, listen to your principal as she teaches everybody in this school to turn their back. There's a lot of programs. There's a wonderful program called DARE, which was started really with the cooperation of the police department. I don't know whether that's working here or not, mayor. But you go to the schools, these police officers who really do a good job, and they teach kids, as you've done here, to say no to drugs. They teach them how to say no to people that come in and tempt you by a better life:"We'll give you money. You can have good things if you use them." And then—so, these programs teach people to turn away, walk away, even though it's tough.

How about on this side: Any questions? Rebecca, you got one? You don't have to. Yes, we'll go with Carlos, Gabriel back there, and then you be thinking. What have you got?

Q. We know that we've got to say no to drugs, but what else do we got to do to stop drugs? What else?

The President. Well, that's a very important thing so you, yourselves, don't do it. If you know friends that are, it's important to talk to them, because they respect you. Sometimes it seems hard to believe, but they respect you if you are saying no, so then you can help them. And then you can come to some teacher and say, look, this person needs help. I tried to talk to him as my friend, but he's caught up in this. And then you can have—you've got wonderful teachers here and you've got a principal, and she can help. Sometimes the church can be helpful—your priest and those sisters or wherever else in your church. They can be extraordinarily helpful. So, it's not just yourself, which is very important.

You know, the saddest thing—the saddest thing—is when parents use drugs. And kids are being taught by these wonderful schools: Don't use drugs. And yet, then they go home, and maybe their parents abuse the substance. And then you have to go to your teacher, or to your priest, or somebody that—counselor, your drug counselor, and say, I need your help. I want to tell on somebody, that my family is hurting their own lives by doing this. That's the hardest kind, I think.

But once you decide you're not going to do it, then I think the answer is—what can you do, Carlos? Reach out and try to help others.

Q. Are you going to stop drugs?

The President. We're trying hard, and we've got a whole program that has national support. And it is more than rhetoric; we're trying to change the laws. We're getting good cooperation from the Congress. You have mayors like your mayor, who is determined—Mayor Daley out there trying to do everything he can through education and through his police. And Governor Thompson took the lead on a statewide antidrug approach. So, it's a combination. It's not just Washington, and this is important because people think the President of the United States—he can do everything. A lot of people think that, but there are certain limits on what you can do. And this one is not going to be won unless it starts in the classroom or in the home and it goes to the city. And you've got a mayor that cares—he's really trying.

You go to the State—the man who has to be responsible for every city and town—a Governor that cares. You go to the Congress, where you have Congresswoman Martin, who cares and who takes the lead in legislation and, certainly in her case, in education. She used to be a teacher. So, she can help take the message out all across the State of Illinois and, in her case, nationally—to help each other to do it, to stay away.

Q. How long have you tried to stop drugs?

The President. How long? Well, you know, it's funny because when I was little, there probably—that was a long time ago—there probably was drug use. You go back into history—there's been drug use long before now, but it's only in recent years that it's become a major national problem. In fact, some people used to think it was funny. And you'd see in movies—you'd see people who had used some terrible drug, and people would laugh about them instead of condemning. So, it's changed.

But I guess, officially, my major responsibility started when I was Vice President. I was elected Vice President in 1980, when you were a tiny baby—not so tiny baby—and then I had—some of the area that I had—some responsibility for was getting all the agencies in the Federal Government to try to interdict drugs, to try to do what Ricky asked about: to stop them from coming in. And yet they still come in. It's got to be done—try to stop them from coming in and then try to get people on what they call the demand side—just turning your back on it, saying no, and helping others learn to do that.

The Presidency

Q. Are all the Presidents rich? [*Laughter*]

The President. No. In our history, some didn't have much money at all. And that y should never be a requirement. I hope that some people are thinking: Just because we come here, you see, maybe I'll be President someday. Do you ever think about that? You should because it's fun to dream about stuff.

Q. How does it feel to be President?

The President. Sometimes it feels good, and sometimes it feels less good. But most of the time it's wonderful because I like my job, and I like a lot of parts of it. Some of it I don't like. There are some parts I don't like, but I like what I'm supposed to be doing, and so does my wife like—she's trying to help people on literacy. And I like this part of the job. You meet people. And you can say to a school principal, and hope that people hear it all over the country: Hey, you're doing a first-class job. And so there's some wonderful things.

You know what I got to do? Some of the boys are interested. Just before I came here, I got to meet the quarterback for the Denver Broncos football team. And I know Mike Ditka, and I know some of the others. So, I get some fun stuff to do in sports. Then you think—you're President; you think you're helping.

We're going off to meet Mr. Gorbachev, and in a week or so you're going to be reading all about that because it will be in every paper. And why are we doing it? Well, we're trying to make the world a little more peaceful. We want it to be a place where you grow up—that you don't have to worry about having to go off to war. You can think about what this guy's thinking about—maybe getting to be President or maybe getting a good education or going out and helping others.

Q. How come you became President?

The President. How did I get to be President? Well, I was in politics a long time, and I was in business, and I worked hard. I decided in the late seventies that I wanted to be President, and then I went out and worked for it. And I had a lot of help. You can't do it alone. You get help. Your Governor helped me; and this Congresswoman, Lynn Martin, was extraordinarily helpful to me. And then people that aren't in office—they helped. So, you have to get people behind your case and your cause. In my case, I ran and lost for the Senate, for example. I got up—friends pick you up, dust you off, put you back in the game, and you try again. Then I ran for President and lost in 1979. And then President Reagan suggested to our convention that I be Vice President, and then we were elected. And then for 8 years I was Vice President. And then I ran again.

So, it's that way. But you have to work at the grassroots; you have to care about people, I think. But you have to be willing to try, to risk something. And you've got to learn that if somebody says something ugly about you, don't worry about it. I used to be very worried when I was much—15, 20 years ago. Somebody said something that was critical, I would worry about that. I don't worry about that anymore. So, you have to have a fairly thick skin, but never so thick that you don't care about people.

You think you're going to give it a try someday? Maybe? I hope so. I bet you'd be good.

War on Drugs

Representative Martin. Mr. President, can we ask the kids something, just because they've been such wonderful kids?

The President. Yes.

Representative Martin. How many of you have ever seen or know about drugs in your neighborhood right now? So, see, they're kind of our frontline troops, aren't they?

The President. Yes, they are. People try to sell them to you and stuff? Or get you involved in it some way?

Representative Martin. There's a generation that can make a difference.

The President. Yes. Good luck.

The President's Dog

Q. How is your dog doing?

The President. How's our dog? Oh, she's wonderful. I don't want to say this in front of anybody, but I had to take her into the shower yesterday and give her a bath because she rolled in something bad. I mean, really bad. [*Laughter*] And so, Barbara, my wife, said: "Would you mind giving Millie a bath?" So, even when you're President, you've got to do some stuff that isn't too good or fun. But when she slept up on our bed last night, she was very clean, and she smelled real good.

Okay, we'll see you.

Q. How many puppies did Millie have?

The President. Millie had six puppies. She had five daughters and a son. And the son: he's now 8 months old. And he's much bigger than Millie, and he plays with her. And we had her up at Camp David, and they run through the woods looking for things, but there's some bad news. See that rabbit over there? Don't let him out if Millie comes to this school, okay? [*Laughter*] The other day--I wouldn't say this, because I know they won't report this—but the other day, running through the woods, Millie caught something, and Mrs. Bush said to the Secret Service man: "What is that?" And the Secret Service guy said: "A bunny." She had caught this bunny.

Okay, we'll see you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in Room 305. In his remarks, he referred to fifth-grade student Ana Zamora, who had written him a letter about widespread drug abuse in her neighborhood. The President also referred to Sylvia F. Asllani, the school principal, and students Jesus Castro, Ricardo Ramirez, Rebecca Cervantes, Carlos Guttierrez, and Gabriel Ortega.

Remarks at an Antidrug Awards Ceremony at Pickard Elementary School in Chicago, Illinois

November 20, 1989

Well, first of all, let me just thank your principal, Mrs. Asllani, for the hospitality. You know, the minute we walked into this school, we were made to feel at home. And some of it is because of your principal, some because of the other wonderful teachers here, and a lot of it just because of the warm welcome that we all felt when we saw the signs and the posters and all of that. So, it makes a difference. And for those who participated in all of that, my heartfelt thanks.

I want to just refer to the people here with me. Sam Skinner—he's the Secretary of Transportation. He's a member of the President's Cabinet. We talked about drugs in the classroom. He's in overall charge of the Coast Guard. They're the guys—a lot of them out at sea—trying to do the job on stopping drugs. He's doing a wonderful job. Governor Thompson, the Governor of the whole State. And in this drug area, why, he put on a major effort to get Illinois to have its legislation right out front of the Nation—did a great job. You all know, because you see him every single night on television, I bet you—Mayor Daley. And he's fighting hard at the local level to work with the police officers and the families to do a good job on fighting drugs. Congresswoman Lynn Martin: She used to be a teacher, so she understands a lot about how it works in school. And now she's a Member of the United States Congress, a real close friend of mine, a real leader. And she understands the problems of young people in this country—working to help. And Jim Ryan, a State's attorney, is here. I, too, want to say hello to McGruff's master, Officer Oliveri, and even—Oliveri over here and McGruff himself here.

So, thanks for the welcome! Also, we've got to give one more round of applause. We have to do this because when I looked at these winning posters I saw so many that could have won. And I think these winners need one more round of applause for what they've done. [*Applause*]

All of these posters, these ones right here behind, show that this school understands that drugs and crime are bad, and you've got to keep on understanding that. We asked how many kids in the other room—Lynn Martin did—how many had been exposed to drugs? Many hands went up. And that means that the pressure is still on out there, so you've got to follow through on what you've learned in this school.

I'm here today, as your principle alluded to, because you, the students of Pickard Elementary, cared enough about the problem of drugs in your community to write the President of the United States. Well, I'm responding to those letters, and as she put it: You have been heard, and I'm just delighted to be with you.

For the younger ones here, how many of you have ever heard the story about the little train that could? I bet you have. I hope you have. But Pickard is the little school that could. And all of you have said no to drugs, and you've said yes to education. And you've refused to be defeated by marijuana and crack and terrible gang violence. And instead, you've chosen to succeed by studying, obeying your elders, and having enough pride in yourselves just to say no to drugs.

And so, I'm delighted to have had this chance. Somebody asked me do you like your job as President? You might think it's an easy question. I guess it's easy because I really do like my job, but there are many facets to being President. And one of the things that really makes an impression on me is when I see dedicated teachers, a totally dedicated principal, working with dedicated students who are willing to do what they can to stand up against drugs.

And so, it is my honor—it's not yours—for me to be here. It is mine to be with you today. My Spanish is not too hot. I told the girl that met me out there, Ana, that we have grandkids that are half Mexican. Their mother's a Mexican. And so, I should speak better Spanish. My Spanish is just terrible. And maybe I can get a little help from our winner today, because I know he's fluent in Spanish, as many others are. But I would simply say: *Diga no a drogas.* [Say no to drugs.] And thank you very, very much. *Muchimo gracias.* I'm very proud to have been here. God bless you all.

[*At this point, the students chanted anti-drug slogans.*]

That's it. Thank you all. Now I got to go to work. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to Sylvia F. Asllani, the school principal; Rose Oliveri, a Chicago police officer who assisted at the school; and Ana Zamora, a fifth-grade student who had written a letter to the President about widespread drug abuse in her neighborhood.

Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senatorial Candidate Lynn Martin in Chicago, Illinois

November 20, 1989

The President. Thank you very much. Please be seated. [*Laughter*] Two hundred and fifty bucks and you get a standing hotdog! Okay. [*Laughter*] To Lynn Martin and Governor Jim Thompson; Illinois' own, our Secretary of Transportation, Sam Skinner, here today; Pate Philip, the senate minority leader; and of course, Bill Smithburg, who's doing an outstanding job; Al Jourdan, the State party chairman; Harold Smith I see over here, the GOP national committeeman; and Mary Jo Arndt, the GOP national committeewoman; my old friend and supporter, Jim O'Grady, the sheriff of Cooke County; and of course, another old friend who is heading up this deal, along with Bill, Dick Morrow; to another great Illinoisan, Gary MacDougal, who flew out with me on Air Force One today; and members of the great 1990 Illinois Republican ticket—and I'll have a little more to say about them in a bit—and friends: Thank you so very much for the welcome.

Lynn, thank you for that warm and generous introduction. And let me say that it is a great pleasure to be right back here in this city, the city of Chicago, and in this State that had so much to do with my having the opportunity to be President of the United States. And a particular joy to speak on behalf of a close and dear friend, one of the great leaders in the U.S. House of Representatives and—I am convinced that if you do your job right and I do mine—soon to be one of the great Members of the United States Senate, Lynn Martin.

She's a longtime friend, and I wanted to come here and personally support her. And I know that you wanted to hear a few words from a prominent figure who can really fire up a crowd and generate some excitement. Unfortunately, Mike Ditka's getting ready for next week's game, and Barbara Bush couldn't make it either, so here I am. [*Laughter*]

No, I am delighted—for Lynn has been a magnificent Congresswoman for her district. I've been there with her. You should see the love and affection that people who know her best feel for her—magnificent U.S. Senator she'll be. And she is what Illinois needs and what our administration needs: a Senator to make the Land of Lincoln proud, a leader to make the Nation proud, somebody in the Senate that I can work with as President of the United States. And Lynn is that woman. You know, over the years—I hate to date myself—I have worked with hundreds of Members of Congress. And few have impressed me more than Lynn. She's been there when America needed her; she's been there when I needed her.

Audience member. Why are we sending money to El Salvador?

The President. Just a minute. Wait, the lady asked a good question. Let me repeat it, and I'll give her an answer if you promise to be quiet after I—promise? Word of honor? Okay. All right, good.

The question is: Why are we supporting El Salvador? And the answer is——

Audience member. Why are we killing people in El Salvador?

The President. The answer is—we're not. Now, you be quiet. And here's the answer to your question. We are supporting El Salvador because it had certifiably free elections. President Cristiani is trying to do a job for democracy. And the leftwing guerrillas must not take over El Salvador.

Isn't this system—I love it! Hey, listen, it livens things up. And they kept their word, albeit under some—[*laughter*]——

No, let me just say a couple more things about Lynn. [*Laughter*] When her district looked for a strong voice to speak for it in the House, she was there. For the parent worried about inflation—and that is important—for seniors needing medical care, for the student who wants to learn, she was there. And when I looked for her to fight for our cause—look at this guy. Look at this fellow. What's your position?

Audience member. ——repression in El Salvador. In the name of God, stop the repression in El Salvador! In the name of God, stop the repression in El Salvador!

Audience members. Boo!

The President. Let me just say a word about El Salvador, and maybe it will help. It was the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front], the Marxist-Leninist FMLN, that shot its way into the middle of El Salvador, trying to disrupt Salvador's democracy. And President Cristiani told me on the phone that they will do everything they can to bring to justice, whether they're from the right or the left, those who wantonly murdered those priests. But we must not pull our support away for a freely elected democratic government in Central America.

Now, who's next? All I ask is equal time. I'm here to talk about Lynn. Hey, look, this isn't a town meeting. I've got a couple of things to tell you about this woman. When we look for somebody to fight our cause in last year's election, who was it? Lynn was there. And here's proof of her resiliency. She cochaired the National Bush-Quayle Committee with John Sununu and lived to tell about it. [*Laughter*]

You can see why I so admire her and why I need her in the Senate. On the one hand, she's a gracious, smart, and compassionate woman—got to be careful here—in this "City of the Big Shoulders," hers may not rival the Bears', but the 1989 Republican woman of the year is strong and tough. And she's a fighter for her principles and a go-getter for constituents. And next November, she'll be a winner for what one writer called "the best State precisely because it is so American. Illinois is core America." And so, she'll win because she, too, is core America—born and raised in Chicago, went to the Taft High School, attended the University of Illinois, graduated with honors. Of course, she tells me the Fighting Illini football team will do the honors on January 1, and we're looking forward to that.

Like Illinoisans, she's honest. It's like she always tells me: "It's fine that you're here, Mr. President. But if you really want to wow the crowd, bring Barbara." [*Laughter*] I am getting a slight inferiority complex, Lynn, and please don't say it again. [*Laughter*] She's genuine—never forgot who sent her to Washington, never left her roots.

Lynn Martin knows the people of Illinois: the retired laborer, the homemaker, the small shopowner. You should have seen her in the school just a few minutes ago, talking to the kids and interacting with these heroic principals. She knows their values: hard work, love of country, faith in God. She's been a county board member and a State legislator and for 9 years the Congressman from the 16th District. During that time, She's been right on issue after issue. She thinks as I do—like you do. And because she does, we're going to need her more than ever in the 1990's. For the issues that confront America have never been more urgent, and we're going to need people like Senator Lynn Martin to help ensure prosperity for all Americans.

To begin with, consider some undeniable facts—like the Bears' 1986 Super Bowl win or Don Zimmer being named the 1989 manager of the year—an unemployment rate at the lowest level in 15 years, more than 20 million new jobs since 1982, the longest peacetime expansion in the history of our country.

The healthy economy that we now enjoy didn't happen by magic; it came about through tax cuts and controlling spending. And, yes, Lynn was there. And now our administration wants to build upon these undeniable facts by enacting our capital gains tax cut to create greater opportunity and more jobs and, thus, more revenue for the Federal Government.

And let me say this because there's been some peculiar reporting on this. The capital gains battle may be over for this year, but the fact is this: We have seen the votes. A majority in both the Senate and the House are on record in favor of cutting the capital gains rate. So, make no mistake: When Congress reconvenes in the new year, cutting capital gains is going to be one of the top items on my agenda. The fight for a capital gains cut is far from over, and it is a fight that I am going to win. Along with other measures, a capital gains lowering will help ensure prosperity at home. But we must also have peace abroad.

Real peace, like prosperity, doesn't occur by accident. It requires patience, vision, a meaningful dialog. Next week, President Gorbachev and I will meet off the island of Malta. This meeting will occur because America has been resolute in defense of liberty and democracy, and it will occur amid the changes sweeping East and Central Europe and bringing freedom to millions who share a common heritage with so many right here in your great State of Illinois. I will remember that heritage next week in Malta as we work to make the 1990's the decade of democracy in Eastern Europe.

Democracy, of course, means freedom from fear, and so it must at home. Our administration has moved boldly, decisively on yet another issue because most Illinoisans, like most Americans, have had it up to here with crime and drug use. And we say it's got to stop, and I am determined that it will stop. We have proposed a national drug strategy, the most comprehensive plan to assault these plagues. We want mandatory time for firearms offenses, no deals when criminals use a gun; and for the most heinous crimes—you remember my promise—for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer, no legal penalty is too tough. We want the Congress to enact the steps that are needed to implement the death penalty for those who take the lives of our police officers out there on the street.

Lynn Martin supports our proposals because she believes that the Federal Government must wage real—not simply rhetorical—war against the thugs who assault our kids. We want stiffer penalties for violent criminals, greater certainty in sentencing. We say that drug kingpins and terrorists who kill Americans don't deserve the easy parole that lets them off scot-free. They deserve to pay a price, and it is the ultimate price. Fellow Republicans, I need your support to make our crime proposals a reality. We have a good program before the Congress, and the Congress should have acted long before now on every single item of those proposals.

Earlier, I mentioned undeniable facts. Here are some more: Our administration has introduced policies to benefit both the farmer and the consumer, and bold new environmental policies to reduce air toxics and urban smog, policies that will preserve our wetlands and combat polluters, help to clean up our air and hazardous wastes. And, yes, Lynn has been there.

In addition, we're nearing passage of pioneering ethics legislation—and we're asking Congress to act on our education proposals. And here, too, as a former schoolteacher in Rockford and DuPage County, she's been there. Our proposals seek to give greater choice to parents and students, demand greater accountability. They reward excellence and demand that Federal dollars help those most in need. Fellow Republicans, don't you agree? We must make America's educational system number one in the world again.

And Lynn is already out front, and I know that she'll help me do that. For look at what she's done already: achieving the highest position of Republican leadership ever held by a woman in the House of Representatives. And the best is yet to come. For next year you'll lend your strength and quality to the entire Republican ticket.

So, for starters, let me just say—over here—I don't know whether they were introduced, but here's Jim Edgar, the next Governor of this great State, and Bob Kustra, as Lieutenant Governor, right behind him there. My old friend, George Ryan, the next secretary of state. And Jim Ryan, as attorney general. Don't worry. I'm not forgetting one that knocked himself out for me. Here's Greg Baise, your next State treasurer, and Gary Skoien as comptroller. Let me sum it up this way: a magnificent team, a winning team for the State of Illinois.

Now, 128 years ago, the greatest Illinoisan of them all left Springfield to assume the Presidency. Addressing his home people at the Great Western railway station, Abraham Lincoln was moved to say: "To this place and the kindness of these people, I owe everything." I know that Lynn would reaffirm those words because she loves this place and she loves the people of this State, the State of Illinois. So, let's be there for Lynn Martin, and support the entire Republican ticket. Let's go out and work to make Lynn Martin the next Senator from the great State of Illinois. Thank you for your kindness, for the honor of this occasion. God bless you. God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 12:22 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Bill Smithburg, finance chairman of the State Republican Party; Dick Morrow, Republican Party campaign contributor; Gary MacDougal, member of the board of directors of the United Parcel Service; Mike Ditka, coach of the Chicago Bears football team; John Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Don Zimmer, coach of the Chicago Cubs baseball team; Jim Edgar, Illinois secretary of state; Lt. Gov. George Ryan; Jim Ryan, DuPage County State's attorney; Greg Baise, Illinois secretary of transportation; and Gary Skoien, executive director of the Illinois Capital Development Fund. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Cranston, RI.

Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Governor Edward DiPrete in Cranston, Rhode Island

November 20, 1989

Thank you. Hey, listen, what a welcome back! Thank you, Governor; thank you, Claudine. Please be seated. [*Laughter*] Eat your hearts out. [*Laughter*] Ed, thank you, thank you for that welcome back—that kind invitation first, and now introduction. And thanks to Ed and Pat for inviting me to share this special nostalgic evening with you all.

Let me first acknowledge a great Congressman that is here. I know he's flying back with me on Air Force One. Ron Machtley is here. Now, where is he? Way back there—what a job he's doing for the State—right back there under that arch. And of course, I'm very proud to be here now with Claudine, in a few minutes, later, in an event she's having—and she will make a great United States Senator for Rhode Island. So, I'm delighted she's here.

And of course, with the DiPretes, all I'll say is this is quite a gathering. You know, Barbara gets on me constantly for the habit I have of inviting folks to our house. [*Laughter*] And so, I'm glad we have once again found a kindred spirit, someone who doesn't mind having a few close friends. I can't help it if his neighbors will never speak to him again. [*Laughter*] But, Ed, this evening is proof that you don't know the meaning of the phrase "not in my backyard." [*Laughter*]

You know, when I said nostalgic, though, it's true. I remember very well—and we were in talking about it—being back here at this very house back in '81. And you'd just finished some renovation at that time. And I'm honored you still refer to the garage as the Bush Room, but it's no longer the garage. [*Laughter*] But, look, I'm here for two outstanding leaders: Ed DiPrete, Claudine Schneider.

Claudine first: independent, principled Congresswoman with a proud record of leadership on the environment, on education, in combating crime. She is a great Congresswoman, and I know she's going to make a great Senator.

And our host, Ed DiPrete—well, it's a pleasure to be here with a man who is simply one of the finest Governors in all the 50 States. He has long been not only—and I mean this, not just in the diplomatic sense, political sense—but a close friend and a trusted adviser. And he's close to my able Chief of Staff, John Sununu.

You know, remember De Tocqueville, the great 19th century French observer of American democracy. De Tocqueville once asked an American politician to define the role of Governor, and he got this answer: "The Governor counts for absolutely nothing and is only paid $1,200." [*Laughter*] Well, times have changed. [*Laughter*] And in our Federal system, the 50 chief executives right there on that State level count for everything—for a great deal—as I am reminded by my Chief of Staff every day. [*Laughter*] But nevertheless, it's true, and Rhode Island is blessed with one of the best.

I remember when I first started this quest for the Presidency a couple of years ago, Ed DiPrete came up to our house in Maine with several other Governors. And it was there that I learned more about how you try to solve the people problems than I ever had at a seminar before. And I'm always going to be grateful to Ed for that.

He's been a trailblazer not just for the State but for Governors across America. I'll take just one example, education, where the States play such a critical role. Two months ago—you remember it, I'm sure—we all went down to Charlottesville, Virginia, at the education summit. Some of the most innovative ideas on improving our schools came from your Governor, Ed DiPrete. I knew it, and the other Governors knew it as well.

One example: a public-private partnership. Ed calls it the children's crusade for higher education. Starting in 1991, each and every third-grader in this State is going to have the option to join this children's crusade. Teachers, parents, volunteer tutors, and mentors are going to work with the kids from third grade on to keep them in school, off drugs, out of trouble with the law, and help them to get ready to enter college and then go on to the work force. And the children's crusade won't end with graduation day. For every child who is accepted by a college or a job training program but can't afford it, the children's crusade fund will help pay the cost for them. That is innovative thinking; it is creative. And it's Ed DiPrete's idea, helped by many in this room.

With Ed's advice and his help, I've laid out my plan for improving our nation's schools: rewarding good teachers, giving parents a choice of schools, reducing Federal control. If there was one theme that came out from these Governors at Charlottesville, it was flexibility: Don't handcuff us with regulations that might seem sensible in Washington, but have no relevance to our own States. And so, we're talking about reducing Federal control, but increasing accountability where it matters most: in the schools and local communities. On every one of these issues, Ed and I stand side by side. And I do value his counsel, and I truly respect his leadership.

And that strong leadership has helped Rhode Island's economy as well as the schools. Ed took over as Governor, and since then, Rhode Island has gone from being a job-poor State to one of the top-ranked in the country in terms of employment. And that's just one measure of the sound economic course that this Governor has mapped for this State. Job training, outreach to expand foreign trade, how to foster high-tech industry of the future—Ed understands how to keep Rhode Island on top in a competitive business climate that we're going to be facing in the 1990's.

When it comes to a strong economy, to growing prosperity for all Rhode Islanders, you need Ed. You need him here. And I need progrowth Governors like him to help keep the economic expansion going forward.

Let me mention right now one of the best ways that I know to keep the economic expansion going forward, keeping it in high gear. It's a big debate raging, and I'm talking about the capital gains differential. I'm talking about cutting the capital gains rate. We've all heard the arguments about who benefits from a cut in the capital gains rate. There was one issue that was clearly debated a year ago, or more, in the Presidential race—it was this question.

Well, the real answer is, in my view, that all Americans benefit from a capital gains cut, a capital gains differential. It is good for growth. It's going to increase entrepreneurship, starting new businesses and investment opportunities. And that means more jobs right here in Rhode Island and all across the United States. A majority in both the Senate and the House are on record now in favor of cutting the capital gains rates. And so, let me tell you this: It's been frustrated by parliamentary procedures in the Senate, but let me tell you right now, when Congress starts its new session next year, we're going to make it absolutely clear that the fight for a capital gains cut is far from over. It is not a tax break for the rich; it is a break for the poor who don't have jobs and who will have jobs if we get it put into effect.

There are other areas of Ed's interest. I think of that oil spill right up here off your beautiful, pristine coast—back in June there was one—that disaster that really didn't happen thanks to a very fast response—and I hope we helped on it—response by your Governor. Ed got the State resources mobilized into action quickly, got on the phone with our office down there to tap Federal resources in the cleanup effort. Only hours later, the Secretary of the Interior and the head of EPA on the scene and working together, you managed to contain that spill and prevent catastrophe in beautiful Narragansett Bay. And that's a tribute to what I call a take-charge kind of leadership of Ed DiPrete, leadership on the State level that we have come to count on.

Let me just end by making one comment that doesn't exactly relate to my enthusiasm for Ed's reelection. And that has to do with this meeting that will take place a week from this coming Saturday off of Malta.

Barbara and I have 11 grandchildren. And we're outnumbered only by the DiPrete family; they must have 100 grandchildren—[*laughter*]—kids and grandchildren, I don't know. I never saw such a picture as they've got in there. But it made me think about this just as we were walking out here, when I saw that magnificent family picture.

This is going to be an historic meeting. I don't want to see over-promise coming from it. I think it's an important meeting because who could possibly have predicted the dynamic change that is taking place in Eastern Europe? We are living in exciting times. We are living in times where the potential for peace and reduced tensions has never been better.

And so, as your President, I want to go there. This will not be an agenda meeting; this will not be a meeting when we have a 12-point program and he has a 6. I do not want the great United States and the Soviet Union to be like two ships passing in the dark. So, I'm going to go over there buoyed by the principles of democracy and freedom that separate our country out, that make us the greatest. And I will be talking and finding ways where perhaps we can be cooperative, to understand the problems that Mr. Gorbachev may have, but to—let me put it this way—to be prudent and to be cautious and to keep my eyes open. And I think that's what I was elected to do.

But I just want you to know I do feel—when I saw the picture of that wonderful family—that we have a chance now, in the next couple of years, to really enhance the peace that many in this room fought for as veterans of one war or another. And it's going to be historic.

Listen, thank you all very much for Ed. Now, you've been hit up for a high-ticket item here tonight, I understand that. [*Laughter*] But now what we want—I will not be crass enough to ask you for more money—but get out there and get this good, able, decent man reelected as Governor of Rhode Island. Thank you all, and God bless all of you.

Note: The President spoke at 6:15 p.m. in the Governor's residence. In his remarks, he referred to the Governor's wife, Patricia DiPrete. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Warwick, RI.

Remarks at a Fundraising Reception for Senatorial Candidate Claudine Schneider in Warwick, Rhode Island

November 20, 1989

Thank you, Claudine. What a welcome! Thank you. I'm very, very pleased to be back here. Thank you, Claudine and Ed—Governor Ed DiPrete, the outstanding Governor of this great State—who I want to see reelected very, very badly. So, do your part on that one. And Ron—you guys sit down now. And you can't sit down, so eat your heart out, out there. [*Laughter*] Ron Machtley—what a job he's doing, proving already that he's the leader you thought he'd be when you sent him down there. And of course, let us also give a very special thanks to the Woonsockett High School Band. Great music—I could hear you out there. Talk about a big band, I mean that's it, and a good one. Thank you all very, very much.

And I just have to say that I'm pleased to visit the Rocky Point Palladium. [*Laughter*] Hey, listen, this is the first time I've been to an amusement park in years. [*Laughter*] In fact, I wanted to check out the Corkscrew, but the Secret Service guys wouldn't let me do it. [*Laughter*]

No, it is—and I really mean this—we've had a good day, campaigning out there in Illinois and now here with Ed and Claudine. But it's great to be back in the home of so many great Republican Rhode Island leaders. Senator Chafee was going to be here, but the Senate is finishing up its work. And of course, Governor Ed DiPrete—I told you what I thought about him. And then Ron—he and Congressman Claudine Schneider are going to fly back with me on Air Force One because they're finishing up the session down there. And you all think you're glad to get them out of town—what about me, I'll tell you. [*Laughter*]

No, but since the first days of the Republic, this Rhode Island brand of leadership has been marked by a tenacious, fierce individualism. And this little State has always been a big friend of dissent and a mecca for mavericks and a home for the self-reliant. Rhode Island is and will always be personified by the statue atop your capitol, the very image of the independent man. But it is on behalf of an independent woman that I have come to Providence tonight. And I am here to stand proudly by a great leader for Rhode Island and for the United States of America. And I am here for my friend, Claudine.

What is it about her? What is it about her? It is very interesting that people in Washington and Rhode Island never refer to her as Congresswoman Schneider. She is, to all of us—Barbara, me, all the people down there—just Claudine, a down-to-earth lady who still makes her own clothes. And she does a pretty good job of that. [*Laughter*]

But approachable as she is, make no mistake about it, Claudine is a champ. And after all, she was the winner of the Nike Capital Challenge 5K for 5 years in a row. She can run! She can run in a race, and she can run for the Senate—and win both. Listen, that energy—when I get around her, I get nervous just being there. I mean, I want to go out and do something. [*Laughter*] But this is the pace that she set for those of us that understand the House of Representatives—always ahead of the pack, always out front; and this is the pace that she's setting for the future.

Sometimes pacesetters run alone, and sometimes Claudine disagrees with her party. But she stands up, and you know where she's coming from. And I respect that, but with her, I can always bank on one thing: I always know exactly where she stands—right by her principles, because she is entirely honest, a woman of total integrity.

You know very well that she's a pacesetter when it comes to the worldwide struggle to preserve and to protect the environment. She was a sponsor of legislation to reduce this hazardous waste at its source, to give companies the incentives to recycle, because she knows that it is easier to prevent toxic waste than it is to clean it up. And she was also instrumental in the passage of that very important law for Rhode Island, indeed, for the country: the ocean dumping law—critical, if we're to clean up the shorelines of America. She's worked hard to halt the continuing tragedy of tropical deforestation, and she's been among the foremost guardians of those rare and wonderful species endangered by man and his chainsaws.

Claudine, looking over those committee assignments of yours, I also noticed you're a leading member of the Fisheries Subcommittee. And so, I'm sure you'll be pleased to hear that with my record as a fisherman, no species are endangered by me. [*Laughter*] I want off of your hit list.

I do share her concern about the future of endangered species, and that's why my administration announced a ban in July of the importation of African elephant ivory into the United States. And I also share your concern for the quality of the water that we drink, the air we breathe, and the future of our land. And it is out of this concern that I asked the EPA and the Justice Department to crack down on those who pollute our waters and our beaches. And we are determined to fight toxic air emissions. And we can be grateful that the EPA has been instructed to be more aggressive in enforcing the cleanup of hazardous waste.

But we're learning that no nation can save the environment by itself. Pollution respects no boundaries, no borders. Pollution is a world problem, and only a world solution will stop it. A world solution can begin with the United States and the Soviet Union. And so, when I meet President Gorbachev in Malta a week from this coming Saturday, I will seek his active cooperation in cleaning up the world's environment.

And speaking of cleaning up, while we're at it, we've got to clean up our streets by fighting the scourge of drugs and its accomplice, violent crime. Our children deserve a chance to avoid drugs, through a vigorous antidrug campaign in the schools. Users and addicts deserve a chance to go clean through treatment. But society also deserves a chance, by sending the drug dealers where they belong—to do time, hard time. And I know that Claudine agrees with that. Last May I asked the Congress to increase funding for our drug education and prevention efforts by nearly $1.1 billion, a 16-percent increase. But I'm also asking for increases in my crime and in my drug packages for more police, more prisons, more prosecutors. Again, society deserves a chance. And I challenge Congress to take action as soon as it reconvenes to pass my crime legislation.

There are so many children in America who deserve a chance, and they're not getting it because they are not learning to read, learning to write, learning for work. And that is why I was pleased to join Governor DiPrete and his colleagues in that summit in Charlottesville, to join in a compact to improve our schools through the principles of choice in education, more flexibility for States and for teachers—and God bless our teachers—and increased accountability.

There are others in America who also deserve a chance. And so, I was proud to ask for the reauthorization of the Commission on Civil Rights, and will be equally proud to sign that bill into law shortly. I was also proud to endorse the hate crimes bill to identify and fight bigotry. But we must go one step further: We must end discrimination against the disabled, and I want to see legislation passed to that effect.

And of course, Claudine, this magnificent woman, has been at the forefront of securing the civil rights of all of us. Martin Luther King said: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." In this spirit, Claudine Schneider is such a fervent advocate of the rights of minorities and women, and she believes that injustice to any American is an injustice to all Americans.

It is widely known, I'm sure, here and in Washington that there's a whole other dimension. As I look at the demographic change in the United States, the change that is taking place, and then you look at our interaction with our trading partners around the world, it is very, very clear that the United States must retain, if not rebuild, its competitive edge. And did you know that your Congresswoman, Claudine Schneider, is the chairman of the Competitiveness Caucus in Washington, DC? She is the one who is out front on the Job Training Partnership Act; on the emphasis on research and development; on more science and math so our kids can compete in the year 2000 with whoever it is, whatever power it is around the world. She is the one who is insisting that the playing field for trade be level. In addition to all these other interests, she is out front trying to make the United States of America more competitive. And effective as she's been in Congress, she'll be even more so in the United States Senate.

No, we've all seen how the winds of change are reshaping the world. And because of this change, at no time in the long history of the postwar years has dialog been more important between the superpowers. And so, as I mentioned, I will go to Malta a week from Saturday, meeting to continue our dialog, meeting with President Gorbachev. But as I work with him, it is very important that American and Soviet leaders at all levels are involved in frank and meaningful dialog. We can all be grateful for Claudine because she has performed an invaluable service by originating a live network show that allows Members of Congress to have a candid exchange on issues from arms control to the environment with their counterparts in the Supreme Soviet. I salute you for that, and I encourage more of that kind of interchange between the Soviet citizens and U.S. citizens.

I can tell you, I'm looking forward to this meeting with President Gorbachev at Malta. I see these kids in this Woonsockett band there, and I'll say to you guys: You live in exciting times. You live in times where you have a shot, a clear shot, at living in a much more peaceful world. And so, this mission—this trip to Malta, if you will—is not about signing agreements. It's not about crossing the "t's" or dotting the "i's." It is to try to understand as best I can as your President these fantastic changes that are taking place, the dynamic changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe and inside the Soviet Union.

I'm going to keep my eyes wide open. I sometimes get needled a little bit about being cautious and prudent, but somehow I think that that's what a President of the United States ought to do when you go to meet the Soviet leader. And so, I won't miss an opportunity. I won't miss an opportunity as I look to the future. I'm going to look over my shoulder a little bit at the history to be sure that we do the right thing for this generation that's coming up here.

You know, Claudine, in conclusion let me just say this: You've been a leader in the environment, in the war on crime and drugs, in competitiveness, in advancing civil rights, promoting a dialog with the Soviets. Is it any wonder that your future is bright with promise?

You have made a great Congresswoman, and I will just repeat it here: You will make a great United States Senator. America needs your energy, that indefatigable energy. As I told you when I got off the plane, I felt tired just being around her. I mean: Let's go, let's go! We need that energy in the Senate. We need your spirit, we need your commitment, and we need your leadership—the leadership of a pacesetter, not a follower.

So, thank you for inviting me to Rhode Island. God bless you, and God bless all of you, and God bless the United States. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 7:06 p.m. at the Rocky Point Palladium. In his remarks, he referred to Representative Ronald K. Machtley. Following the reception, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1990

November 20, 1989

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 3610, the "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1990."

On October 27, 1989, I vetoed H.R. 3026, the earlier version of this bill. In my veto message of October 27, I stated my intention to veto any bill that does not contain language that prohibits the use of all congressionally appropriated funds to pay for abortions other than those in which the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. The limitation I propose is identical to the one included in the District of Columbia Appropriations Act for 1989 (Public Law 100–462).

H.R. 3610 would place such a restriction on the use of Federal funds to pay for abortion, but would permit congressionally appropriated local funds to be used for abortions on demand with no restriction whatever. As a matter of law, the use of local funds in the District of Columbia must be approved by the Congress and the President; the Federal Government is thus responsible for decisions as to the use of such local funds. Under these circumstances, the failure of H.R. 3610 to prohibit the use of all taxpayer funds appropriated by the bill to pay for abortion, except in those limited circumstances, is unacceptable.

From the outset of our Administration, I have repeatedly stated my deep personal concern about the tragedy in America of abortion on demand. As a nation, we must protect the unborn. H.R. 3610 does not provide such protection. I am, therefore, compelled to disapprove it.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 20, 1989.

Remarks Following a Meeting With West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher

November 21, 1989

The President. May I just thank you for bringing me, Mr. Minister, the piece of the [Berlin] wall. Maybe you'd care to say something about it. But I will treasure this. And I'd like to take this opportunity to share this fact that the Foreign Minister brought me this piece of the wall, and he brought with this his thanks from him and the Federal Chancellor [Helmut Kohl] to the American people. And this is a good chance to say thank you, sir.

The Foreign Minister. And I think it's an expression of the strength of freedom and democracy all over Germany that our Germans in the GDR were in a position to have a peaceful means to reach—that the wall now is open and that the German Democratic Republic is on the way, really, to become a democratic republic. But this depends that—free elections they will have during the course of this year.

And we are supporting very strongly these demands of our Germans in GDR. And I, again, would like to express, Mr. President, our great gratitude to the support, the help, and the firmness of the American nations in the past decades—in good times, but also in difficult times. I think this is the result of a very clear policy of the West advocating freedom and democracy all over Europe. And we continue on this way, using all the possibilities of the CFE process, the possibilities of cooperation with the East, encouraging the reform developments in the East, and gives a strong signal to the countries in the East that we want the success of the reforms, that we will do nothing to undermine this process or even to weaken this process.

We don't look for advantages when they have to face difficulties. We want a stable framework for the reform process.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about the situation in El Salvador?

The President. No, not now, not at this time I can't.

Q. What about modernizing nuclear forces in West Germany, Mr. Genscher?

The Foreign Minister. I think this is a time to be discussed in '92 as was agreed in the NATO communique.

Q. It's inconceivable though, isn't it?

The President. Thank you all. It's been a pleasure here, as always.

Note: The President spoke at 10:21 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks to the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges

November 21, 1989

Thank you, Dr. Peterson, for inviting me here and for the introduction, for those kind words. And it's always a pleasure, of course, to be with my friend Larry Cavazos, Secretary Cavazos, who is doing such an outstanding job on behalf of American education. I'm proud to have him at my side.

As to the former Big Red over here, Ron Roskens—[*laughter*]—one of your own, now joining our administration to head the Agency for International Development, a terribly important agency; and, of course, others at the headtable—I do want to single out Bob O'Neil, who was my host at the Charlottesville summit. And thank you, all of you, for your warm welcome, for the important work you do in educating our nation's youth, the promise of America and the promise of the future.

I'm told this is the third time that a President has addressed this group. Two other charismatic speakers, Calvin Coolidge and Ike Eisenhower, were here before me. [*Laughter*] So, it's tough. I hope they were as happy to be here as I am. [*Laughter*]

America is moving forward, and a lot of that is because you're moving forward. And I am very pleased to have this opportunity to come by in person to tell you just how important I believe your work is. I come during an auspicious week for Presidential speechmaking, because on yesterday's date in 1863 the Republican-owned Chicago Times ran an editorial slamming the speaking skills of their home-State President, Abraham Lincoln. And it read: "The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat, and dishwatery utterances of the man who had to be pointed out to the intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States." Of course, the speech they were so worked up about was the Gettysburg Address. [*Laughter*] And it was Abraham Lincoln who, one year earlier, as Chase alluded to, signed the Morrill Act into law, launching the great land-grant colleges and a uniquely American philosophy towards higher education.

America's State universities and land-grant colleges opened the door of opportunity to millions of talented kids whose backgrounds might otherwise have precluded their advancement and education; and it marked the first time in American history, in world history, that people of every background were given a chance to prove their abilities through higher education. Your institutions have continued to successfully evolve because you've always been there to address the needs of each sector, maturing as universities as America has matured as a nation. Step by step, side by side, the strength of America depends on the strength of our youth, and the strength of our youth depends on the strength of your schools.

Like America's bountiful harvests, America's system of higher education is the envy of the world. And your institutions are filled with powerful examples of what is right about education in America. And many of those examples were cited by your Governors in Charlottesville earlier this fall as we worked together to address the changing challenges in American education.

I noticed that William Fishback of the University of Virginia had a talk here yesterday. And I quote—this is the title: "Coping With an Educational Summit: How To Survive President Bush, 49 Governors, the News Media, and Other Strangers on Campus." [*Laughter*] Now, I don't know how well-attended the good doctor's lecture was, but it's a 20-word title. I know some of you plain-speaking educators would want to edit it down. [*Laughter*] But with my luck, the condensed version would be: "How To Survive President Bush." [*Laughter*] And if Mr. Fishback thought it was rough, he should talk to Bob O'Neil sitting over here. Bob's Virginia hospitality was so gracious that it was 2 days before Barbara and I realized we had kicked him out of his own house. [*Laughter*]

The summit marked only the third time in our nation's history that America's Governors were called together to address a specific challenge. It was an important beginning. We all recognize—only a beginning. In the weeks since, my administration, your Governors, have been working hard on the commitments made at Charlottesville to set national goals, seek greater flexibility and enhanced accountability, and undertake a major State-by-State effort to restructure our entire education system. Especially on this first new objective, setting national goals, your leadership is needed—it is absolutely essential. This organization, this very room, holds a vast body of expertise and experience in tackling these issues. For those of you who are already working with your Governors, I thank you. And for those who have not yet had that opportunity, I invite you, I urge you, to lend your voices to this critical dialog.

Later today, Dr. Cavazos and I will be meeting with my newly created President's Education Policy Advisory Committee. And I look forward to hearing from three of your members who are on the Committee: Lamar Alexander, the president of the University of Tennessee; Joe Nathan of University of Minnesota; and Dr. Frank Rhodes, the president of Cornell University—examples all of the kind of world-class reputations your member schools have attained.

To meet our new national goals, the Governors and I agreed that we must seek greater flexibility and strength and accountability—all of this in the use of Federal resources. That doesn't mean that we need Federal regulations controlling the way our schools and colleges get the job done. Our colleges are the best in the world in part because they epitomize choice, competition, flexibility. And once we recognize that, then the way to close the disturbing gap between the performance of our colleges and the performance of our elementary and high schools is obvious. What's worked for you will work for them.

Our plan is called the Educational Excellence Act of 1989, and it's a critical first step in the effort to reverse the fortunes of our struggling elementary and secondary schools. It calls for choice, using magnet schools to promote the same kind of healthy competition that flourishes among our college campuses. Like our top colleges, magnet schools will attract top students and create a new incentive for innovation. Magnet schools will bring new flexibility and promote quality education; but along with new flexibility, we need new blood. And alternative certification is an innovation that will expand the pool of talented teachers.

One thing: Our plan also aims to seek out excellence and reward it, and by doing so, to promote competition and accountability. As with Federal grants to our best universities, we will provide cash awards to our best schools, to merit schools. These merit awards will not only boost the programs of schools with proven formulas for success but also boost the incentives for other schools to follow their lead.

But accountability means more than merely rewarding those schools that turn resources into results. Schools at every level must allocate their resources wisely and prudently. Your colleague, Harold Shapiro, who has been president at both Michigan and Princeton, recently spelled out the bottom line. He said: "We all have to be much more selective about what we do and what we purport to do if we have any hope of keeping the costs of education within the bounds that can reasonably be afforded by society."

One thing we can't afford is to fall behind the competition when it comes to training the educated work force that future challenges will require. And that's why another of our initiatives seeks to bolster an effort that many of you right here have led: the effort to revitalize campus interest in the study of math and science. We have proposed a new nationwide program of math and science scholarships for our best high school seniors. Five hundred and seventy national science scholars would receive up to $10,000 a year for 4 years to be used at the college of their choice. Many of those colleges are likely to be your colleges. And many of you have already launched programs that will complement this new effort. Another part of our proposal calls for urban emergency grants to help our hardest hit school districts become drug free.

But as with the new science scholarships, the success of this effort depends upon all our schools; it depends upon all of them doing their part. We cannot give our students one message while they're in elementary and high school and another when they start to college. No school can afford to remain diffident when it comes to drugs because in the war on drugs there are no noncombatants.

Yesterday—to interrupt with a personal note—I went out to a school in inner Chicago—97 percent Hispanic, maybe 60, 70 percent of them first-generation Americans. And Congresswoman Lynn Martin asked them to hold up their hands about how many had been exposed to drugs in one way or another. These kids were 10 years old. I think there was only two or three hands in the entire class that didn't go up—two or three in the entire class.

And yet this school—in its own way, its own level, under a dedicated principal, a roomful of dedicated teachers—going the extra mile to teach these kids that they must not use drugs. It cannot stop simply at the secondary and the elementary school level. Land-grant colleges, like all colleges and State universities, like all universities, must take a stand. Your students, like all students, must be told that society will not tolerate the use of drugs.

There is one final part of our education package that has special importance to me and a special place with this group as we approach the centennial of the second Morrill Land-Grant Act. The 1890 law inspired the creation of 17 historically black land-grant colleges in southern and border States, schools that changed the lives of millions of young men and women by replacing traditional roadblocks with avenues of opportunity. But not all the roadblocks are gone. Endowments at these vital institutions lag far behind many other schools. And so, we've proposed expanded Federal help in the form of matching endowment grants for these special colleges and universities. Each of these proposals will make a difference, improving your students or your schools or both. This package went to the Hill in April. It's time for the Congress to act. And let's make this coming year one of change and progress in education. Let's strike a blow for excellence. Let's make passing this bill a top priority in Congress.

None of these efforts will be a panacea. I don't present them as such. None will be a panacea for every ill that confronts our educators. And they don't stand alone. Other initiatives include our $300 million increase for Head Start; the new tax-free college savings bond program to help our low- and middle-income families send their children to your colleges; and continued progress to our goal of doubling the budget of the National Science Foundation, supporting thousands of individual researchers at colleges and universities by 1993.

Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. At the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, the schools you represent stepped forward and fueled the education and research that rocketed America from a frontier nation to the frontiers of space, the hands-down winner of the industrial age. And so, now we stand at the dawn of a new age, an age in which the triumphant will be not those who master the potential of the machine but rather those who master the potential of the mind.

We have the schools. We have the teachers. We have dedicated educators, like those in this room. We have the students, and we have the will. And working together, we will prevail, and we must prevail.

Thank you all very much for letting me come over. God bless you, and God bless the United States. And have a wonderful Thanksgiving.

Note: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Chase Peterson, chairman of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges; Robert M. O'Neil, president of the University of Virginia; and Joe Nathan, senior fellow at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991

November 21, 1989

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 1487, the foreign relations authorization bill for fiscal years 1990 and 1991. I am convinced that Section 109 of the bill would impermissibly constrict the conduct of our Nation's foreign policy, for many of the same reasons I set forth in my veto of H.R. 2939, on November 19, 1989.

Although this bill contains many desirable provisions, including a number sought by this Administration, it is fatally flawed by the inclusion of Section 109. Under some circumstances, this provision purports to prohibit, under peril of criminal sanctions, the use of U.S. assistance or third-party funds by executive branch officials, and requires Presidential reporting of certain discussions concerning provision of assistance even within the executive branch. Because of its vague and sweeping language, it threatens to subject to criminal investigation a wide range of entirely legitimate diplomatic activity, the authority and responsibility for which is vested in the executive branch by the Constitution. The result would be a dangerous timidity and disarray in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. Such a result is wholly contrary to the allocation of powers under the Constitution.

The Administration made a good-faith effort to resolve with the Congress the constitutional and other problems contained in the bill. Those efforts have failed, and I must in these circumstances veto this bill.

Among other things, Section 109 of the bill would prohibit officers or employees of the executive branch from using "any United States funds or facilities" to "assist" certain diplomatic enterprises "if the purpose of any such act is the furthering" of certain prohibited activities. This prohibition on use of funds could extend to activities or conversations of any U.S. diplomat who receives a Federal salary. The prohibition on use of facilities could also extend to meetings at U.S. embassies, or the use of U.S. word processors or telephones. Those who violate this prohibition would be subject to substantial criminal penalties.

I believe that the limiting provisions set forth therein may allow for a constitutional construction of certain provisions in Section 109; nonetheless, serious constitutional problems remain, and the section as a whole is sufficiently ambiguous to present an unacceptable risk that it will chill the conduct of our Nation's foreign affairs.

Section 109 could be construed to prohibit consultation between U.S. officials and other sovereign nations regarding certain actions that nation may wish to undertake. As I observed in my veto of H.R. 2939, however, it has long been recognized—by the Framers, by the Supreme Court, and by past Congresses—that the President, both personally and through his subordinates in the executive branch, possesses the constitutional authority to communicate freely with representatives of foreign governments, and to recommend to their representatives such courses of action as the President believes are in our Nation's interest. The prohibition, therefore, would impermissibly circumscribe a fundamental responsibility that the Constitution has entrusted to the President—the protection of our Nation's security through a vigorous representation of our interests abroad. I am not convinced that the limiting provisions are sufficient to resolve this constitutional problem inherent in the section. It would be cold comfort indeed for our diplomats to be assured that these provisions would be available as a defense in a criminal investigation.

Moreover, Section 109 poses profound constitutional problems insofar as it purports to restrict the use of U.S. funds or facilities in the realm of foreign affairs, because the "purpose" test it establishes is so vague and subjective as to interfere with the President's constitutional role. For courts to attempt to discern the President's state of mind or the state of mind of subordinate executive branch officials in such matters would entangle the judiciary in political disputes and foreign policy questions ill-suited to judicial resolution.

Were Section 109 and its criminal sanctions to be extended to prohibitions existing in current law, it would have a sweeping effect and cause incalculable damage to American foreign policy interests. There are many statutory prohibitions on the provision of U.S. assistance in situations where we would have no objection to others providing assistance or taking other action—such as prohibitions on U.S. assistance to Communist countries even when they are undergoing reform. Were Section 109 applied to this prohibition, it could inhibit vital discussions concerning the provision of assistance to democratizing regimes in Eastern Europe.

The Presidential notification procedures contained in Section 109 also appear designed further to disable the President in the conduct of foreign relations. The provisions would require the President to inform the Congress whenever various types of foreign initiatives are urged by executive branch officials, even if the initiatives are discussed solely within the executive branch—or are discussed with the legislative branch. This provision would interfere with the Nation's need to keep confidential our foreign policy discussions with other countries, as well as our internal planning for such discussions.

In addition to these constitutional problems, Section 109 would hamper the Nation's foreign policy by criminalizing foreign policy disputes, rather than leaving resolution of such disputes to the political process. By making those who formulate and execute foreign policy serve the public under a vague and sweeping prohibition, Section 109 would clearly circumscribe the effective, forceful, and entirely lawful representation of the Nation's foreign policy interests. It is neither wise nor fair to expect the men and women of our Foreign Service to represent the Nation with a sword of Damocles over their heads.

It is significant that the Congress has seen fit to extend the prohibitions contained in Section 109 only to the executive branch, and not to the Congress itself. The Congress would thus remain free to engage in the very activities proscribed for the executive branch. There is no logical or constitutional basis for such a distinction.

Finally, the provision imposes definitions so broad as to sweep within the scope of the statute's prohibitions activities not even considered to constitute the provision of assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act and related legislation. Perhaps most important in this connection, it would cover intelligence activities for which a wholly separate, long-standing, and comprehensive regime already exists.

Although Section 109, standing alone, necessitates my veto of this bill, many other provisions of the bill also pose constitutional problems. Among these is a provision that impermissibly conditions availability of funds on including representatives of the legislative branch on delegations negotiating arms agreements within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Administration has discussed this and other provisions in detail in letters to both houses of Congress. Any further legislation in this area should address all such problems.

I am sensitive to the concerns that have prompted the inclusion of Section 109 in the bill. I have repeatedly emphasized in my meetings with the congressional leadership that through close consultation with the Congress I intend to build a new spirit of cooperation and trust between the legislative and executive branches. Section 109, however, is inimical to that spirit of trust and would cast the shadow of criminal liability over the executive branch in the conduct of our foreign policy at a time when the course of world events necessitates great flexibility. I look forward to working with the Congress to craft a bill that I can enthusiastically support and to rapid passage of an authorization bill that will facilitate our many foreign policy initiatives.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Statement on Signing the Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990
November 21, 1989

Today I signed into law H.R. 2883, the Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990. I consider this Act to be an improvement over earlier versions passed by the House and Senate, and it includes funds for many important programs supported by the Administration.

Consistent with the initiatives outlined in my "Building a Better America" budget transmittal of February 1989:

—The Act provides most of the funding requested for the Department of Agriculture's portion of the Federal Water Quality Initiative to reduce groundwater and surface water pollution from agricultural sources. As part of a coordinated Federal effort in partnership with State institutions, the Department of Agriculture will use most of these resources to develop and demonstrate farming practices that avoid water quality degradation.

—The Act provides full funding for the Administration's FY 1990 request for soup kitchen funds, which responds to my initiative to combat homelessness by providing emergency food assistance for needy, homeless persons.

—The Act provides full funding for the Food and Drug Administration's efforts to combat AIDS. The Food and Drug Administration will use these resources to study HIV—the infection that causes AIDS—to review and approve new AIDS drugs, to inspect blood banks, and to review drug-test kits.

The Act also addresses the needs of many other important programs, such as the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children.

I also want to commend the Congress for removing, at the Administration's urging, a provision that would have required the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) to make highly subsidized direct loans of $252 million, in addition to the $1.8 billion in REA loans provided in the bill. These loans would have resulted in the taxpayers paying $78 million in additional subsidies to lower the loan costs of these borrowers, the vast majority of whom are financially healthy.

There are some provisions in this Act that I oppose. Specific objectionable funding and language provisions have been discussed previously in various Statements of Administration Policy and other communications from officials of our Administration. I decided, however, that on balance the bill's positive features were sufficient to warrant its approval.

In closing, I want to express my desire to work with the Congress on the 1990 Farm bill and on other related agriculture and rural development legislation so that the FY 1991 Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations bill addresses the rural development and agricultural needs of the Nation in the most efficient and effective manner.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2883, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101-161.

Statement on Signing the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

November 21, 1989

Today I signed into law H.R. 2991, the "Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990."

I am pleased that the Act includes funding for many programs important to fighting the war on drugs and violent crime. Together with H.R. 3015, this Act funds my drug and crime initiatives as they relate to the Department of Justice. The Act also funds programs to conduct the Nation's foreign affairs and engage in diplomacy, to promote international trade, to enhance advanced technologies, and to undertake the 1990 Decennial Census.

I regret that the Congress failed to fund fully this Nation's contributions to International Organizations and Peacekeeping. Fulfilling our financial obligations to these organizations is an important priority to which I remain committed. This Administration will hold the Act's managers to their offer to work to solve this problem at an early date.

A matter of some concern to me has been section 608 of the Act, which limits certain activities of the Legal Services Corporation until members of its Board have been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This section might have been read as an attempt to limit the powers exercised by future recess appointees who lack Senate confirmation. However, it does not appear that the Congress intended to limit these powers. I sign this bill with the understanding that this provision does not limit the President's authority to name future recess appointees who, under the Constitution, enjoy the same powers assigned to Senate-confirmed members of the Board.

Section 609 directs the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, to initiate a series of negotiations for the protection of sea turtles. Under our Constitution it is the President who articulates the Nation's foreign policy and who determines the timing and subject matter of our negotiations with foreign nations. Accordingly, keeping with past practice, I shall treat these provisions as advisory, not mandatory.

Further, I note that the Congress did not include any of the requested funding for the Christopher Columbus Quincentennial celebrations in Seville, Spain, and Genoa, Italy. We have assured the heads of these nations that we would participate, and it is my hope that funding for this important effort will be provided as soon as possible.

Notwithstanding these reservations, I have signed the bill because the war on drugs and violent crime is one of our Nation's most important priorities. However, I call on the Congress to address the concerns that I have raised.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2991, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101-162.

Statement on Signing the Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

November 21, 1989

Today I signed into law H.R. 3015, the Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1990. I want to take this opportunity to thank the Congress for addressing concerns raised by the Administration and for presenting me with a bill in which the funding levels are generally consistent with the Administration's requests.

This Act provides appropriations for a number of critical programs under the Department of Transportation, as well as emergency drug funding to combat illegal drugs.

I particularly want to commend the Congress for providing the additional resources needed to fund all the elements of my antidrug initiative and crime initiative. With these additional resources, the Federal Government will be better able to continue our war on drugs and to address the enforcement, prevention, and treatment aspects of this scourge.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3015, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101-164.

Statement on Signing the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1990
November 21, 1989

Today I signed into law H.R. 3072, the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1990.

The Defense Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1990 is within the funding levels of the Bipartisan Budget Agreement. The Act provides funds for our critical national defense operations and satisfactorily accommodates most of the Administration's major concerns.

I am disappointed in the deep reductions made to our budget request for the Strategic Defense Initiative. I am hopeful that, in the future, the Congress will support the Administration's request for this program.

I also believe that certain provisions, unless carefully construed, would raise substantial constitutional concerns.

Appropriations language under Title I restricts the availability of certain members of the Armed Forces to fill positions in a new light infantry battalion. Section 9068 restricts the establishment or transfer of certain naval functions and billets until 60 days after a report to the Committees on Appropriations. Appropriations language under Title II prohibits the Air Force and Air Force Reserve WC-130 Weather Reconnaissance Squadrons from being operated at a reduced level. While I will respect the intent of these provisions as far as possible, I signed the bill with the understanding that such provisions do not constrain my constitutional power as Commander in Chief to deploy military resources in the interest or the security of the Nation.

Section 9024 prohibits the use of funds "to influence congressional action on any legislation or appropriation matters pending before the Congress." I signed the bill with the understanding that this provision does not restrict the normal course of communications of the Department of Defense on legislation before the Congress.

Finally, I understand that the report to this bill may contain language purporting to require prior congressional approval before funds appropriated by this bill may be expended for certain activities. Apart from the fact that the Congress cannot create legal obligations through report language, constitutionally the Congress cannot require me to obtain its prior approval before obligating or expending appropriated funds, see *Immigration and Naturalization Service* v. *Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919 (1983). Accordingly, any such language has no legal force or effect.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3072, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101-165.

Statement on Signing the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990
November 21, 1989

Today I signed into law H.R. 3566, the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill, FY 1990.

This Act provides funding for some of the Nation's most important programs—programs that help the needy, the unemployed, the sick, and the infirm, and programs that provide for the education of American children. In total, the Act provides nearly $44.4 billion in discretionary budget authority, $7.3 billion for the National Institutes of Health, nearly $1.6 billion to combat HIV/AIDS, and $5.4 billion for Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged.

Furthermore, I wish to commend the Congress for modifying language that would have permitted the use of Federal funding for abortions in cases other than those in which the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. Adoption of such a provision would have deprived innocent, unborn children of the most basic civil right—the right to life.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3566, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101–166.

Statement on Signing the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1990

November 21, 1989

Today I sign H.R. 3743, the appropriations bill for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year 1990. I am signing this bill because it appropriates funds that in my judgment are necessary to support the Administration's important foreign policy and foreign aid initiatives.

I appreciate the efforts of many members of Congress to draft a bill containing many provisions the Administration supports. The provisions contained in the bill reflecting Congressional support for the Philippines Multilateral Assistance Initiative, the Stabilization and Enterprise Funds for Poland, and my initiative to help our Andean partners in our shared war on drugs are particularly welcome.

I continue, however, to have serious misgivings as to the constitutionality and the wisdom of many provisions contained in the bill. I of course intend to construe any constitutionally doubtful provisions in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution.

I have been most troubled by Section 582. Section 582(a) would prohibit the provision of funds appropriated by the Act "to any foreign Government (including any instrumentality or agency thereof), foreign person, or United States person in exchange for that foreign government or person undertaking any action which is, if carried out by the United States Government, a United States official or employee, expressly prohibited by a provision of United States law." Subsections (b) and (c) impose some limits on the scope of subsection (a).

Consistent with the expressed intent of the Congress and to avoid constitutional problems, I intend to construe this section narrowly. I agree with the view expressed on the House and Senate floor that this section is intended only to prohibit "quid pro quo" transactions—that is, transactions in which U.S. funds are provided to a foreign nation on the express condition that the foreign nation provide specific assistance to a third country, which assistance U.S. officials are expressly prohibited from providing by U.S. law. As reflected both in Congressman Edwards' statements and in the explanatory colloquy between Senators Kasten and Rudman, a "quid pro quo" arrangement requires that both countries understand and agree that U.S. aid will not be provided if the foreign government does not provide the specific assistance. The Senate record also makes clear that neither the criminal conspiracy statute, nor any other criminal penalty, will apply to any violation of this section. My decision to sign this bill is predicated on these understandings of Section 582.

Even so understood, I remain concerned about regulatory provisions of this type, which can have a detrimental impact on our foreign relations. Diplomacy by its nature involves give-and-take. Many routine and unobjectionable diplomatic activities could be misconstrued as somehow involving a forbidden "exchange." Given the ease with which such activities could be so misconstrued, this type of provision can chill U.S. diplomats in the proper discharge of their duties. I believe it is neither fair nor wise for the Congress to make those who formulate and execute foreign policy serve the public under such conditions. I urge the Congress to consider whether the Constitution and the public interest would not both be better served if the Congress joined with me in building a better relationship between the legislative and executive branches, rather than micromanaging foreign policy through enactment of blanket prohibitions.

It is important to note that Section 582 does not affect the ability of the executive branch to urge any course of action upon a foreign government or any third party. In addition, the section applies only where there is a provision of U.S. law that "expressly prohibits" the United States Government, or a U.S. official or employee, from undertaking a particular action, and thus would not apply to provisions that merely limit funding to undertake such an action.

In these and other key respects, Section 582 is substantially narrower than a related provision that prompted my veto of H.R. 2939 on November 19, 1989.

I also am compelled to note my serious concerns regarding the extensive earmarking of funds in the bill. This degree of earmarking will vastly complicate my ability to fund key programs and will hamper U.S. efforts to meet its responsibilities to important allies and friends. I believe that the conduct and effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy would be promoted by the elimination or sharp reduction of the level of earmarking, and I intend to work with the Congress to reach this objective.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3743, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101–167.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the Bill Establishing a Congressional Advisory Commission To Investigate Labor Disputes at Eastern Airlines

November 21, 1989

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 1231, a bill establishing a congressional advisory commission to investigate and make recommendations on pending labor disputes at Eastern Airlines.

The future of Eastern Airlines is currently the subject of reorganization under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code. The bankruptcy court is charged with protecting the overall interests of the concerned parties in an evenhanded fashion. This state of affairs should not be disturbed by new legislation. I am particularly concerned that the investigation and recommendations of the commission proposed by H.R. 1231 would create the expectation of further intervention by the Congress that would significantly disrupt chances for an orderly reorganization by the bankruptcy court. This would hinder saving Eastern Airlines and the jobs of its employees.

The commission's mandate under this legislation to investigate three pending labor disputes, as well as certain broader aviation industry issues, is also unrealistic. The National Mediation Board spent over 500 days of sustained effort in an unsuccessful attempt to resolve the single dispute at Eastern that has reached impasse. H.R. 1231 would charge the commission with recommending settlements for *three* outstanding disputes at Eastern in a fraction of the time—45 days. Furthermore, involvement in the two ongoing labor disputes at Eastern that have not reached impasse violates our policy against governmental interference in the collective bargaining process. I see no justification for approving legislation that would mandate Government intervention in the cases of pilots and flight attendants.

For these reasons, I am compelled to disapprove H.R. 1231.

I also note that certain provisions of section 5 of the bill could be read to provide that executive branch resources must be deployed at the discretion of a congressional advisory commission. Such a reading of the bill would raise constitutional concerns.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 21, 1989.

Continuation of Bill D. Colvin as Inspector General of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration

November 21, 1989

The President today announced that Bill D. Colvin will continue to serve as Inspector General of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Since 1985 Mr. Colvin has served as Inspector General of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Inspector General of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1984–1985, and Assistant Inspector General for Technical Services, 1983–1984. In addition, he has served as assistant section chief at the Federal Bureau of Investigation headquarters in Washington, DC; supervisory special agent to the FBI Academy; and as a special agent of the FBI. He has also served in various positions with Eastern New Mexico University and Western Wyoming College.

Mr. Colvin graduated from Eastern New Mexico University (B.B.A., 1969; M.B.A., 1971). He was born June 7, 1940, in Clovis, NM. Mr. Colvin served in the U.S. Army, 1961–1964. He is married, has two children, and resides in Fredericksburg, VA.

Nomination of Ervin S. Duggan To Be a Member of the Federal Communications Commission

November 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ervin S. Duggan to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for a term of 5 years from July 1, 1989. He would succeed Patricia Diaz Dennis.

Since 1981 Mr. Duggan has served as a communications consultant with Ervin S. Duggan Associates in Washington, DC, and he served as the national editor of Washingtonian Magazine, 1981–1986. Prior to this, he served as a member of the policy planning staff at the Department of State, 1979–1981; Special Assistant to the Secretary at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1977–1979; special assistant to Senator Adlai E. Stevenson, 1971–1977; an author with Doubleday and Co., 1970–1971; Director of Special Projects (History and Art) at the Smithsonian Institution, 1969–1970; staff assistant to the President at the White House, 1965–1969; and a reporter for the Washington Post, 1964–1965.

Mr. Duggan graduated from Davidson College (B.A., 1961). He was born June 30, 1939, in Atlanta, GA. Mr. Duggan served in the U.S. Army, 1962–1964. He is a member and elder of the Chevy Chase Presbyterian

Church in Washington, DC, and he serves as national chairman of Presbyterians for Democracy and Religious Freedom. Mr. Duggan is married, has two children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Tony E. Gallegos To Be a Member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

November 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Tony E. Gallegos to be a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for the term expiring July 1, 1994. This is a reappointment.

Since 1982 Mr. Gallegos has served as a Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Prior to this he served in various capacities with the Douglas Aircraft Co. in California, 1952–1982. Mr. Gallegos graduated from the Bistram Institute of Fine Arts (B.A., 1952). He was born February 13, 1924, in Montrose, CO. Mr. Gallegos served in the U.S. Army Air Force, 1943–1946. He is married, has two children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of Arthur J. Hill To Be President of the Government National Mortgage Association

November 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Arthur J. Hill to be President of the Government National Mortgage Association, Department of Housing and Urban Development. He would succeed Mark E. Buchman.

Since 1984 Mr. Hill has served as chairman, president, and chief executive officer of Peoples National Bank of Commerce in Miami, FL. Prior to this he served as vice president and regional manager for corporate lending at Amerifirst Federal Savings and Loan Association in Miami, FL., 1983–1984. In addition, he has served in various positions for Southeast Bank, including vice president for the corporate lending division, 1979–1983; assistant vice president and money market department head, 1975–1979; and management training program, 1974–1975.

Mr. Hill graduated from Florida Memorial College (B.S., 1971) and the University of Florida (M.A., 1973). He was born July 4, 1948, in Jacksonville, FL. Currently, Mr. Hill resides in Miami, FL.

Nomination of Donald G. Wiseman To Be a Member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission

November 21, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald G. Wiseman to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for the remainder of the term expiring April 27, 1993. He would succeed Linda Lugenia Arey.

Since 1986 Mr. Wiseman has served as administrator of safety and training for

ElectriCities of North Carolina, Inc. Prior to this, he served as an independent consultant in Raleigh, NC, 1982–1986; principal safety engineer for the Nevada Department of Occupational Safety and Health in Carson City, 1981–1982; administrator of the occupational safety and health division of the North Carolina Department of Labor, 1979–1981; director of the division of occupational safety and health for the Industrial Commission of Arizona, 1974–1979; acting director for the division of occupational safety and health for the Industrial Commission of Arizona, 1973–1974; chief elevator inspector for the division of occupational safety and health for the Industrial Commission of Arizona, 1971–1973; and chief elevator inspector for the bureau of safety at the Michigan Department of Labor, 1966–1971.

Mr. Wiseman attended Michigan State. He was born May 29, 1927, in Detroit, MI. Mr. Wiseman served in the U.S. Navy, 1945–1946. He is married, has five children, and resides in Fuquay-Varina, NC.

Remarks on Signing the National Adoption Week Proclamation

November 21, 1989

Secretary Sullivan and Senators Hatch and Humphrey and Congressman Smith, and all the children gathered here today and their families: Welcome to the White House.

This week we gather with our families to give our blessings and to celebrate the start of the holiday season. And as our thoughts turn to our families, it gives me particular pleasure to proclaim November 20th through the 26th National Adoption Week.

Each year more than 50,000 American children are adopted into new families to be loved and cherished. And each child returns one hundredfold the special joy that comes from belonging, from caring, and from sharing together. Yet thousands more continue to wait. This year an estimated 30,000 children, available for adoption, will spend their Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays without a permanent family. Most of these kids, about 60 percent, are special-needs children. Some are older, some are brothers and sisters who want to stay together, some have disabilities; but they all have special love to give.

Millions of Americans have been touched by adoption: birth parents, adoptive parents, and grandparents. Over a million childless couples and singles long for families of their own. Adoption is not something that we celebrate only one week of the year. In September I introduced the Special-Needs Adoption Assistance Act of 1989. And under this act, an individual would be permitted to deduct up to $3,000 from income those expenses incurred in the adoption of a special-needs child. We must make adoption a true national concern and alternative.

So, to Senator Orrin Hatch and Congressman Chris Smith, the sponsors of National Adoption Week, and to Secretary Sullivan, who has helped this administration encourage and assist those who are trying to adopt, we thank you. And to the children and the families gathered here who stand as testimony to the fact that adoption works for everyone, I thank you for being with us today at the White House as I proclaim this week National Adoption Week. And I'm now pleased to sign this proclamation, and understand that I will have some very special witnesses over here. [*Laughter*]

Thank you all for coming. Hope you all have a wonderful Thanksgiving.

Note: The President spoke at 1:09 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Remarks at the Commercial Appeal's Thanksgiving Celebration in Memphis, Tennessee
November 22, 1989

Thank you all very much, Mr. Linder, Mr. Wilhelm—Mr. Williams, Jerry Friedheim, Loren Ghiglione, who came down with us, and Jerome Ryans; of course, the Governor of this great State, and Reverend Mowery, distinguished Members of Congress, volunteers, ladies and gentlemen, and all you damp pre-Thanksgiving marvelous people. I didn't think anybody would be out here today.

You know, back before the Civil War, just after William Henry Harrison was elected President, Mr. Linder's newspaper was named the Appeal. And the founder renamed it, and he said, as an "appeal to the sober second thoughts of the people, to elect a Democratic president at the next election." Well, with a history like that, you can imagine how lucky I feel to be here today. [*Laughter*] But I do really feel fortunate to be here, to talk about something that is so vital to our nation and to our future.

Last June—Mr. Linder referred to—I gave a speech about something called the Points of Light Initiative. And its goal is to make community service central to the life and work of every individual and every institution in America. And I asked people and groups across the country to think about the special contribution they could make to help others around them in need.

For the news media, I made a special request because no other institution in America has the unique ability of the media to shape public attitudes, to heighten awareness, to mobilize people for action. And I asked members of the media to remind Americans that illiteracy, drug abuse, homelessness, hunger, and other social problems do have solutions. And soon after I announced the Points of Light Initiative, the Commercial Appeal in Memphis responded. Along with reporting and commenting on problems—which is every paper's right and obligation and responsibility in a free society—they took on an added responsibility. And they began pointing to solutions. And they started doing profiles of 1,000 individuals and institutional Points of Light last summer, at a time when a lot of people were still trying to figure out what I meant by a Thousand Points of Light. Well, you understood, all of you. And you've brought that idea to life, dramatically.

Tomorrow is our special day. It's a day unique to America, a day when we pause and gather together and give thanks. And it is my hope that by this time next year, a growing community service movement will mean that many Americans will have more to be thankful for. Today, I'd like to challenge every publisher, every broadcaster, every member of the American news media, to follow the lead of the Commercial Appeal. And many have begun to do so. All three of the major networks have started regular features on volunteers in America, and local papers and stations have become involved. And many more can.

For the millions across our great country who want to help others in need but wonder how, this newspaper and this community are showing that there are at least a thousand ways to lead others out of the darkness.

I think of Fred Daniels, a retired salesman, starting what I hear may be the world's best catfish cooking team, formed to raise funds—there's Fred, right there—formed to raise funds for charity. Look, he and his friends travel all over towing an 8,000-pound cooker to company picnics, donating the proceeds to causes like United Cerebral Palsy.

Or Kim McLaughlin, 18 years old, who volunteered for the Tennessee Outreach Program. And she's been working in the hills rebuilding houses, painting, laying down floors. And she says this: "I like seeing the smiles on people's faces after we're done. When we're finished, they cried."

I understand that Don Stone, a bank president, decided that the best way to convince students to stay in school was to work with them, to talk with them, one at a time—one on one. And not long ago, Don saw one of those kids across the street. And he says, "I just walked over to him, walked over to hug him. He's been drug free for about 2 weeks." And he says, "We do a lot of hugging here."

Maybe you read about Pauline Hord, 82 years old. I hope she'll forgive me for revealing that. And somebody at the Mississippi Penitentiary at Parchman had been talking about a prisoner there, saying he couldn't read a Bible if he'd had one. And so that's where she stepped forward. She goes about 100 miles each way to the prison, every Wednesday, to teach inmates how to read. She's taught nearly 140 of them, and now she's training them to teach others. And here's what she says, "I'm a teacher of teachers," she says.

Lillie Belle Witcher—she's only 79—and she works hard for nearly half a dozen causes. And she says, "If a day goes by and I haven't done something for somebody, it just seems like a wasted day."

Forget fortune, fame, and glory, and glittering prizes. The people I've been describing to you—they are great American success stories. And they're powerful reminders that everyone can do something for somebody else.

Mary Taylor spent 16 years on welfare. And she said, "I used it, and it used me." Now she's a community activist who helps the poor get back on their feet. And she says, "We all have a place to be part of the system, no matter what level we are on."

From disk jockeys to truck drivers to CEO's to children to the retired, service to others should be a central part of American life. And it's never been more needed than it is now. It ought to be talked about in the boardrooms and the bowling alleys and the factories and the rotaries and the fraternities, sororities, farms, families, cities, union halls, suburbs, and shopping malls—everywhere in America. Everyone has a gift to give. And every one of us has a special talent that can help solve America's problems. And every institution in America can make the kind of commitment that you've made here.

At the White House we know a good idea when we see one, so we're going to announce and honor individuals and groups across the country who are making a difference—working to improve the lives of others—giving more Americans reasons to give thanks. These daily Points of Light won't be singled out because they themselves are the best. We honor them because they show what's the best in all of us. And they show that from now on in America any definition of a successful life must include serving others. To honor their spirit and commitment is to honor yours and those like you. We will single out a few, because they represent the many. And we hope that by highlighting their achievements, and the ways they've found to serve, we can inspire others to serve.

So, let me close by announcing the very first White House daily Point of Light. It's an organization that put the spotlight on citizens who have made community service a part of their definition of success and encouraged other people to do the same, proving that the volunteer spirit is alive and well in the Volunteer State. That organization is the reason we're all here today, braving the elements to salute them. They are the leadership and staff of the Commercial Appeal. And I am proud to honor them in this way.

Just imagine an America where service to others is a fact of life, part of everyone's everyday thinking. Imagine the impact if every single newspaper and magazine and television and radio station and cable system found and recognized a Thousand Points of Light. Imagine if every institution, from the airlines to dry cleaners to high schools to neighborhood softball teams, were to join us in regularly honoring as heroes those who are engaged in the war against drug abuse or illiteracy, AIDS, homelessness, hunger, and the other problems. We are nearing the dawn of a new decade. And so, let it be a decade with no dark corners, no forgotten people, no forgotten places.

And so, if you've got a hammer, find a nail. If you can read, find someone who can't. If you're well, do it like the volunteers I just saw at St. Jude's. Help someone who isn't well. If you're not in trouble, seek out someone who is. Because everywhere there is a need in America, there is a way to fill it. And everywhere there is a dream in America, there's a way to make it come true.

Isn't it fitting that on this chilly and wet eve before Thanksgiving, we pay tribute to those Americans who help their fellow Americans. God bless you all. Have a wonderful Thanksgiving. I hope you haven't gotten pneumonia, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:14 p.m. on the front lawn of the Commercial Appeal. In his remarks, he referred to Lionel Linder and Joseph Williams, editor and general manager of the Commercial Appeal, respectively; Loren Ghiglione, editor of the News in Southbridge, MA; and Rev. Donald Mowery, director of Youth Service U.S.A.

White House Statement Announcing the Points of Light Recognition Program

November 22, 1989

The White House today begins a practice of recognizing daily Points of Light. Points of Light are individuals, institutions, and initiatives across the country exemplifying the President's commitment to making community service central to the life and work of every American. Each day the White House will recognize one individual or institution who has successfully addressed our most dire social problems by engaging in community service.

As there are millions of Americans who would be worthy recipients, it is impossible to select the best exemplars of community service or to recognize each example individually. However, the entire Points of Light Recognition Program is intended by the President as a national tribute of the highest order to every single American who makes a difference in the life of someone in need.

Nomination of Stephen Kay Conver To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Army

November 22, 1989

The President has nominated Stephen Kay Conver to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research, Development and Acquisition. He would succeed Jay Raymond Sculley.

Since 1985 Mr. Conver has served as a professional staff member for the House Armed Services Committee. Prior to this he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Program and Budget, 1981–1985. In addition, he served in various capacities at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, rising to the position of chief of analysis and planning for the Commission, 1975–1981.

Mr. Conver graduated from the U.S. Air Force Academy (B.A., 1966), and Ohio State University (M.A., 1970). He was born December 4, 1944, in Memphis, TN. Mr. Conver served in the U.S. Air Force, 1966–1975. He is married, has two children, and resides in Great Falls, VA.

Nomination of William J. Haynes II To Be General Counsel of the Department of the Army

November 22, 1989

The President has nominated William James Haynes II to be General Counsel of the Department of the Army. This is a new position.

Since April 1989 Mr. Haynes has served as an attorney with the law firm of Sutherland, Asbill and Brennan in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as counsel to the transition at the Department of Defense, 1989; Assistant to the General Counsel of the Department of the Army, 1984–1989; and law clerk to the Honorable James B. McMillan, U.S. district judge for the Western District of North Carolina, 1983–1984.

Mr. Haynes graduated from Davidson College (B.A., 1980) and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1983). He was born March 30, 1958, in Waco, TX. Mr. Haynes served in the U.S. Army, 1984–1989, and was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal in 1987 and 1989. He is married, has two children, and resides in Takoma Park, MD.

Thanksgiving Address to the Nation

November 22, 1989

Good evening. Like many of you, I'm spending tomorrow with family. And we'll say grace and carve the turkey and thank God for our many blessings and for our great country.

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And I've worked with Congress, extending my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. We proposed ways to clean the air, the water, and the land around us, and we've joined with the Nation's Governors to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And especially touching is that so many Americans have answered the call for community service, the Thousand Points of Light, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless—each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

And this will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families sit down tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom, and for many, it's not a trip to some place faraway but to a world of their own making.

On other Thanksgivings, the world was haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs, and machineguns. In fact, many of you had not even been born when the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. But now the world has a new image, reflecting a new reality: that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall, a human bridge between nations; entire peoples all across Eastern Europe bravely taking to the streets, demanding liberty, pursuing democracy. This is not the end of the book of history, but it's a joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to open, West German Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and he asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would not be taking place without the steadfast support of the United States—fitting praise from a good friend. For 40 years, we have not wavered in our commitment to freedom. We are grateful to our American men and women in uniform, and we should also be grateful to our postwar leaders. You see, we helped rebuild a continent through the Marshall plan; and we built a shield, NATO, behind which Americans, Europeans could forge a future in freedom.

For so many of these 40 years, the test of Western resolve, the contest between the free and the unfree, has been symbolized by an island of hope behind the Iron Curtain: Berlin. In the 1940's, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off! In the 1950's, Ike backed America's words with muscle. In the 1960's, West Berliners took heart when John F. Kennedy said: "I am a Berliner." In the 1970's, Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter stood with Berlin by standing with NATO. And in the 1980's, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: "Tear down this wall!" And now we are at the threshold of the 1990's. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom. Let us move beyond containment and once and for all end the cold war.

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong and 40 years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off. More recently, quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes, has achieved results. We can now dare to imagine a new world, with a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy. This new world was taking shape when my Presidency began with these words: "The day of the dictator is over." And during the spring and summer we told the people of the world what America believes and what America wants for the future. America believes that "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." America wants President Gorbachev's reforms, known as *perestroika,* to succeed. And America wants the Soviets to join us in moving beyond containment to a new partnership. Some wondered if all this was realistic. And now, though we are still on the course set last spring, events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted.

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies—a non-Communist government in Poland and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today, or even in the history of man, have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly, so certainly, over cold stone as in Berlin, indeed, in all of East Germany. If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

When I spoke to the German people in Mainz last May, I applauded the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined us in a call for a Europe whole and free.

Just yesterday, the West German Foreign Minister gave me a piece of the Berlin Wall, and it's on my desk as a reminder of the power of freedom to bring down the walls between people. It brought back memories of 7 years ago, when I went to Modlareuth, a small town in Germany also known as Little Berlin—a divided village, really, its cobbled streets were blocked by barbed wire and concrete; and on the one side freedom and on the other, despair. And I talked with the townspeople not 150 yards from the specter of armed guards in towers. Someday I'd like to go back to Little Berlin and see families reunited, see neighbors once apart coming together. How wonderful that would be!

Change is coming swiftly, and with this change the dramatic vindication of free Europe's economic and political institutions. The new Europe that is coming is being built—must be built—on the foundation of democratic values. But the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business. The peace we are building must be different than the hard, joyless peace between two armed camps we've known so long. The scars of the conflict that began a half a century ago still divide a continent. So, the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

During our visit to Poland and Hungary last July, I found new encouragement that we were on track: There was, at long last, the chance for a fundamental change. I saw firsthand acts of healing and reconciliation.

And it was in Warsaw, at my lunch for General Jaruzelski and the leaders of Solidarity, that I met a woman who had worked, at great personal risk, for the release of jailed Solidarity members. And she was asked: "How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments? Why the absence of bitterness?" And she replied: "Our joy at what is happening now is more powerful than memory." I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as former adversaries stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future. Our guests knew that history would judge them by how well they would cooperate. Well, there is a spirit of cooperation in Eastern Europe. The result: Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action: new loans and grants, teams of American economic experts working to help them adjust to a free market society, clearing the way for U.S. investment and trade with Poland and Hungary. Now the peoples of these nations can finally expect their hard work to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, democracy transforming the Americas with stunning speed. Regrettably, there are some exceptions—Panama, Nicaragua, and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from their Communist allies. And so, when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to all the people of Latin America.

And so, as we celebrate the events of Eastern Europe, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of suspicion, the walls of doubt, misunderstanding, and miscalculation.

It was while in Eastern Europe last summer that I decided to make a personal effort to break through these last barriers. And back in May, I set down five steps that the Soviets should take that would inevitably result in improved relations with the West: First, reduce Soviet forces; second, support self-determination in Eastern Europe; third, work with us to end regional disputes; fourth, achieve a lasting pluralism and respect for human rights; and fifth, join with us in addressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. Serious problems still remain, especially those regional conflicts, but the Soviet Union has made progress in these five areas that is undeniable.

With that in mind, I invited President Gorbachev to meet me 10 days from now. This is a first meeting, a time for exploration. It is not a time for detailed arms control negotiations best left for next year's summit. I want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. Let me be clear: America stands with freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe. After all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. And though there will be no surprises sprung on our allies, we will miss no opportunity to expand freedom and enhance the peace. But to those who question our prudent pace, they must understand that a time of historic change is no time for recklessness. The peace and the confidence and the security of our friends in Europe—it's just too important.

We will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue, and we will give him our assurance that America welcomes this reform not as an adversary seeking advantage but as a people offering support. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened, and sustained. We find enormous encouragement in its peaceful advance and its acceptance by the Soviet Union. We can now raise our hopes on other issues: our common environment, our common war against drugs, as well as human rights and the regional conflicts that remain.

Immediately after my visit with President Gorbachev, I'll go to Brussels to consult with our partners in NATO, the very alliance that has kept the West free for 40 years. I will assure them that no matter how dramatic the change in Eastern Europe or in the Soviet Union itself, the

United States will continue to stand with our allies and our friends. For in a new Europe, the American role may change in form, but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history, and you'll see that this presence, with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So, even if forces are significantly reduced on both sides, a noble goal indeed, we will remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

Off the island nation of Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny in a peaceful Europe whole and free. And I will tell President Gorbachev, the dynamic architect of Soviet reform, that America wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill their destiny, and I will assure him that there is no greater advocate of *perestroika* than the President of the United States.

And when we meet, we will be on ships at anchor in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than 2,000 years. This ancient port has been conquered by caesar and sultan, crusader and king. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost—slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor and guard nothing more than reefs of coral. So, if the millennia offers us a lesson, perhaps it's this: True security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free peoples.

It's been said that peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act; and yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, as a child grows to maturity—slowly, until we realize one day in wonder the child is almost grown. It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act: guiding brave pilgrims on their journey to a new world of freedom. And so, on this Thanksgiving Eve, as I prepare for my journey to Malta, I wish you a good night and safe travel. God bless you and your family, and God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. from Camp David, MD. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Interview With Foreign Journalists
November 21, 1989

Conventional Force Reductions in Europe

Q. Mr. President, Secretary Cheney was saying on the weekend that he might envision deeper troop cuts after the CAFE One, as sort of CAFE Two. Now, do you think that such talk is premature, or have you calculated that you may need further troop cuts in order to avoid raising taxes next year?

The President. Well, there are pressures on the defense budget; and Dick Cheney, a man who has always believed in a strong defense, still believes in a strong defense. But for those who follow our budget process, they know that defense has been hit 5 years in a row, and so, it is appropriate that any Secretary of Defense encourage active reviews.

What I want to do is get on with the—you call it CAFE One—and get those conventional forces reduced in accordance with that and do it on schedule, and then see where we go. But there's a rapidity of change around the world. It's self-evident, very evident. And I'm not suggesting that forevermore we'll have the same levels of troops anywhere—standing army, Europe, Korea, anywhere else. But we're certainly not doing to take any unilateral action. We do what we do in conjunction with allies. We'll be perfectly prepared to think anew—always—because we're living in fascinating, changing times. The Secretary of Defense, in conducting a review, is doing what I want him to do. But there will be no what I would call premature decisions in terms of unilateral cuts. Sometimes we accept cuts in the congressional process that we don't want. We've got to digest those cuts. But I think Dick is, along with the Joint Chiefs, are looking forward, looking ahead, trying to figure out what levels are appropriate under various scenarios with international tensions or lack of tensions.

So, I think we're on the right track on this. But I think people are reading, in some places, in some cases, too much into the story that he has ordered this review. At least I didn't get all excited when I saw it, because I know what he's doing.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Could you tell us what is your agenda for the summit meeting in Malta? You're quoted as saying that that would be an historic opportunity to enhance the peace. How do you think you will be able to achieve that? And lastly, would it be correct to say that your Soviet policy is firmly in place now? And if so, what are the basic premises of your Soviet policy?

The President. Well, there is no formalized agenda as there would be in an arms control meeting. Arms control will be taken up in the summit that has already been set, and that summit will drive the arms control agenda. That's point one.

What was the second part? I know the third part.

Q. You were quoted as saying that it will be an historic opportunity to enhance peace.

The President. Well, I'll tell you: What I want to do is be sure we don't miss an opportunity. I want to be sure we don't have any misunderstandings—Mr. Gorbachev conducting himself in one way and our not understanding the underpinnings of his thinking.

It isn't a summit that is going to—a meeting that is going to—I want to go back to that: It is not a meeting—because I don't like using the word summit. Summit has the connotation, in our country anyway, of mainly agreements on arms control. And we're not looking forward to crossing "t's" and dotting "i's" at this meeting. It isn't going to happen, and I don't think the General Secretary thinks it's going to happen. I hope he doesn't, but maybe we can use your newspaper to make clear to him that we're not expecting that. But there's enough background of understanding here on the meeting that I don't think there's that expectation.

But look, there is so much rapid change going on in Eastern Europe that I am very anxious to hear from him what his thoughts are about the future of Europe. People know ours: a Europe whole and free. They know my convictions about self-determination. They know our conviction that democracy and freedom are on the move. And I'll have a chance to reiterate that and to give him my conception, my ideas of the future.

In terms of U.S.-Soviet relations, they are based at this juncture on our desire to see *perestroika* succeed. And I think there may have been some misunderstanding on the part of some of our Soviet friends about that. I think they wondered from various statements or the time it took for us to formulate an arms control agreement, a proposal, or maybe even to set the date of a summit, or maybe even to make the proposal—which was mine—that we meet in Malta. So, maybe there was some misunderstanding as to whether we really did want to see *perestroika* succeed.

I remember Mr. Gorbachev saying very directly with President Reagan and me last year in New York: "Certain elements in your country want to see *perestroika* fail, or wonder if *perestroika* will succeed." And I spoke up, even though I was a lowly Vice President then, and said: "Wait a minute! There are no serious elements in the United States that want to see *perestroika* fail." I'm not sure that he understood that this new administration, taking our time prudently to review our defense posture and all, really believed that.

But so, you ask about the relationship. I think it's built on our desire to see that succeed, because with it goes the success of the fundamental beliefs that Americans hold: that freedom and democracy are best, the right to self-determination is the best, that people have the right to choose their leaders is the best. And so, I can't mask that. We still have some differences of system. But our policy is based on respect for what he is trying to do and for our interest in seeing *perestroika* succeed, because if it succeeds, the world will be a lot more peaceful for everybody, it seems to me. And a lot of us can, indeed, have more of our product going into helping people instead into arms.

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. In view of the changes in the Eastern bloc, would it be possible and in the interest of the United States to limit military expenses and to increase economic assistance for our countries in order to help us with reforms?

The President. Well, take Poland, a country with which you're quite familiar. We want to help. We are helping. We will help, I might say, in concert with our allies, too. And I've been talking to most, and I think you'll find a common interest in seeing the economic success.

But if your question is can we make unilateral defense cuts in order to put more money into the development of Eastern Europe, the answer is no. I'm not going to recommend unilateral defense cuts. I will not do that without—not even unilateral—but we will discuss the legitimate defense needs, given the changes in the world, with our allies. And I think every country—the emerging democracy of Poland, and I say that because they have had free elections; those that want to be democratic and will have free elections. Other countries in Eastern Europe—Hungary coming up—who knows what will happen in the GDR [German Democratic Republic] in terms of elections. All those countries have a stake in NATO being a respected alliance. And it becomes less of a respected alliance if we make unilateral cuts, unless the changes around the world on other forces take place.

I mean, the Soviet Union is spending, we reckon, about 17 percent of the gross national product on defense. It's tremendous. It's an enormous burden on an economy that's having difficulty anyway. So, what we've got to do is have good discussions with the Soviet leaders and try to show that a lessened defense will not hurt their security, because we have no intention of raiding the Soviet Union, going after them. And once we convince them that the West does not threaten them, then I think you can see a reallocation of resources worldwide from arms into helping others.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Can I get to the beginning of this story about the meeting and ask you who thought of Malta and the Mediterranean first?

[*At this point, the President raised his hand.*]

Q. Was it you?

The President. Right here. Now, I will say this: It takes two to tango. You've heard that expression. And Mr. Gorbachev has been very open. And we went back and forth with several ideas, always—and I say this without any reservation—in a spirit of total frankness and total accommodation. But I think he would tell you that, in terms of logistics, that I was the one that proposed Malta itself. But we did it in a team way: "How about this as a suggestion?" He made a couple of other suggestions that, for timing purposes, didn't work out.

So, in telling you that—you come from Malta—I'd love to take full credit because I think it will be good. I think we made the suggestion, but I think it was a collegial decision. It was a decision that clearly the Soviet side was enthusiastic about, and it was driven somewhat by Mr. Gorbachev's own logistical problems. He will be in Italy, and so, it made inordinate good sense. But in any event, I think both sides are very pleased about it.

Soviet Military Presence in Asia

Q. As I am the only Asian journalist present today, so I have to ask you this. The Pentagon published a report on the Soviet military at the end of September, saying that in Asian regions there are no indications so far of the lessening of Soviet military strength. And I'd like to know this: Have you seen since then any indication of the lessening of that strength? And also, are you talking about—with Mr. Gorbachev—about new Asian security situation, including the Korean Peninsula problem and our dispute with the Soviet Union on the Northern Territory?

The President. No, I see no reduction in defenses. Now, I want to check with our experts on that. Brent [Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs], is my answer misleading at all? I have not seen them, but I don't want to misrepresent. The question is: Has the Soviet Union, since that Pentagon report came out in the fall, to our knowledge reduced defense spending——

Mr. Scowcroft. Well, they have cut back some on conventional forces and, therefore, probably on spending. We see very little evidence on strategic forces that they have reduced their expenditures. On conventional forces——

The President. ——or modernization. In terms of the rest of your question, this meeting is so open that we can discuss anything we want. And clearly, the United States considers itself a power with tremendous interests in the Pacific. And I would have absolutely no inhibitions about discussing the lay of the land in Asia, and your other question related to the Korean Peninsula. And again, I will be prepared to discuss our policy as it relates to the Korean Peninsula with Mr. Gorbachev. To the degree we can get understanding on that question, although I'm not sure we differ too much—why, that would be good.

But again, no agenda item—a preparation to discuss not just the changes in Eastern Europe that I referred to as one of the things that spurred our interest in a meeting at this time—the rapidity of the change—but, indeed, the entire globe. There's a lot of regional problems that we have with the Soviets. And we've been frank about it. They know of our concerns about Cuba, their relationship in Cuba—one of three people in this hemisphere that's swimming against the democratic tide—Nicaragua the same thing. And so, we'll discuss this, and I expect Mr. Gorbachev will be very open to discussion on this. We're not going to just discuss things that are of more interest to the Soviets. And this is of prime interest to us. So, I'm glad you raised it because we have not diminished our interests in Asia, given all this change in Eastern Europe.

I'll tell you one little anecdote, and then we'll go to the next one. Down at this Costa Rican summit, [Venezuelan President] Carlos Andrés Pérez, a very frank guy and a marvelous adherent of democracy, said to me: "All this talk of yours about Eastern Europe, does this show"—he put it more negatively towards me, he said: "Shouldn't this lead us to believe that you're showing less interest in your own hemisphere here?" And I said absolutely not, absolutely not. So, I would say that I would like to feel that we can discuss problems anywhere in the world. I would be very anxious to discuss all these things.

Q. The Asian security problem, too?

The President. Yes, but not dealing cards, not trying to solve somebody else's fortunes. That's not what this meeting is about. It would be a mistake to do that.

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. Mr. President, the most recent developments in Eastern Europe have taken people by surprise—I guess even your administration. And some people in Western Europe are very worried about it. And the big question is how fast the process of integration of Western Europe should happen. How fast do you think it should happen? Do you think that the idea of having the monetary fiscal integration should move forward as soon as possible as a guarantee of forming a strong bloc on the other side?

The President. In the first place, I don't think many people in Western Europe worry about the fact that the change has taken place. Some might worry about where it leads and whether some unforeseen event will happen that will reverse this very salutary change. So, I would say, as part of your question, that my interpretation of Western European public opinion is: We're very pleased this is taking place, but we're a little uncertain as to what's next. Today is Tuesday; what's going to happen today? What's going to happen Wednesday?—these changes coming so fast.

But I think if there's a worry, the worry is: Can it be managed properly? And that's one of the reasons we as the United States are trying to not listen to those that are out there encouraging flamboyant action but to rather respond prudently, as a great power must, to the change. And you know and I know that I've been criticized for timidity. I discount that by about 99 percent as pure, gut, American politics. But nevertheless, some are saying that. And what they mean—some have wanted me to go jump up on top of the Berlin Wall. Well, I never heard such a stupid idea. I mean, what good would it do for an American President to be posturing while Germans were flowing back and forth by the millions? It makes no sense at all. So, we are conducting ourselves in a prudent way.

In terms of what comes next or what role we can have, the only thing I can speak to in managing the change is to encourage a Europe that is whole and free, self-determination when it comes to elections for people, openness, a *glasnost* that spreads—give Mr. Gorbachev credit for igniting the fire—it spreads to countries that have been denied *glasnost*, openness, for years; and do it in a way not to incite violence, not to do something that will cause repression.

And so, I come back to the word of prudent—managing of what we do and what we say—and resist flamboyant actions. Things are moving our way. And I speak in response to your question—the West. What do you mean by "our way"? Democracy? Freedom? They are moving our way. And so, we don't need to be out there trying to micromanage the desire for change in these Eastern European countries. We want to be ready and available—this gentleman suggested—in terms of trying to help financially, if we don't go broke in the process. And we're going to do our best. And we have limited resources now—it's a great country—but we want to help.

European Fiscal and Monetary Union

Q. What about a fiscal and monetary reunion in Europe?

The President. Of all Europe? It takes time because you've got to have fiscal reforms before you can have the confidence that would lead to total fiscal and monetary reunion, but it's coming. They're moving. Poland is trying hard, for example. Hungary—probably a little out ahead of it in terms of economic reform. So, this isn't anything to despair about. The GDR is doing pretty well. So, it will come.

Hungary

Q. Mr. President, as you know probably, that a lot of Hungarians are urging that Hungary should declare neutrality. But others say that it requires more than a Hungarian decision because it should be accepted and guaranteed by others, especially by great powers. So I wonder, sir, whether the United States would be ready to accept and guarantee Hungary's neutrality, and would you even support this idea at the forthcoming summit?

The President. Every country has sovereign rights; and every country, the way we look at it, has a right to determine its own fortunes. And that will be the guiding principle behind the U.S. I think it would be a mistake for the U.S. to try to dictate to a country what course it ought to follow in relationship to the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union, or anybody else. I don't think that's the role of the United States. The role of the United States is to say: Here's what we think is best—democracy, freedom, free elections, freedom of the press, freedom of worship. This is what we believe. We've always believed it. Keep advocating it, but I don't think it would be a productive role for the U.S. to try to micromanage the change that's taking place in Hungary. That's a matter for the Hungarian people.

Q. But will you accept if Hungary would declare its neutrality?

The President. Well, one thing I learned to do is to not answer a hypothetical question that might position me in terms of favoring one course or another. But you can rest assured that the more countries that are free, reform their economies, want to have the very freedoms I talked about—to the degree they want good relations with the United States, that makes it a lot easier for us, given the constraints in our laws for countries that aren't willing to do that.

German Reunification

Q. Mr. President, what do you say to people in France and Great Britain who are against a German reunification?

The President. I say to them: That's a matter for the German people to decide.

And there are some that worry about it. I understand that Mr. Gorbachev has some understandable constraints, because he looks at borders, he looks at history—he's concerned. But what I say is, as I tried to the other day: This is 1989. And we can learn from history, but we also can look to the future. And my view is: Let this matter be determined by the people in Germany. And if that determination is made, there will be all kinds of representation that this is not by the parties, that this has no reason to threaten anybody else or change borders or anything of that nature.

So, I think it really is better at this juncture to be in that broad posture, which we've always had. This is a matter for the German people. Not back away from it, but not flog it. Let this evolution take care of the question—that's our role.

NATO's Future

Q. With the Thousand Points of Light beginning to shine in Eastern Europe now, what is the future role of NATO? And should we recast it according to the new political realities, or should it just remain as it is for awhile?

The President. Which—repeat it again. A Thousand Points of Light are shining, and we see——

Q. Well, they are beginning to shine in Eastern Europe, obviously, so the role of NATO probably has to take on another cast.

The President. Well, I see the role of NATO as an alliance continuing. As I've tried to indicate here, levels of military involvement have a way of being negotiated, have a way of changing from time to time. But NATO has a rubric under which you can discuss economic conditions. At the last NATO meeting, there was a good deal of discussion about the environment, and there was a good deal of discussion about political reforms and changes in the rest of the world. So, the Western alliance threatens no one. It is not a threat to anyone. And I don't see its obsolescence. I don't predict, if that's the question, an obsolescence of this.

You might see under different circumstances different kinds of mission. But I will approach this meeting with Mr. Gorbachev that this alliance is very, very vibrant. It's very real. As the President of the United States, I owe my alliance partners total consultation, and I don't really see that changing in the short-term future.

Q. But just to follow, I guess, in the longer run, how do Europe's great alliances evolve? Ten years out, do you still see NATO and the Warsaw Pact right against each other?

The President. Listen, I can't see 10 days out, and I don't think you can. How can I predict what the conditions are going to be?

Q. But optimally, how would you see that evolving?

The President. Well, I really don't want to go beyond where events have us right now because I think if I made a prediction on NATO, then you'd say how do you get there? What are the steps that get you there? And I don't want to do that. I'm trying to be "timid"—prudent and cautious. So, I don't do that. But I'll tell you this: I don't see any factor emerging that would diminish the friendships and the associations between these Western countries because we're bound by common values. It is our values that bind us. And then, we have common military interests. Fine—we do—but I really can't predict that for you because I can't see it that clearly.

So, what we do is move down this path in a way where we make clear that our resolve to be a strong NATO partner is known to everybody and that we look for opportunities that might suggest the kind of change that I think a lot of our NATO partners would like to see—less tensions with neighbors in Eastern Europe and all of that. But I really want to stop short of predicting what it might be like 10 years out, although it's a very good question, and I think a lot of thinking is going on about that, a lot of thinking by our best people here, under different scenarios.

But we're at a very delicate time now. And I think what I had better do is address myself to the present and the near-term future. And that's why I think this meeting with Mr. Gorbachev is going to be very interesting.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Has that thinking increased since you've planned this summit?

The President. Yes.

Q. I mean, it was initially just sort of "get to know you," get acquainted. Now, it's——

The President. Yes, because the genesis came before the rapidity of the change in Eastern Europe. There's always been change. I'll tell you one of the things that stimulated my interest was my visit to Poland and to Hungary. And then I sat with our NATO partners. I think I asked a couple of them do you think it would be a good idea—I wasn't going to say a summit meeting—but do you think it would be a good idea to have this? And my feeling is that the NATO partners thought it would be a very good idea.

And you know, what we've picked up since then was keen interest from a lot of countries that aren't in NATO or are in the Warsaw Pact or the Soviet Union. And some of it is almost overly euphoric in terms of expectation. So, what I've tried to do here is dampen euphoric expectation because I want the visit to be seen as a success. And if you just get together and discuss change, that is my definition of a success. Whether you all will buy it or not, I don't know. I'm a little skeptical about that.

U.S. Leadership Role

Q. President Bush, don't you fear that the U.S. may lose its leadership in the Western alliance if things move too fast, and NATO will change?

The President. No, not a bit. We're the United States. If you'll excuse some chauvinistic pride as we approach Thanksgiving, why, that is one worry I don't have. And we will be involved. We will continue to be, whether it's in the Pacific or whether it's in Europe. It's just our nature. We've tried to help; we want to help. There is enormous trade with all corners of the world. We have markets that lift up the developing countries unlike any aid program in the world—just access to these vibrant markets of the U.S. So, I'm not worried a bit about losing any prestige, and I wouldn't think Mr. Gorbachev would be.

If tensions got so reduced that you didn't always worry about U.S.-superpower confrontation or something, that would be a marvelous world. We ought to work towards that kind of a world. But it's got to be on our values. It's got to be on what we in the United States think is best—know is best.

You see, I think there's an objectivity to all—I don't want to be too philosophical—but I think there's an objectivity to this. Freedom works. I don't want to sound cliche. Freedom of religion is best, freedom of the press is best, self-determination is best, free elections are best. And so, we're going to continue to be, in our way—we're not the only ones on this—but a beacon for those dealing with us, for those who share these values, and for those who more and more are sharing these values.

So, this doesn't bother me. We've got a lot of worries, but that isn't one of them.

Thank you for your time.

Note: The interview began at 1:35 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Participants included Lionel Barber, Financial Times, United Kingdom; Alexander Shalnev, Izvestia, Soviet Union; Ernest Skalski, Gazeta Wyborcza, Poland; Anthony Montanaro, Sunday Times, Malta; Hiroshi Yamada, Yomiuri Shimbun, Japan; Mario Platero, Il Sole 24 Ore, Italy; Janos Avar, Magyar Nemzet, Hungary; Francois Hauter, Le Figaro, France; Viola Herms-Dratch, Handelsblatt, Federal Republic of Germany; Colin MacKenzie, Globe and Mail, Canada. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the interview. The interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 24.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher

November 24, 1989

President Bush and Prime Minister Thatcher met for approximately 4½ hours today at Camp David, discussing a broad range of issues related to East-West relations and European stability. They had frank and substantive discussions in the relaxed atmosphere of the camp.

President Bush summarized plans for the Malta meeting, and the two leaders discussed a number of possible subjects to be considered in that meeting. A primary focus was on Eastern Europe. The President and the Prime Minister discussed reforms underway in the Soviet Union and agreed on support for *glasnost* and *perestroika.* They both emphasized pursuit of democracy as a first step in the reform process. The two leaders agreed on the need for European stability as NATO faces the changes in Eastern Europe.

The Prime Minister spoke of her commitment to the common market and emphasized her vision of a free and open trading system in Europe. President Bush agreed with her view of a European future that avoids protectionism. The Prime Minister briefed President Bush on the recent Paris summit of European Community leaders, in which it was agreed that all countries should promote democracy as a part of the Eastern European reform process.

The two leaders discussed a number of regional issues, including the Middle East peace process, recent events in Lebanon, China, Cambodia, Central America, Afghanistan, and others.

The two leaders were in very close accord in their examination of all the issues discussed today. Attending today's meeting were General Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger; U.S. Ambassador Catto; British Ambassador Acland; and Charles Powell, Private Secretary to Mrs. Thatcher. The Prime Minister departed Camp David at approximately 2:30 p.m.

Appointment of Peter W. Senopoulos as a Member of the American Battle Monuments Commission

November 27, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Peter W. Senopoulos as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission. He would succeed Joseph W. Canzeri.

Since 1977 Mr. Senopoulos has served as principal and chief financial officer for the law firm of Gallagher and Gallagher in Boston, MA, and since 1981 he has served as president and chief executive officer of Nationwide Insurance Investigators, Inc. Prior to this he served as an insurance broker, 1974–1977.

Mr. Senopoulos graduated from Burdett College (A.S., 1972) and Bentley College (B.S., 1975). He was born June 11, 1941, in Somerville, MA. Mr. Senopoulos served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1961–1967. He is married, has two children, and resides in Medford, MA.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With Interim President Sigbhatullah Mojaddedi of Afghanistan

November 27, 1989

President Bush met this afternoon at 1:15 p.m. with the President of the Afghan interim government, Professor Sigbhatullah Mojaddedi. President Bush and President Mojaddedi discussed the situation inside Afghanistan as well as the plight of the refugees. President Bush reaffirmed our support for the Afghan resistance's efforts to achieve self-determination and also expressed U.S. interest in a political settlement. The President called upon the Afghan interim government to continue and increase its efforts to fashion a stable, broadly based government responsive to the needs of the Afghan people.

Informal Exchange With Reporters

November 28, 1989

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. How about the summit, Mr. President?

The President. Well, I'm glad you asked that question.

Q. I mean, it's no longer a get-acquainted—it has a larger dimension, doesn't it? And you're going with concrete proposals? Or is that an assumption?

The President. Well, I think, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], when I defined what I intended, I said that no set agenda—prepared to talk about a wide array of issues—and that's still exactly the way it's going to be. And there is all kind of hyped speculation on the part of some that it's going to be different. And I'm glad to get that question because we're together, our team, solidly together—prepared to talk about anything President Gorbachev wants to talk about, and his able team.

But it is not going to be an agreement that surprises our allies. We're part of an alliance, and that alliance is very strong. And it's going to be strong after this meeting, because I'm not going to surprise them. So, the surprise will be—if you're looking for a surprise—there won't be a surprise. That may come as a surprise.

Q. No, the question is: You have the caveats that you will inform NATO, but aren't you going with anything in your hand, anything concrete? I mean, are you going to just sit there and listen?

The President. No. We'll have a wide array of areas where we think we can improve relations. I'm very concerned about events in Central America, and I will be urging Mr. Gorbachev to do what they should have done some time ago—cease support for those who are fueling revolution, exporting it, in this hemisphere.

I had a call today, incidentally, from President Arias of Costa Rica. And I don't think I'm blind-siding Mr. Gorbachev by this, but I will raise with him—at Arias' request—the fact that the Soviet Union should stop feeding Fidel Castro, who Mr. Arias tells me is directly responsible for the export of revolution through supporting the FMLN. And that was a direct request from the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

So, of course we're going to raise other subjects ourselves, go there with ideas in my mind, following up on what the Secretary [James A. Baker III] did in a very constructive way in his meeting with Mr. Shevardnadze [Soviet Foreign Minister].

So, the thing I wanted to shoot down, though, is this kind of frantic speculation that there are going to be—based on crazy——

Q. Well, isn't it natural——

The President. Yes, it's natural, but I want to gun it down——

Q. ——for troop cuts now that there's such a change?

The President. We don't want to get out ahead of our allies. And Secretary Cheney is taking a look at defense requirements, but that's a good subject because I am not going to enter into an arms control agreement.

Now, if we want to talk in a general way with the Soviet leaders about our aspirations for how a defense system will look 10 years from now, of course we'll do that—of course we want to do it. We want to see far less than 15, 17 percent of the gross national product of the Soviet Union spent on defense. And obviously, we'll talk about that, Helen—it's very important we talk about it.

But that's not what I'm referring to when I talk about euphoric expectations of some deal. There isn't going to be such a deal. It takes two to make a deal.

Q. Sir, is one of the ideas you're carrying with you there—you just talked about ideas—the idea of having much deeper cuts in conventional forces than you talked about when you were in Brussels?

The President. As I say, it takes two. We need to get in there and discuss his plans with him and not tie the alliance up by unilateral commitments.

Q. But you're willing to talk about deeper cuts than you've talked about before?

The President. I'm willing to talk about anything. That's what the meeting is about. That's why I viewed it as a meeting where we can discuss anything, without a fixed agenda.

Eastern Europe

Q. Mr. President, the events in Eastern Europe seem to be unfolding largely on their own. As President, do you think that you should have a major role in shaping the developments, or do you think that Europe should take the lead?

The President. I think that the lead is being taken by the peoples in these countries. And I have talked, incidentally, to every single member of NATO. And I don't want to sound self-centered here, but almost every one of those leaders told me: We think the United States is handling this properly. We appreciate the way you're handling these changes, the prudent approach you are taking. And it came over and over again. I got on that phone right there to every single Prime Minister or President in NATO, so I feel that they are behind us in our approach. And I think what's happening in Czechoslovakia, what has happened and will continue to happen in Poland, what's going on in the GDR [German Democratic Republic] and Hungary comes from the people. It doesn't come from somebody halfway across the world dictating how fast change should be or what change should encompass.

We've spelled out in speech after speech a broad perspective of how we would like to see the world evolve—talked about it months ago, with very little attention, but our allies understood it. They understood it very well when we talk about a Europe whole and free, or when I said in an interview to David Frost: "Yes, that Berlin [wall] will come down in my Presidency."

I think we're handling it about right, and I say that based on the input from our allies. And we are part of an alliance, and that alliance is going to stand. And it is very important that they know that I'm not going to go off and prematurely jump out there and try to grandstand by committing them to something. That's not the way you keep an alliance strong, nor is that the way you effect permanent change, either.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you said there won't be a deal in Malta. There have been reports, though, that you would propose to President Gorbachev going below the 275,000 troop ceiling for the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The President. I've seen the stories about that.

Q. Are they true?

The President. No. I've told you that we don't go there with specific proposals. If we want to discuss something of this nature, we'll discuss it, but that's what I want to shoot down—there are no arms control proposals. In writing I have made clear to Mr. Gorbachev—in my own handwriting, so he knows it comes from me, not from the bureaucracy—that this is not a summit for arms control agreement. We've got a meeting set, a summit set, in which we will, after consultation with our allies, move forward; so I don't think there's any misunderstanding on that.

I read some copy here about what one of these Soviet spokesmen said, and it sounded to me like we're pretty much on the same wavelength. The lead was a little off—I don't want to tell you whose this was—but the lead was different than what the spokesman said.

Q. The spokesman said you can't believe Gorbachev would go to a summit just to get acquainted.

The President. The spokesman said they do not expect formal agreement to emerge from shipboard—the same one when you say he doesn't want to——

Q. Right.

The President. Let's see: "Gorbachev is not the sort of man for a simple get-acquainted session."

Q. Yes.

The President. "Ready for serious talks." I'm ready for serious talks, but there is no agenda. I don't think we're apart.

Do you, Jim? You're dealing with them day in and day out.

Secretary Baker. No. No, indeed.

The President. But that's my point. I'm just trying to deflect this kind of comment that somebody writes. I mean, yes, Helen, there's a lot of interest in this meeting. And I can understand why people are speculating, but I'm going to be there—I'm going to be attending this meeting.

German Reunification

Q. Do you have a reaction to——

Q. What about Kohl's [Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany] proposal?

Q. Do you have a reaction to the Kohl proposal for reunification?

The President. I expect to talk to him soon, and I'd prefer to wait to hear from him exactly what it is.

El Salvador

Q. You talked about your concern about events in Central America, Mr. President.

The President. Absolutely.

Q. You've received assurances from the Soviets that they'd cut off the arms supply. Do you feel they——

The President. They haven't cut off arms supply to Cuba. And as Mr. Arias said, there is one person most responsible for support of the FMLN trying to deny democracy to Central America, deny democracy to El Salvador, and that is Fidel Castro—and at the same time he coupled Ortega in with that.

So, we've got to discuss these issues, and I think the Soviets are prepared to talk about it. If they want an agenda item, if they want a statement from the President, I'm not the sort of man that will go there and not raise it. Now you've got a headline.

Q. Well, are you the sort of man who will protest the raiding of churches in Salvador?

The President. I'm the sort of man that will get the facts. And if there's any abuse of the rights of Americans, I will strongly protest it. And if, indeed, Americans are involved in trying to overthrow a government by arms, I will not look with favor on that, either. So, yes, I will look to the human rights and to the fact that any American is accorded proper treatment by the authorities, proper justice. And, yes, I will see to that, but I will not condone trying to overthrow an elected—freely elected—certifiably free elections of a government of that nature. I'm not going to do that. We're moving towards democracy in this hemisphere, and this call from Oscar Arias made a big impression on me.

Thank you all. See you in Malta.

Note: The exchange began at 12:10 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to his September 5 interview with television journalist David Frost.

Remarks to Members of the Presidential Economic Delegation to Poland

November 28, 1989

The President. Well, thank you very much. To our distinguished guests here and to all the members of this important mission team, I just wanted to come by tonight to wish you well as you leave on this important mission. I view it, really, as a mission of tremendous importance, a historymaking journey to a country that's making history every day.

And let me say to Secretaries Yeutter and—I don't know that Bob Mosbacher is here——

Secretary Yeutter. He'll come later.

The President. ——and certainly Elizabeth Dole, and to Dr. Mike Boskin over here: You lead a delegation of tremendous experience and talent. Together, it's a cross-section of the private sector institutions that constitute democracy's great strength and gives practical meaning to the principles of free government.

Helping Poland rejoin the community of free nations is a task that simply cannot be accomplished by government alone. It depends on building the countless exchanges that take place every day among businesses and organized labor and the academic community and their counterparts in other free countries. The trip you're making is really the first step in that process.

As you know, I'm taking a trip of my own this weekend. And in my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev and afterwards with our NATO allies, I can assure you that the historic developments that have taken place in Poland—and of course, elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe—will be high on our agenda. I will be anxious to hear your report on the ways that we can help Poland achieve its democratic destiny and become a model of transition for these other states—a model of transition to a free economy. And your work can be of great help to other countries in Eastern Europe as they move towards economic reform.

I am very pleased that the initiatives that I've proposed last summer for aid to Poland and Hungary have become a reality. In just a few moments, I will sign into law a package authorizing $938 million in American aid over the next 3 years, and that will enable the United States to do its part to encourage these two nations on the road to reform. We've got to recognize, though, the fact that dollars alone will not make the difference. Think back to the economic miracle of Western Europe after the Second World War. The secret to that success wasn't the price tag on the aid that we sent. Our aid came with our advice, our example, and the full engagement of our private sector in shaping the free-market system that has generated unprecedented prosperity all across Western Europe. And that lesson holds true for Poland today. Our aid must be seed money for free market reform and for the involvement of our private sector.

Lane Kirkland—I see Lane back there, but I don't see Bob Georgine. Is he there? There he is. Normally, they're in the front row—something's gone awry here. [*Laughter*] But with Lane and Bob here, I might say that you all heard, I'm sure, Lech Walesa in his address to the AFL–CIO when he joked about that strange twist of fate, that it fell to a Polish trade unionist to launch a publicity campaign for private entrepreneurship.

What we want for Poland, and what the Polish people want for themselves, is to begin a process of economic development that is self-sustaining, a process that puts free market principles on a firm foundation—and because the fate of Polish reform, indeed, Poland's future as a free nation, depends upon its ability to build a functioning, productive economy.

It's with missions like yours that the real work begins. I urge you to make the most of it. So, talk to your counterparts in all parts of Polish society. Find out what kinds of investment, what kind of expertise will help Poland succeed in transforming its economy—and then in the larger transformation that flows into a fully free nation.

Every one of you can contribute; every one of you can be a catalyst for change at this critical moment in Poland's history. You're all busy people; you're all successful people. And the fact that you are willing to undertake this very important assignment for your country—that means a great deal, and I am grateful to each and every single one of you.

And so, as you begin this fascinating mission, I really wanted to come across and wish you the very best. I hope, Clayton, if you get far enough along, you or Elizabeth or Bob, that maybe you can be in touch with General Scowcroft or Secretary Baker or me in Malta. I want to know how this goes. And if it's not too soon to get an impression, I'd like to hear it there in Malta, and then it would give me flexibility in my talks with the General Secretary.

So, it's important work you're involved in. And Godspeed, and good luck, and thank you very much for doing this. And now let me just sign this Support for Eastern European Democracy Act, the act of 1989—sign that into law. God bless you all, and thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:45 p.m. at Blair House. In his remarks, he referred to Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Lane Kirkland, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Robert Georgine, president of the building and construction trades department of the AFL–CIO; and Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Following his remarks, the President signed H.R. 3402, which was assigned Public Law No. 101–179.

Statement on Signing the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989

November 28, 1989

I have today signed H.R. 3402, the "Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989." This legislation authorizes $938 million in assistance to promote democratization in Poland and Hungary. It authorizes various programs to help promote reform in these countries, including economic stabilization, trade liberalization, Enterprise Funds to nurture private sector development, labor market reform, and enhanced environmental protection.

We are nearing the end of a year that future generations will remember as a watershed, a year when the human spirit was lifted and spurred on by the bold and courageous actions of two great peoples—the people of Poland and Hungary.

The year began with the first session of the Roundtable discussions in Poland. In April the Polish Communist Party reached an agreement with Solidarity that led to elections in June. Although not all of the seats of the Parliament were open to free elections, the Polish people succeeded in voicing their opinion—and in remaking the political map of Poland. The end result was the first non-communist-led government in Eastern Europe since 1948. This government has continued to transform Polish society. A new economic program, which holds the promise of converting Poland into a market economy, has been put forward.

Events in Hungary have also stirred the imagination of the world. In May, Hungary decided to tear down the barbed-wire fence that separated it from the West. In September, Hungary gained the support of the entire world with its decision to honor its international commitments and allow East Germans to pass through its borders on their way to the West. More recently, Hungary has dropped virtually all of the trappings of a Stalinist state—a new constitution based on democratic principles was adopted, the name of the country was changed from the "People's Republic" to simply the "Republic of Hungary," and the ruling Communist Party dissolved itself to create a vastly different and much smaller Socialist Party, which must compete with all the other parties for the votes of the Hungarian people. On November 26, Hungary held a referendum to determine the timing of free presidential elections. Contested parliamentary elections will be held no later than next summer. These elections hold the promise of transforming Hungary politically just as the elections in Poland transformed that country.

The United States has not been an idle bystander to these events. In April, in Hamtramck, Michigan, I announced a series of steps designed to support political and economic reform in Poland and to help Poland help itself. Since that time my Administration has been working closely with the Congress, and I am gratified to see many of the measures proposed contained in this legislation.

In July I visited Poland and Hungary to meet with their leaders and to see for myself the changes occurring in these two countries. During those visits, I had the opportunity to address a joint session of the Polish Parliament and to speak on political and economic reform to a large group at the Karl Marx University in Budapest. I announced a series of steps designed to further demonstrate U.S. support for the ongoing reform efforts in Poland and Hungary. My Administration has been working vigorously since that time to implement the measures I announced. Where legislation was not needed, we have moved forward. This legislation, signed into law today, will allow us to implement the remaining measures. We plan to move forward as quickly as possible to put these measures in place.

This legislation contains one other measure I requested in October—the authorization for a contribution to a Stabilization Fund in response to a request from the Polish Government. I applaud the Congress for responding to this request in such an expeditious fashion. We are now working with our major Allies and the G–24—the group established by the Paris Summit to coordinate aid for Poland and Hungary—to obtain the additional financing needed for this Fund.

The passage of this legislation marks a major and positive step in bipartisan foreign policy. The national consensus for support for Poland and Hungary has been strong. The Congress has crafted a bill responsive to my requests, as well as providing a number of additional programs, all designed to support our national goal: to help further the cause of political and economic freedom in Poland and Hungary.

It is particularly gratifying that this measure comes before me at this time. The peaceful revolution that has taken place in Poland is the work of many people. However, one man, Lech Walesa, stands above all others in this regard. He kept the faith through the dark years of martial law. He saw the opportunities of the Roundtable and committed himself and his organization to this historic process. Recently he spoke to a joint session of the Congress. It is only appropriate that, as I sign this measure, we pay tribute to Lech Walesa.

Finally, I note that several sections of the Act direct that various executive agencies shall cooperate in specified ways with foreign officials, and that specified goals shall be pursued in our bilateral relations with certain countries or in multilateral fora. Keeping with past practice, I shall treat these provisions as advisory, not mandatory. I believe that this interpretation also comports with the Congress's express recognition of the need for "maximum flexibility" in implementing the provisions of this Act.

Other sections of the Act also require the President to submit reports that include his recommendations for appropriate levels of various types of assistance for Poland and Hungary. The Constitution grants exclusively to the President the power to recommend for the consideration of the Congress such measures as he judges necessary and expedient. Because the Congress may not by law command the President to exercise in particular circumstances the power that the Constitution commits to his judgment, such provisions have always been treated as advisory rather than mandatory.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 28, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3402, approved November 28, was assigned Public Law No. 101–179.

Statement on Signing the National Museum of the American Indian Act

November 28, 1989

I take great pleasure today in signing S. 978, the "National Museum of the American Indian Act." From this point, our Nation will go forward with a new and richer understanding of the heritage, culture, and values of the peoples of the Americas of Indian ancestry.

The National Museum of the American Indian will be dedicated to the collection, preservation, and exhibition of American Indian languages, literature, history, art, anthropology, and culture. Its centerpiece will be the priceless collection of more than a million artifacts now at the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City, which will be transferred to the Smithsonian Institution. Another facility, the George Gustav Heye Center of the National Museum of the American Indian, will be located in the Old United States Custom House in lower Manhattan. A storage and conservation structure will be built at the Institution's Museum Support Center in Suitland, Maryland. The Act makes ample provision for the loan of exhibits and artifacts to museums, cultural centers, educational institutions, and libraries and encourages such loans to institutions under Indian jurisdiction. Thus, the new Museum will be truly national, indeed, international, in its reach.

S. 978 also codifies policy for returning American Indian and Native Hawaiian human remains and associated funerary objects. The Smithsonian, in consultation and cooperation with traditional Indian religious leaders and tribal officials and Native Hawaiian organizations, will conduct a detailed inventory of the North American Indian and Native Hawaiian human remains and associated funerary objects in its collections. It will attempt to identify the origins of such remains and objects and will notify the appropriate tribes and organizations of its findings.

This has been a difficult and complex issue to address, involving traditional values of American Indian people, the medical and scientific research value of the remains and objects, and the trust responsibilities of the Smithsonian. The process for inventory, identification, notification, and repatriation embodied in S. 978 represents the substantial efforts and goodwill of many people.

I am glad for the opportunity to sign this historic measure and grateful to those whose vision and determination have created this occasion.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 28, 1989.

Note: S. 978, approved November 28, was assigned Public Law No. 101–185.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Western Economic Support for Reform in Poland and Hungary

November 28, 1989

The 24-nation group to support economic and political reform in Poland and Hungary, created at the Paris economic summit in response to an initiative by President Bush, had its third meeting in Brussels on November 24. Based on informal tallies, the 24 donor nations—which include the United States, Japan, Canada, the European Economic Community, and several other industrialized democracies—have already pledged upwards of $8 billion in financial commitments to support economic reform and restructuring in Poland and Hungary.

Roughly three-quarters of the $8 billion already pledged is for Poland. These commitments include grants, loans, technical assistance, debt forgiveness, export credits, and other forms of assistance. These amounts are expected to increase further once Poland and the IMF [International Monetary Fund] reach agreement on a restructuring plan, which is expected in the next few weeks.

The Group of 24 also agreed to meet again at the ministerial level in Brussels on December 13 in order to further enhance its assistance and coordination efforts.

Statement on Signing the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991

November 29, 1989

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2461, the "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991." This Act authorizes appropriations for Department of Defense and Department of Energy national security activities, and other programs.

H.R. 2461 authorizes appropriations that provide a national defense sufficient to meet foreseeable threats to the national security during FY 1990. It generally conforms to the Bipartisan Budget Agreement and reflects a substantial number of the Administration's defense priorities, including the termination of lower-priority defense procurement programs.

I have signed this bill notwithstanding the reservations that I have with certain of its provisions. I am particularly concerned about those provisions that derogate from the President's authority under the Constitution to conduct our foreign policy, including negotiations on behalf of the United States. Examples include requirements that I attempt to persuade our NATO partners to increase their active-duty forces in Europe (section 912) and that I seek Japanese agreement to offset in some way U.S. costs of deploying forces to defend Japan (section 913). In addition, sections 815 and 816 seek to impose congressional policy choices upon the President's constitutional discretion to negotiate and implement foreign agreements governing various aspects of defense procurement. While, as a policy matter, I will always endeavor to consult with the Congress on such foreign policy issues, I am obliged, as a constitutional matter, to defend the constitutional authority of the Presidency against efforts to legislate foreign policy. Accordingly, I shall interpret such provisions so as not to constrain the constitutional primacy of the President in that arena.

Several provisions of H.R. 2461 could be read as directing me to disclose the details of foreign policy negotiations, notwithstanding the President's constitutional authority to control such information. Examples include the requirements that I report to the Congress on the status of negotiations with our allies on the Strategic Defense Initiative (section 224), with Japan on the cost of U.S. forces defending Japan (section 913), and with the Philippines on U.S. military installations in the Philippines (section 915). I shall interpret such provisions so as not to impose unconstitutional disclosure requirements upon information relating to negotiations with foreign nations or other privileged information.

Several reporting or consultation provisions of H.R. 2461 could be read to encroach upon the President's constitutional authority to protect national security information. For example, section 903 calls for a report on the measures that would be required to verify certain proposed conventional force reductions in Europe, and section 216 calls for a report on our intelligence estimates on future Soviet tank production and operational capacities. I shall interpret provisions like these so as not to impose unconstitutional constraints upon my authority to protect sensitive national security information.

Several provisions of H.R. 2461 could be read as limiting the deployment of military personnel. For example, section 912 would limit the active-duty forces I deploy in Europe; while that section authorizes me to waive its provisions if I determine the waiver is critical to the national security, I do not believe my discretion to deploy military personnel may be subject to such a statutory standard. In addition, section 921 would restrict my ability to relocate to other locations the Defense Department personnel located at an air base in Spain. While I will respect the intent of such provisions as far as possible, I sign this bill with the understanding that they do not constrain my authority to deploy military personnel as necessary to fulfill my constitutional responsibilities as President and Commander in Chief.

Sections 136 and 165(b) give the force of law to portions of a classified annex to the joint statement of managers accompanying the House-Senate conference report on H.R. 2461. However, the classified annex language at issue did not accompany H.R. 2461 when it was presented to me for approval. Under the Constitution, the material terms of legislation must be fixed and available at the time of presentment. Only then does the President have the opportunity to exercise his constitutional prerogatives. Since this is not the case with sections 136 and 165(b), I shall treat them as unenacted and severable from the balance of H.R. 2461.

Finally, I note that H.R. 2461 calls for a multiplicity of reports and studies. Many are quite complex and are required to be submitted within very short periods of time; indeed, at least one is required to have been completed prior to presentment of the bill. While it is easy to require such reports, it must be recognized that their preparation consumes large quantities of precious resources. Accordingly, I call on the Congress to exercise greater restraint in the future.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 29, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2461, approved November 29, was assigned Public Law No. 101–189.

Informal Exchange With Reporters
November 29, 1989

Q. Mr. President, did you talk with Mr. Cristiani?

The President. Not today.

Q. Anything new on the guerrillas in El Salvador?

The President. I haven't heard any more today.

Q. What are you going to tell the President tonight? What advice can you give him?

Prime Minister Mulroney. Well, I'll give it to him first, and then I'll tell you about it a little later.

Q. What do you expect, Mr. President? What do you expect, Mr. President?

The President. Just frank discussions, and I know we'll get them.

Note: The exchange began at 6 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House, prior to a meeting with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada. A reporter referred to President Alfredo Cristiani Buckard of El Salvador.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada

November 29, 1989

The President. Let me just say that Prime Minister Mulroney has very generously come down here and given us a very full briefing—his observations from a long and detailed trip that he took to the Soviet Union. I don't know why he is not more wiped out by jet lag, because I last saw him just a few weeks ago in Central America—he'd come from Asia. Now he's been to the Soviet Union—but it was most generous, Mr. Prime Minister, for you to come here. And on behalf of the Secretary of State and Brent Scowcroft, John Sununu, those of us who will be in the meetings, I can't tell you how much I appreciate your advice and your observations.

And it's a little unorthodox, but if you'll excuse me, I understand you're going to take some questions here.

The Prime Minister. I will.

The President. All right, thank you. And our love to Mila, and thank you, sir, very much. It was most generous of you.

The Prime Minister. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; and the Prime Minister's wife, Mila. Following these remarks, Prime Minister Mulroney answered reporters' questions.

Interview With Members of the White House Press Corps

November 29, 1989

The President. I'm delighted to take questions. I just had a long telephone conversation with [West German Chancellor] Helmut Kohl—very interesting. Maybe Marlin already told you about that.

Mr. Fitzwater. I did mention that you'd made a call.

The President. He called me, following his suggestions on the German question. And I feel comfortable; I think we're on track.

I've been in close touch with our allies—in fact, talked to every single one, as I said yesterday, in NATO. And I've talked to [Prime Minister] Kaifu in Japan, talked to others around that aren't exactly tied into this, and I'm feeling very well prepared.

We've had a series of briefings at the Cabinet level and expert level, outside specialist level. And so, I've still got a little more reading to do and talking to our team that will be there, but it's taking proper shape.

I'd be glad to take some questions.

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. Mr. President, as you look at the events that have transpired in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—the upheaval, if you will—do you think the period of greatest danger for the West has now passed, or does it still lie ahead?

The President. Of greatest danger?

Q. Of greatest danger in coping with this. The risk of——

The President. Well, I haven't seen danger in coping with it up until now. Maybe I misunderstand your question. I mean, what we've done is to certainly rejoice in the rapid change, but I haven't seen threats at this moment to reverse the change. In other words, I think Gorbachev has said that he's not going to intervene in this change. He's taken a very broad view of it.

And so, we haven't felt imminent danger in what has transpired so far, but what I think you want to do is to conduct yourself in a way that you don't inadvertently contribute to an atmosphere of danger or create a danger where one need not exist. And that would mean avoid some of the more flamboyant posturing that has been urged on me from time to time. That's not a way you conduct the foreign affairs of this country.

And I'll tell you what's reassuring on that, Jerry, is the reaction again from our allies. They've been rather complimentary of the posture of the United States, as they see it.

Soviet Reforms

Q. Mr. President, if Gorbachev—as a result of strikes and famine, say, in the Soviet Union this winter—felt the need to crack down sharply, would that be the end of *perestroika?* Would it be the end of the warmup in relations and a renewal of the cold war?

The President. It would be dumb for me to respond to such a hypothetical question. I'm not going to do that—I'm simply not, and I've taken that position steadily. I get asked that, and I simply am not going to take that position.

Clearly, I think everybody would know that we would take a very dim view of military force to change the course of events, and yet I would compliment Gorbachev for not taking that action. So, for me to hypothecate that he's going to do that, or speculate on what happens—I simply would respectfully ask not to be pursued on that because I'm not going to answer.

Meeting With Soviet President Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, I was told that during some of your sessions with experts one of the things you wanted to know from them was what they thought Gorbachev's goals would be for the summit and, if they were you, what their goals would be. As a result of all your preparations, have you formalized concrete goals for yourself for the summit? And if you have, can you share those with us?

The President. No, we've got some objectives, but the goals remain the same: an open agenda meeting where we discuss a wide array of issues. And I'll raise some. I talked about one yesterday that clearly everybody knows I'd raise—let me just reassert it here—the question of Central America and Soviet——

Q. But, sir, your personal——

The President. Put it this way, Maureen: There's been no change, in my view, as to what this meeting is to be about. Events have changed more rapidly since the genesis of the meeting than I thought, but there is no shift. And I've seen nothing authoritative from the Soviet Union to make me think they're looking at it differently.

There may be more of an urgency to it—I would say that. And I would say that if we hadn't suggested such a meeting at the end of July that—given the rapid changes that have taken place, particularly in Eastern Europe—we probably would have gone ahead and suggested such a meeting within the last month or two. But it hasn't changed—a lot of speculation, but it hasn't changed.

Q. Have you found a way through your people to send the word to Mr. Gorbachev that you would not appreciate any bombshell surprises?

The President. Well, we've sent the message that we don't think there are going to be any, but if he comes with something, fine. I mean, this is an open thing. He can say anything he wants, but I think he wants to see a successful meeting. And I don't think we want to go—any side, either side—no indication that anyone wants to go out of the meeting having a contentious feeling. Certainly we don't, and I've had no evidence from any of the contacts that have been made with the Soviet Union that they're looking for confrontation. And so, I think that it is unlikely there will be something so dramatic that it puts us in an embarrassing position. There's not going to be that—it doesn't matter. We're part of an alliance, and we're not going to go unilaterally making commitments that affect our allies. And I obviously will feel free to tell Mr. Gorbachev that, but I also have a feeling that he is so well plugged in that I don't need to say that. He'll know it.

Europe's Future

Q. Mr. President, could I ask a postsummit question? You talked about the aspirations over the next 10 years, and at the risk of talking about the "vision thing," could you describe somewhat specifically what kind of things do you see, maybe, say in 5 years with a downsized military? What kind of adjustments will the country have to make, assuming that things go on track as they are now?

The President. Well, I don't think I can definitively answer that until we know what course the arms control agreements take. And we'll know much more about that by the time of the summit meeting which will be held next year. In terms of the "vision thing," the aspirations, I spelled it out in little-noted speeches last spring and summer, which I would like everyone to go back and re-read. And I'll have a quiz on it—[*laughter*]—because they're rather—autographed copies and——

Q. Governor Sununu has given us our copies.

The President. Has he? But you'll see in there some of the "vision thing"—a Europe whole and free. Now, that, I think, takes on a little more relevance today, given the changes that have already taken place or that are taking place. Today it's Wednesday, and I don't know what the changes are going to be on Thursday, but it's been more rapid than we saw. I think it's been more rapid than Mr. Gorbachev saw or more rapid than our allies saw. But in terms of your question, I think a Europe whole and free is less vision than perhaps reality. But how we get there and what that means and when the German question is resolved and all of these things—I can't answer more definitively. I can't answer.

Defense Spending

Q. Are there dangers, let's say, in the "peace dividend"? Are there dangers of dislocation in American industry?

The President. Talking about a "peace dividend"—I agree with that, I'll go back and answer your question. But when you mention "peace dividend," there's almost a—well, there's an uncalled-for euphoria in some quarters now that suggests that events where they stand today means that the United States can recklessly—in my view—recklessly cut its defense spending. And we are not in that posture.

We have commitments to an alliance, and that isn't to say that we're going to always have to have exactly the same deployment of forces every place around the world. But we're rethinking all of this, but you can't make a judgment until you get some feeling as to what your allies think and some feeling as to what Gorbachev and the Warsaw Pact countries think.

I interrupted the question because I wanted to say that when I hear now "peace dividend," what that implies to me—somebody said, well, if you cut defense spending by $10 billion, we can take that money and spend it on something else. They all have a wide array of programs. We can't do that. We've got enormous budget problems facing me. I feel very strongly about it because Darman [Richard G. Darman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget] just walked out—[*laughter*]—and when you see him walking out, I go through a period of about 60 minutes of gloom before I refocus on what else is happening out there. And now I'm back talking about Malta. But seriously, the budget problems that we face—and all the budgeteers know it—in 1991 are enormous, so it is premature to talk about a "peace dividend" in the sense of take volumes of money out of defense and apply it to some worthy cause. We cannot do that.

Does that answer your question?

Q. It was kind of a—"peace dividend" was only in the sense that I was interested in what kinds of dislocations in American society do you see? I mean, if you're cutting back, let's say—again, this is on the premise that things go on track as they are now—but assuming that you do have an arms control agreement of some fashion——

The President. That permits——

Q. ——that permits downsizing armies, how do you kind of approach unemployment in the military? How do you approach the defense industry?

The President. That gets back to the fiscal side of the equation—have fiscal policies that are so sound that America continues to grow. We've created 20 million—you know the litany—20 million new jobs in the last 6 years, or whatever. But be sure that that economy grows to accommodate people.

This is one of the big problems—back to the Soviet equation—because as they pull back and demobilize, the impact on their economy is very, very difficult right now. They have, I am told, real concerns about dislocation: How do you treat the people coming out of the services? You've got housing problems that make ours pale in comparison.

Now, I don't mean to be mingling into the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, but I have gotten enough information to know that this is very difficult for people. I think it would be less difficult here if we have a strong economy, much less difficult. We do, right now—pretty good. The growth isn't as robust as I'd like to see it now, but we're still moving, still growing, still creating jobs.

El Salvador

Q. Mr. President, a moment ago, you said that neither you nor Mr. Gorbachev is looking for a confrontation at Malta. And yet, from yesterday, we learned that you planned very early in your talks to tell Mr. Gorbachev your concerns through Oscar Arias [President of Costa Rica] of the introductions of weapons through Cuba. If you do that, isn't that apt to, one, create some tension in those talks and, two, perhaps cast a pale over the improving relations with the U.S.S.R.?

The President. No. I don't want to surprise him, and I would surprise him if I don't raise that subject. No surprises. And he knows how strongly we feel about it—that was discussed at the [Soviet Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze meeting. I believe that it's been represented to the Soviet Union by Nicaragua that they are not sending arms into the FMLN. And I will be prepared to discuss with keen definition exactly what our complaints are against the Nicaraguan support for FMLN, and I will accurately replay to him what Oscar Arias asked me to replay to him—his concerns about Cuba's role in all of this.

So, it would be a surprise to him if I didn't raise it. I don't think it has to be contentious because they've already made certain representations to us about not supporting the FMLN.

Q. And on El Salvador, it's been——

The President. What I'd like to do, see, what I'd love to do, is see them swing further over. They're talking about choice and free elections and all these things—I mean, let's apply that to this hemisphere. I don't think it has to be raised in a way that's going to blow something up, John. I think they expect to talk about it, and we expect to talk about it.

Q. On El Salvador, it's, I believe, been more than a week since we sent some experts down there. Are you assured in your own mind that forensic tests are going to show that there is absolutely no government involvement in the slaughter of the Jesuits, and convinced that the Cristiani government is playing on a level field with us?

The President. Well, I believe Cristiani when he says he wants to get to the bottom of it. He's asked for some technical help, he's gotten some, and it is absolutely essential that we keep insisting that the Cristiani government get to the bottom of those killings.

And having said that, I would like to express, lest the question not arise, my concern about the wanton attack by these FMLN guerrillas on the residences of Americans serving in official capacity there in El Salvador. That is unacceptable to us. And what I can do about it, I don't know.

So, get to the bottom of those who killed the priests, absolutely, and they owe us and the rest of the world an explanation on that. The killers must be brought to justice.

Secondly, the FMLN ought to stop shooting up civilian population and trying to undermine an elected government that's been through certifiably free elections. And I am outraged by the attacks on the lives of Americans—holding Americans in hotels, attacking Americans' residences. And so, I have outrage on both accounts.

NATO's Future

Q. If I could go back to Europe for a second, Mr. President. It's clear that the changes of this year somehow are going to alter the definition of what NATO and the Warsaw Pact are all about. Do you have some ideas or some thoughts about the longrun future of the alliances and how they ought to change to meet these new circumstances that you want to get across to Mr. Gorbachev?

The President. One of the things that is responsive in that area is, we began talking at the last meetings of NATO's role and concern on economic problems and on other global problems. That isn't to say that suddenly the mission changes one day from an alliance with strong military component to some economic structure. But I think as threats change, roles change, definitions change. And so again, it's too early to predict how all this will play out, but clearly it's moving in the right direction, and clearly it's moving in a way that should result in a permanent reduction of the tensions that have been the hallmark of the cold war days.

So, I think there's dramatic progress. But I'm sorry, but I still think there's reason to be prudent and cautious. Some others may label it differently, but those are the words I elect. And I have a funny feeling—I feel more strongly about that, Jerry, today than I did even 2 or 3 days ago before I started talking to our NATO friends and allies.

Eastern-Bloc Reforms

Q. I was just going to ask quickly about Czechoslovakia because that's where the latest changes have taken place. In your view, has enough happened there to begin the kind of integration and Western aid process that you've had in Poland and Hungary?

The President. Not yet. I think you have to see more development. It's obviously exciting. I'll try to be exhilarated here as I—this so—[*laughter*]—cameras aren't here, but I want you to report—[*laughter*]——

Q. You look exhilarated.

The President. Marlin told me the other day, "Lean forward—show that you're interested in all of this." [*Laughter*]

Q. Put on your glasses.

The President. Do something. Don't just sit there. [*Laughter*] I've taken the hits on being——

Q. So has Marlin.

The President. Well, he sits on your side, somebody's side, the camera's side. But where were we before I got off——

Q. Czechoslovakia.

The President. Events are still a little behind where they are on some of these others, but they're moving so fast. And I certainly like what I'm hearing, but I think—in answer to your question—the election process is, I'd say, inevitable, coming along. I mean, they're moving.

You take a look at someplace like Romania—I mean, my God, I'd like to see some action there. My heavens—correct that—I would like to see some action there. I'd like to see them come into the new world and not deprive their people of a chance to be independent and free. I mean, I don't know when that's going to come. We've sent a new Ambassador over there who is a friend of mine, and I sent him there because he is strong and tough and he knows of my conviction about democracy and freedom. I think Punch Green left yesterday, and if anybody can represent our viewpoint—mine, the President's—on this matter to Mr. Ceauşescu, I believe it's this man. So, we'll be trying, but it's so difficult there.

Czechoslovakia is ahead of that now. Moved faster than we think, but not as far along as certainly as Poland. Maybe in an economic sense, they're better, Jerry. They may have problems—in fact, they do—but I would say that they've got less scale, their problems are less intense on the economics front than Poland's. I mean, in my bet. Everyone thinks they've got——

Q. Get through the winter.

The President. ——these horrible problems.

So, there we are. But, no—and all of this, I think, will be discussed. And it isn't like I'm going with suggestions to do this about Czechoslovakia and that about Hungary. I want to know what Mr. Gorbachev thinks about this, how he sees it as affecting the Soviet Union itself. I'm one that's been around the track enough to know that there is no fine lines between intervening in the internal affairs of a country and having a frank discussion about the problems facing that country. And I hope Mr. Gorbachev knows that I know the difference, but I want it to be as free and full of discussion as possible. And I'm more concerned about his economic problems, not in some put-down sense or not in trying to be—hey, we've got a good economy and you don't—I mean, a one-upsman sense.

But how do we interact? What kind of reforms can the Soviet Union do so we can do more in terms of investment? Shevardnadze said the other day—somebody asked him about—I think the question was rather rudely put, I think—said something about, do you want the United States to bail you out? And he reacted as he should have reacted, with a certain sovereign pride, and said, "Wait a minute. That's not what this is all about."

So, we're not going there with an arrogance. I'm going in the spirit of inquiry and findings ways that we can help and be sure that everything moves forward so this change that the West has been advocating, and clearly the United States has—change towards freedom and democracy and the people governing themselves—I mean, it's all moving in the right direction, and we want to keep it going. And Gorbachev has played a very, very constructive role as these events have developed in Eastern Europe.

Arms Control

Q. I just wonder, Mr. President, if there's any chance that—or what your thinking is now on the possibilities of a CFE treaty next year and START treaty the following year? Do you think——

The President. I think we've got to push for them, and I will be obviously bringing those subjects up. I mean, the concept of our wanting to go ahead and conclude agreements there—and throw in chemical—I still am very much interested, and I think they are. I've gotten back from them a real interest in moving chemical forward. And it's not just our fault or theirs. We've got other parties that are very much interested in what we do, obviously, in chemical and CFE—I mean, these are multilateral. And some of the problems on the CFE are alliance problems—not just shifting the blame to the Soviet Union. So, we can talk about those things, and maybe we'll get some ideas as to how to move them along.

Q. Do you expect to sign something next year?

The President. I hope so. I think that should be our goal, absolutely.

World War II Peace Treaty

Q. Mr. President, do you think there needs to be a peace treaty formally ending World War II?

The President. Maureen, eventually, but these matters can all be discussed.

Q. Do you think there should be some sort of conference to work it out or something like that?

The President. We're having a conference at Malta to talk about not that subject per se but to talk about a wide array of subjects that will have an eventual bearing on this. I'm not one who believes that the status quo in Berlin, for example, or in the Germanys or in Western Europe, wherever else, has to always be that way. Status quo forever? No.

Q. You realize, of course, that Gorbachev is going to be in a state of grace, having just returned from the Vatican. [*Laughter*] He may take advantage of that. John knows what the state of grace is all about. Catholics—[*laughter*]——

The President. Look, Mashek, I want to tell you something. We're trying to separate church and state here. [*Laughter*]

Q. This is my first time wearing glasses. That's why I came——

The President. You've got good ones—no bifocals.

Q. It's a sure sign of age.

The President. What do you need them for? For close in?

Q. No, distance, I think.

The President. You don't need them for reading?

Q. Not yet.

The President. Wait until you get a little mileage on that old body.

Q. That's soon enough.

Malta

The President. Are you going? Are you guys all going?

Q. Yes.

The President. Where do you stay?

Q. Yes, that's what they tell us.

The President. I thought the island was only 17 miles long, from end to end.

Q. We're at the other end.

The President. Do you want to borrow my boat on Malta so you can——

Q. It doesn't sound like you're going to see much of Malta.

The President. No. The Prime Minister [Eddie Fenech Adami] sent me a beautiful book on Malta. It has marvelous pictures.

Q. How did you happen to think of it? Just because it's so close to Italy?

The President. Close, logistically close, and we'd had good reports from our little mission that my brother was on that went over there. I've met the Prime Minister. They are a small country respected by both parties. Certainly, I have a favorable feeling about what they've tried to do, and it seemed like it lends itself very nicely to this concept of a meeting aboard ships. We have some nice anchorage there. Nobody is going to be throwing up. [*Laughter*]

Q. Always a good point.

The President. We're thinking of the journalistic profession.

Q. Churchill—didn't he call it a tiny island of history and romance? Which is——

The President. Who said that? Gorbachev?

Q. No, Winston Churchill said it about Malta.

The President. Is that right?

Q. I think; I'll have to check the references, but that was it.

Governor Sununu. The President is very partial to falcons.

Q. Yes. There is a sign——

The President. I said to somebody, "Is there any fishing over there?" I thought I'd get a chance. And they said, "The best fishing in Malta is in the harbor where you are." I said, "You've got to be kidding. These ships, these great big ships?" He said, "Absolutely. This is where people go." So, I've got to figure out—I don't want to look frivolous. [*Laughter*]

Q. The portholes.

Q. CBS will catch you.

The President. CBS, are they still picking at you guys for coming in here?

Q. No.

Q. But that's good. [*Laughter*]

Q. This must be the first time you'll be sleeping on a ship in a while. Since your Navy days?

The President. No—well, it couldn't be since the Navy days—it may, it may be. Bar and I went on a cruise and—no, I've slept on a boat going down, with my son, down the Potomac River, taking my speedboat around to the Eastern Shore.

Mrs. Bush

Q. And your wife is not going on this trip?

The President. No.

Q. But Mrs. Gorbachev apparently is going.

The President. Yes. I don't know what the role will be. But Barbara has the Kennedy Center Honors, which is something that they—and it's a shipboard meeting, and it didn't seem to lend itself quite as much to the events, things of interest to her, literacy and all that, as other—where she and Mrs. Gorbachev might constructively interact on their interests. So, it didn't work out.

Q. But Mrs. Bush is okay?

The President. Oh, she's fine, thank you. No, she is. She got a good review yesterday. And she's still got it, she's still—this Grave's disease. But I said to the doctor, I said, "Is there any secret agenda on this? I mean, it just lags on?" He said, "Absolutely not." And they've got now Bethesda and Walter Reed and Mayo, and it's just a question of getting the proper balance with the drug or radiation or time. So, thank you for asking, but she—[*inaudible*]——

All right, gang. See you in Malta. I'll try to wave to you.

Note: The interview began at 11 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Participants included John Mashek of the Boston Globe, Tim McNulty of the Chicago Tribune, Maureen Santini of the New York Daily News, Jerry Seib of the Wall Street Journal, and Jerry Watson of the Chicago Sun-Times. Marlin Fitzwater was Press Secretary to the President, and John H. Sununu was Chief of Staff to the President. The interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 30. A tape was not available for verification of its contents.

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters on the Upcoming Meeting With Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at Malta

November 30, 1989

The President. In recent years, our relations with the Soviet Union have changed greatly, and clearly they've changed for the better. And tonight, I leave for the island nation of Malta and the historic meeting with Chairman Gorbachev. And I know many of you here have worked long and hard in preparations. We've had very thorough preparations, and I'm grateful to each and every one of you.

This meeting represents a point of departure, the beginning of a process as full of promise as any that we've known. And given the remarkable and rapid change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in this long but hopeful journey toward a Europe that is, indeed, whole and free.

Our dreams for this transformation began 40 years ago when the NATO alliance was formed in the hope that one day new freedom would finally belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it. In 1949 the people of Berlin searched the skies for the airplanes that would bring food and supplies through the blockade, and today the people of Berlin toast the dawn of a new Europe. Governments across Eastern Europe are undergoing extraordinary change and reform and acknowledging at last the citizens' right to choose.

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. And let there be no misunderstanding: We support *perestroika.* We support Chairman Gorbachev's efforts to relax the grip of the centralized government, to move toward pluralism and the free expression of ideas. No one can deny that there is a new openness in the Soviet Union—the change is dramatic.

Yesterday, I was gratified to see Chairman Gorbachev's rousing reception in Italy. I believe it demonstrates how deeply the people of Europe want to see change and reform continue to move forward. And I believe the people of Europe can see that Mr. Gorbachev and I, East and West, are not in some kind of competition; rather, we're both working to make the world a more peaceful one.

Last night, here at the White House, Barbara and I had dinner with Prime Minister Mulroney, and we spoke at length with him. And this morning, I had a similar chat with Prime Minister Andreotti of Italy who met just today with Chairman Gorbachev. And their comments to me—Mulroney and Andreotti—only reinforce my confidence that Mr. Gorbachev and I see eye to eye on what our upcoming meeting is all about. We both want to build a sustained relationship for real achievements over the long term. He is looking for ways to keep those reforms moving forward, and I'm looking for ways to promote democracy and freedom, and the one way is to support his efforts toward reform.

We can move beyond containment in the U.S.-Soviet relation, and we can find areas of shared concern and mutual advantage. Above all, we can work toward a level of European security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime. It is in that spirit that I will be talking to Chairman Gorbachev about our hopes, our concerns, and our aspirations for the future.

Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity made possible by a continuing American commitment to the alliance and its defense. The last decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era, the gateway to a new millennium of freedom, and yet the outcome is not predestined. It depends on our continued solidarity as an alliance and as an American people committed to providing leadership, protection, and encouragement for this process of peaceful transformation.

So, as envoys for positive, productive change, Chairman Gorbachev and I can contribute to a new Europe born in our lifetime—a Europe where self-determination replaces coercion, where individual freedom replaces centralized control, and a lasting peace is preserved by a common respect for the rights of man. And in that spirit, I will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction, and real hope.

And I thank you, and God bless you, and God bless freedom-loving people everywhere. This is a historic moment. And thank you all very, very much.

Q. Mr. President, why didn't you mention El Salvador?

Q. Mr. President, are you ready for any possible surprises by President Gorbachev?

The President. I'm ready for this meeting, ready and confident.

Q. Why didn't you mention El Salvador, sir?

The President. And it will be discussed.

Note: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement on Signing the Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1990

November 30, 1989

I have today signed H.R. 2748, the "Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1990." The Act authorizes appropriations at approximately the level contained in my Fiscal Year 1990 budget request for the intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government during the current fiscal year. The Nation's security depends on intelligence, and secrecy is indispensable if intelligence activities are to succeed. Accordingly, the programs and funding levels for which the Act provides are classified.

Inspectors General render useful and important service in ensuring integrity in Government. I believe that the existing Office of Inspector General has done an able job of performing the functions that H.R. 2748 assigns to the new statutory Inspector General. As a result, I have repeatedly made clear that I am unpersuaded of the necessity for Title VIII of the Act, which establishes a statutory Inspector General at the CIA. A statutory Inspector General could impair the ability of the CIA to collect vitally needed intelligence information by creating a perception that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. The CIA must be able to assure foreign individuals and organizations that their identities, the fact of their association with the United States, and the information they provide are not subject to exposure.

I nevertheless have signed H.R. 2748 because Title VIII includes three provisions enabling me and the Director of Central Intelligence to minimize the harm Title VIII otherwise would do to the national security and the effectiveness of the CIA. These provisions require the Inspector General to report directly to the Director, under whose general supervision he will operate; permit the Director to prohibit Inspector General investigations if necessary to protect vital national security interests; and require the Inspector General to take due regard for the protection of intelligence sources and methods. We intend vigorously to assert these authorities. Further, I rely on the Congress's assurances in the Joint Explanatory Statement, which indicate that the Congress will not frequently seek access to Inspector General reports. Finally, insofar as Title VIII could be construed to conflict with my authority and responsibility under the Constitution, I shall interpret Title VIII consistently with the Constitution.

In implementing Title VIII the operational policies of the existing Office of Inspector General will remain in force to the maximum extent possible. The Office of the Inspector General will remain a staff function supporting the Director of Central Intelligence; it will not become a line organization. Moreover, the Office of Inspector General should be staffed by individuals knowledgeable and experienced in intelligence operations.

The congressional reporting provisions in Title VIII of the Act are troubling. In particular, the requirement to provide, on demand, inspection, audit, and investigation reports of the statutory Inspector General is a departure from existing law governing statutory Inspectors General in other agencies and departments. The quality of such reports depends on the willingness of Agency employees to be candid during confidential interviews, and the promise of confidentiality would be cast in doubt if these reports are routinely provided to the Congress. Knowing that inspection reports would be given to the Congress also could deter CIA managers and employees from offering conflicting views or innovative suggestions. The value of inspection reports to the Director of Central Intelligence and the Agency, therefore, could diminish.

While the Act admonishes the Inspector General "to take due regard for the protection of intelligence sources and methods in the preparation of all reports," and "to minimize the disclosure of intelligence sources and methods described in such reports," the Director must retain some discretion to protect any sensitive national security information the Inspector General may leave unprotected. In the closely related Inspector General Act, the Congress understood that such reporting requirements cannot be construed to extinguish the executive's constitutional authority to protect certain confidential information.

To ensure that CIA employees continue to communicate candidly with the Inspector General and that the CIA's ability to collect intelligence is not impaired, I expect that the Director of Central Intelligence will exercise his authority, where necessary, to protect sensitive intelligence and confidential Inspector General information and will resist any attempt by the Intelligence Committees to micromanage the CIA through the vehicle of a statutory Inspector General. The Director of Central Intelligence will have my complete support in implementation of Title VIII in a manner that will protect the effectiveness of our intelligence service.

The Act also requires that the Inspector General immediately report to the Intelligence Committees whenever he cannot resolve differences with the Director, when an investigation focuses on the Director or Acting Director, or when the Inspector General cannot obtain significant documentary information in the course of an investigation. In addition to raising concerns about the disclosure of confidential national security information, this provision potentially could undermine the President's authority over the deliberative processes of the executive branch long recognized by the Supreme Court. I therefore shall interpret this and similar provisions consistently with my constitutional authority to withhold information that would compromise national security or the deliberative processes of the executive branch.

In addition to these concerns, provisions regarding appointment and removal of the Inspector General must be carefully construed to avoid constitutional problems. The Act purports to define qualifications that any appointee to the position of Inspector General must satisfy. The Constitution, however, clearly distinguishes the responsibilities of the executive and legislative branches in the appointment of principal officers of the United States: the President enjoys absolute discretion of appointment, subject only to the advice and consent of the Senate. Accordingly, I sign this legislation on the understanding that the limitations on my discretion to appoint the Inspector General are merely advisory.

I also am concerned about the Act's requirement that, on removing the Inspector General from office, the President "shall immediately communicate in writing to the intelligence committees the reasons for any such removal." While this requirement purports to preserve the President's constitutional authority to remove an executive branch subordinate, its obvious effect is to burden its exercise. Accordingly, while I intend to communicate my reasons in the event I remove an Inspector General, I shall do so as a matter of comity rather than statutory obligation.

I have signed H.R. 2748 subject to the understandings set forth above. If these steps do not obviate the potential problems of having a statutory Inspector General at the CIA, I shall ask the Congress to enact remedial legislation.

The Act incorporates a requirement that I obtain prior committee approval before certain funds authorized by this Act may be expended for certain specified activities. While I do not foresee undertaking those activities without committee concurrence, I note that, as a principle of constitutional law, the Congress cannot require me to obtain its prior approval before obligating or expending appropriated funds. *See Immigration and Naturalization Service* v. *Chadha,* 462 U.S. 919 (1983).

Finally, I am pleased that the Act contains no new provision concerning notice to the Congress of covert actions. I described how my Administration will take account of congressional concerns with respect to such notice in a letter to Senators Cohen and Boren of October 30, 1989. I stated: "The statute requires prior notice or, when no prior notice is given, timely notice. I anticipate that in almost all instances, prior notice will be possible. In those rare instances where prior notice is not provided, I anticipate that notice will be provided within a few days. Any withholding beyond this period would be based upon my assertion of the authorities granted this office by the Constitution."

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 30, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2748, approved November 30, was assigned Public Law No. 101–193.

Memorandum of Disapproval for the Bill Providing Emergency Chinese Immigration Relief

November 30, 1989

In light of the actions I have taken in June and again today, I am withholding my approval of H.R. 2712, the "Emergency Chinese Immigration Relief Act of 1989." These actions make H.R. 2712 wholly unnecessary.

I share the objectives of the overwhelming majority in the Congress who passed this legislation. Within hours of the events of Tiananmen Square in June, I ordered the Attorney General to ensure that no nationals from the People's Republic of China be deported against their will, and no such nationals have been deported. Since June, my Administration has taken numerous additional and substantive actions to further guarantee this objective.

Today I am extending and broadening these measures to provide the same protections as H.R. 2712. I am directing the Attorney General and the Secretary of State to provide additional protections to persons covered by the Attorney General's June 6th order deferring the enforced departure for nationals of China. These protections will include: (1) irrevocable waiver of the 2-year home country residence requirement which may be exercised until January 1, 1994; (2) assurance of continued lawful immigration status for individuals who were lawfully in the United States on June 5, 1989; (3) authorization for employment of Chinese nationals present in the United States on June 5, 1989; and (4) notice of expiration of nonimmigrant status, rather than institution of deportation proceedings, for individuals eligible for deferral of enforced departure whose nonimmigrant status has expired.

In addition, I have directed that enhanced consideration be provided under the immigration laws for individuals from any country who express a fear of persecution upon return to their country related to that country's policy of forced abortion or coerced sterilization.

These further actions will provide effectively the same protection as would H.R. 2712 as presented to me on November 21, 1989. Indeed, last June I exercised my authority to provide opportunity for employment to a wider class of Chinese aliens than the statute would have required. My action today provides complete assurance that the United States will provide to Chinese nationals here the protection they deserve.

It has always been my view, and it is my policy as President, that the United States shall not return any person to a country where he or she faces persecution.

I have under current law sufficient authority to provide the necessary relief for Chinese students and others who fear returning to China in the near future. I will continue to exercise vigorously this authority. Waivers granted under this authority will not be revoked.

Maintaining flexibility in administering our productive student and scholar exchange program with China is important. As many as 80,000 Chinese have studied and conducted research in the United States since these exchanges began. I want to see these exchanges continue because it is in the national interest of the United States to promote the exchange of technical skills and ideas between Chinese and Americans. It is my hope that by acting administratively, we will help foster the continuation of these programs.

My actions today accomplish the laudable objectives of the Congress in passing H.R. 2712 while preserving my ability to manage foreign relations. I would note that, with respect to individuals expressing a fear of persecution related to their country's coercive family policies, my actions today provide greater protection than would H.R. 2712 by extending such protection worldwide rather than just to Chinese nationals. Despite my strong support for the basic principles of international family planning, the United States cannot condone any policy involving forced abortion or coercive sterilization.

I deplore the violence and repression employed in the Tiananmen events. I believe that China, as its leaders state, will return to the policy of reform pursued before June 3. I further believe that the Chinese visitors would wish to return to China in those circumstances, in which case I would hope that the knowledge and experience gained by the Chinese visitors temporarily in our country be applied to help promote China's reforms and modernization.

The adjournment of the Congress has prevented my return of H.R. 2712 within the meaning of Article I, section 7, clause 2 of the Constitution. Accordingly, my withholding of approval from the bill precludes its becoming law. *The Pocket Veto Case*, 279 U.S. 655 (1929). Because of the questions raised in opinions issued by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, I am sending H.R. 2712 with my objections to the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 30, 1989.

Statement on the Disapproval of the Bill Providing Emergency Chinese Immigration Relief

November 30, 1989

On the 5th of June, following the tragic events in China, I took action to guard against the chance that any Chinese student would be forcibly returned to face persecution.

Today I reemphasize my commitment—as I have told Chinese students in America, and as I have told Congress—to never allow any action that would force the return of Chinese students if their lives or liberty are at risk. Because of this firm commitment, I am supportive of the humanitarian principles underlying H.R. 2712.

For these same humanitarian reasons, I have today taken administrative action that will offer the same protections as those provided for in H.R. 2712. I have instructed the Attorney General to take the steps necessary to extend administratively to all Chinese students in the United States the same benefits that H.R. 2712 would have extended. In addition, last June I exercised my authority to provide opportunity for employment to a wider class of Chinese aliens than the bill would have required. And going further than the bill's provisions concerning asylum cases arising in connection with policies of forced abortion and coerced sterilization, I have also instructed the Attorney General to ensure that, rather than single out one country, this provision is implemented administratively and in such a way as to offer this protection to *all* foreign nationals, regardless of their country of origin.

Because these administrative steps make it unnecessary, I have at the same time disapproved H.R. 2712. My administration has opposed congressional micromanagement of foreign policy. Such legislation puts America in a straitjacket and can render us incapable of responding to changing circumstances. H.R. 2712 is inconsistent with this policy.

Chinese and other foreign visitors should know that this is not an expedient or temporary action but one reflecting fundamental American humanitarian values. I will always adhere to the principle that no one will be returned forcibly to a country where he or she faces persecution. America will always stand with freedom-loving men and women around the world.

Statement on Signing the Ethics Reform Act of 1989

November 30, 1989

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3660, the "Ethics Reform Act of 1989," which contains important reforms that strengthen Federal ethical standards. It is based on the legislation that I sent to the Congress last April, the recommendations of the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform, and the report of the House Bipartisan Ethics Task Force.

Key reforms in the Act include: the extension of post-employment "revolving door" restrictions to the legislative branch; a ban on receipt of honoraria by Federal employees (except the Senate); limitations on outside earned income for higher-salaried, noncareer employees in all branches; increased financial disclosure; creation of conflict-of-interest rules for legislative branch staff; and limitations on gifts and travel.

Together, these measures go far to carry out the four ethics reform principles I set forth in January. I stated then that our Federal ethics standards should be:

- exacting enough to ensure that public officials act with the utmost integrity and warrant the public's confidence;
- fair, objective, and consistent with common sense;
- equitable all across the three branches of the Federal Government; and
- not unreasonably restrictive so as to discourage able citizens from entering public service.

The Act also includes important adjustments to compensation for all three branches of Government.

To avoid constitutional concerns, I will view as advisory the section calling for the President to recommend to the Congress equal rates of pay for different positions. I will similarly construe as advisory the provisions allowing officials lacking executive powers to issue interpretative opinions purporting to insulate Federal employees from the consequences of potentially violative acts.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
November 30, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3660, approved November 30, was assigned Public Law No. 101–194.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Banning of Panamanian-Flag Vessels From United States Ports

November 30, 1989

President Bush has directed that Panamanian-flag vessels not be permitted to enter U.S. ports after January 31, 1990. This measure will deny Noriega and his puppet regime tens of millions of dollars of revenue. Noriega's cronies will also be deprived of millions of dollars of illegal income in the form of bribes and kickbacks.

This ban is consistent with international efforts to further isolate the Noriega regime, which is currently shunned by the democratic nations of Latin America and around the world. The resolution of the recently concluded General Assembly of the Organization of American States was sharply critical of the Noriega regime and is only one example of the international condemnation of Noriega. The President has made it very clear that there will be no accommodation with the illegal Panamanian regime.

The United States will continue various efforts designed to assist the Panamanian people in their endeavor to bring about Noriega's departure and the establishment of democratic institutions responsive to the will of the people.

The United States regrets the hardships which Noriega has brought to the people of Panama, who deserve to be led by a government of their choice. The United States will continue to exercise its rights and comply with its obligations under the Panama Canal treaties and looks forward to a time when it can work closely with a democratically elected, constitutional government in Panama dedicated to serving the interests and welfare of the Panamanian people.

Statement on the Observance of World AIDS Day

November 30, 1989

On December 1, World AIDS Day, there will be a commemoration in Washington to remember all those with HIV infection and all who have died from it. The end result of this infection, AIDS, has been diagnosed in over 112,000 people in this country as of October 1989, and 65,000 people have died since the beginning of the epidemic. Though the problem is great and taxing our health care system now, far greater difficulties await us in terms of human suffering and provision of health care.

We have committed resources at an unprecedented rate to HIV-related research of all kinds. Though there is no cure for AIDS at present, we will continue the most vigorous research efforts. At the same time, we must also educate and prevent. The disease is spread through known ways, and it is clear that education on the facts is our best means of combating AIDS at this time.

Finally, we must remember those Americans who have become infected with the virus, including some who may be unaware of their infection. These people need our help and our compassion. Our hearts go out to those afflicted, as our heads work towards finding solutions. In the meantime, we must continue to educate those around us regarding the prevention of this terrible disease.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on an Attempted Coup in the Philippines

November 30, 1989

We reiterate the unequivocal support of the U.S. Government for Philippine democracy and the government of President Corazon Aquino. We strongly condemn the effort to destabilize the elected Philippine Government. According to U.S. law, all U.S. foreign assistance to the Philippines would be suspended if the elected government of the Philippines were removed by a military coup.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Military Assistance for the Philippines

December 1, 1989

At the request of President Aquino, the President has authorized U.S. military assistance to the Government of the Philippines in defending itself against a coup attempt. This assistance is intended to allow the democratically elected government of the Philippines to restore order. The President also is determined to protect the lives of Americans in the Philippines.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the 1990 Houston Economic Summit

December 1, 1989

President Bush will host the 1990 summit of the seven major industrialized nations July 9–11, 1990, in Houston, TX. The economic summit is the sole forum for the leaders of the world's largest industrial democracies to discuss economic issues and review other key international issues. Participating in the Houston economic summit will be Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Commission of the European Communities.

The President has designated Frederic V. Malek to serve as Director of the summit, with the personal rank of Ambassador. In that capacity he will oversee preparations for and staging of the meeting. Mr. Malek is currently president of Northwest Airlines and cochairman of Coldwell Banker Commercial Group.

The President has also designated Richard T. McCormack, Under Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs, as his Personal Representative ("sherpa") for preparation of policy aspects of the economic summit. Mr. McCormack served in a similar capacity during this year's summit in Paris.

Exchange With Reporters in Valletta, Malta, on an Attempted Coup in the Philippines

December 1, 1989

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what military assistance you're providing the Philippines, sir?

The President. I'm not going to go into the detail of it, but we're doing what has been requested of us. And we are hopeful that the matter will be contained. It's hard to get proper reports out of there because there seems to be a good deal of fighting.

Q. How do you justify the use of troops, sir?

The President. I didn't tell you I'd justified the use of troops.

Q. We understand that there's been air cover provided. Is it just air cover that they've——

The President. That's what I've authorized.

Q. What is the condition——

Q. Have you talked to Mrs. Aquino?

The President. The Vice President talked to her just a few minutes ago—or a couple of hours ago.

Q. And is she all right?

The President. Sounded fine, he said, and very grateful for the call and very grateful for the assistance. And seemed to be confident, but that was a couple of hours ago.

Note: The exchange began at 10:30 a.m. in the Prime Minister's office at l'Auberge de Castille, prior to a meeting with Prime Minister Eddie Fenech Adami of Malta.

Joint Statement of the United States and Malta on the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Eddie Fenech Adami in Valletta

December 1, 1989

At their meeting in Malta on Friday, 1 December 1989, the Prime Minister of Malta, Edward Fenech-Adami, and the President of the United States, George Bush, hoped that the discussions in Malta on 2–3 December 1989 between President Bush and the Soviet Leader, President Gorbachev, would promote an era of global peace and security as well as advance the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world.

The Prime Minister expressed, on behalf of the Maltese nation, extreme pride and satisfaction that President Bush and President Gorbachev had agreed to hold their historic meeting in the Maltese harbour.

In the context of an exchange of views on international issues, President Bush and the Prime Minister welcomed the momentous events in Eastern Europe and agreed on the importance of the arms control negotiations currently underway.

The Prime Minister and the President expressed particular satisfaction that relations between Malta and the United States, historically friendly, had been strengthened in recent years and were presently very close.

The President praised the respect in which democratic practices were held in Malta as well as Malta's active involvement in international environmental issues. In support of Malta's economic development, OPIC and the Commerce Department will bring Malta's investment opportunities to the attention of potential American investors. The President looked forward to the reintroduction of Peace Corps volunteers into Malta.

The Prime Minister expressed gratitude for the technical cooperation already extended in the educational and training programs for officers of the Maltese armed forces and to government officials involved in the war against drug trafficking and other forms of illicit trade. The President appreciated the efforts by the Maltese authorities to strengthen Malta's maritime patrol capabilities, particularly in and around Malta's waters, and to this end, supported the provision of U.S. help and cooperation.

The President expressed thanks to the Prime Minister of the full cooperation extended by the Government of Malta in the preparations made with regard to his meeting with the Soviet President.

Note: The President met with Prime Minister Fenech Adami at 10:35 a.m. at l'Auberge de Castille.

Remarks to the Crew and Guests on the U.S.S. *Forrestal* in Malta

December 1, 1989

Hello, fellow Navy men, and hello to the sons of the U.S.S. *Forrestal*. I'm delighted to be here. And to those others that are visiting here from other ships in the battle group. And to Captain Thomassy—thank you, sir, for that kind introduction. Admiral Howe and Vice Admiral Williams, Rear Admiral "Sweet Pea" Allen, friends. You guys be seated, please. No chairs? Then keep standing—never mind. [*Laughter*]

I'm pleased to be here. Just shows how far one will go in the world—I'll leave no place unexplored in my quest to catch a fish. [*Laughter*] These remarks will be relatively brief. I say that because I know your jobs—having seen these operations—don't leave too much room for speeches, after all. Also on a ship you can't stand still for long. Anything that doesn't move gets painted, as I remember it. [*Laughter*] I can tell fresh paint when I've seen it, but thanks for the welcome, anyway.

I know, too, that some of you have meals to eat. Frankly, I'd like to get Chairman Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like. [*Laughter*] Maybe not—[*laughter*]—what I'm trying to do is ease tensions. [*Laughter*]

No, we had a great meal down there. But I know—I'll be brief because I know there are other priorities, like getting ready, as America is, for a certain football event next Saturday. Just this morning I was talking with a "BB stacker." And I told him I hope my meeting with Chairman Gorbachev means that fierce adversaries will never again clash on the field of battle. He said: "You mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game?" [*Laughter*]

Well, I'm not. And I know that next Saturday Americans will be rooting for both sides, just like nearly half a century ago, in this very part of the Mediterranean, young sailors like yourselves were taking sides on different circumstances. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the Armed Forces of America and her allies, daring greatly, fighting valiantly, so that freedom could prevail. And for more than two centuries now, the Navy has been a defender of that freedom, proclaiming the inevitability of democracy, living on "the tip of the spear." Think back: Nimitz and Halsey, Commodore Perry, battles like Midway and Leyte Gulf and the battle of the Philippine Sea, and of America's enlisted men and women who expressed our deepest values and our character as a people.

I met with Mr. Akhromeyev of the Soviet Union, the former Defense Minister in charge of all the military. And the thing he commented on was the quality and the ability of the enlisted men and women in the service of the United States, particularly in the Navy, because he had an opportunity to go out and visit on one of the ships.

I'm a Navy man—or was. And I confess that certain things haven't changed since I joined up as a seaman second class. I assume that maids still come into the quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. [*Laughter*] And I know you have "gator," "snipes," and "grapes." You know, I love this. Let's hear it from the "grapes." Well, there are not many of them around. [*Applause*] You know, I love this navy jargon. I'm sometimes tempted to use it there at the White House. It's just that some of the Congressmen might be a little leery if I asked them to join me for "mid'rats."

And then there's the sailors' zest for off-duty hours. That, too, endures. I hear by the grapevine that you missed a few days of liberty sitting off the coast of France in bad weather. And far be it from me to criticize the exuberance that you showed when you finally hit town. [*Laughter*] Don't worry, I can repair and be sure that our good relations with France are restored again. [*Laughter*]

Some things haven't changed. It's true that my generation was charged with winning a war and yours is charged with preserving a peace, but both want to protect freedom—and that hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace—the peace which lasts—is not an accident. Lasting peace takes planning and patience and personal sacrifice. And it takes a partnership with our allies, who are resolute in the defense of liberty. Lasting peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military; and from nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, make temporary peace permanent. Those lessons helped our generation win World War II; and today they bring me, and I believe Chairman Gorbachev, too, to our 2 days of talks—a meeting for your generation and all the generations to come.

There's a painting in the White House, upstairs in the little office I have there. It portrays the decency and humanity of one of our greatest leaders. I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents, and I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln with two generals and an admiral meeting on a boat near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, in this picture, the battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow—symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? "The Peacemakers."

For me, and I think for Barbara, too, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph and that ours can be a future free of both tyranny and fear. Our fellow democracies share our hope for such a future. We want the Soviet Union opposed—we've been adversaries; now we want the Soviet Union to join us in building that kind of future. And that's why I'm meeting, starting tomorrow, with Chairman Gorbachev. For the times are on the side of peace. And there are important reasons why that's true.

One of them is that 40 years ago the NATO alliance was formed in the hope that freedom would one day belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for freedom. Because NATO remained vigilant, strong, and united, this meeting is taking place.

And the alliance has been strengthened by America's enduring commitment to its protection. America has been, and remains, a shining champion of liberty. And because of that, this meeting is taking place.

And finally, this meeting is taking place because you have done your jobs; you have done your duty. And you and sailors like you all around the world have kept us strong and helped the horizons of democracy eclipse nation and race. Because of you, freedom is sweeping the globe. Our meeting here off Malta will last 2 days, but the freedoms that we seek must last for generations.

You know, with these recent and extraordinary changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe, I've been thinking of those freedoms. And at no time—no time—more than when that Berlin Wall began to crumble, began to open. And I remember how, shortly after that—maybe you guys saw it on the television, the breaking of the wall—right after that, Chancellor Kohl, Federal Republic of Germany, called me at the White House. And he asked me to thank each American and said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would not be occurring without the steadfast support of the United States.

Warm praise from a good friend, praise which belongs to you. And I recalled that conversation when last week the Foreign Minister of Germany, Mr. Genscher, came to see Secretary Baker and me. He visited the White House, and he praised our devotion to freedom. And he gave me a gift for the American people, and it's a piece of the Berlin Wall. And it's on my desk as a reminder of the power of freedom—freedom to bring down the walls between people.

Fellow Navy men, I treasure that memento, and it shows what can happen when Americans stick to their principles. And we will not yield on those principles. And yet we all recognize a dynamic new Soviet leader willing, as Lincoln said, to think anew; and we want him to succeed because we do admire the people in the Soviet Union, and we know that ours is an historic opportunity to foster the peace.

So, I thought I would give to *Forrestal* a symbol of peace. It, too, comes from the Berlin wall and embodies this weekend spirit of cooperation. It shows how we can be peacemakers. And on behalf of each American, let me say it now belongs to you. I want to hand to your able captain to put on display here on this ship this little piece of the Berlin Wall as a symbol of the peace that we seek, the peace that you have helped make possible. Captain, I present this to you.

Let me close then with a moment that not many of you here are old enough to remember, but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It was on D–day, as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force. He said: "You're about to embark upon a great crusade. The eyes of the world are on you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking." Like the men of D–day, you, too, are the hope of "liberty-loving people everywhere," as the Navy has been in wartime and in peacetime, keeping our hearts aflight and our faith unyielding, sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep in theirs.

Today the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you and those who have gone before you have done to keep America's defenses up. And so, thank you for that, for writing still-new pages in the history of America and of her Navy. God bless you, God bless our "great and noble undertaking," and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. in the hangar bay of the ship. In his remarks, he referred to Capt. Louis E. Thomassy, Jr., commanding officer of the ship; Adm. Jonathan T. Howe, commander in chief of U.S. naval forces in Europe; Vice Adm. James D. Williams, commander of the U.S. 6th Fleet; and Rear Adm. Richard C. Allen, commander of Carrier Group 6. Prior to his remarks, the President visited the flight deck, watched aircraft launch and recovery demonstrations, and had lunch with crewmembers in the enlisted men's mess. After his stay on the ship, the President went to the U.S.S. "Belknap," his residence during his meetings with Soviet Chairman Gorbachev.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meetings With Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta

December 1, 1989

President Bush was very impressed by his reception on the *Forrestal*. As a former naval officer, he relished the enthusiasm of the crew and also identified with the naval aviators. On board Marine One, from the *Forrestal* to the *Belknap*, the President received another update from General Scowcroft on the status of the situation in the Philippines. General Scowcroft said that President Aquino feels her situation is improving. The government forces had retaken one of the airfields. Other troublespots were being cleaned up. However, at that time, it must be said that the coup attempt was still in progress.

On the *Belknap*, the President went immediately to his quarters, Room NTD 02–78–2, the admiral's quarters. A new brass plaque had been placed on the door reading "President Bush." The President's quarters include three rooms: an office and lounging area, a bedroom with double bed and lounge chair, and a conference room. The suite has a deep-blue carpet, blue leather furniture, and a mahogany desk with U.S. and Soviet flags in the same holder. The small office area also includes a coffeemaker, three telephones, a desk pen set on a brass submarine, pictures of the fleet under full steam, and other photographs of Adm. J.D. Williams with his friends. President Bush exchanged his suit coat for a royal blue NASA jacket, given to him by astronauts. It has a U.S. flag on one shoulder, Presidential patch on the other.

At approximately 3:30 the President convened a meeting of his advisers, including Secretary James Baker, Governor John Sununu, General Brent Scowcroft, Marlin Fitzwater, Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Under Secretary of State Reginald Bartholemew, Robert Zoellick, Assistant Secretary Raymond Seitz, Margaret Tutwiler, Robert Blackwill, Condoleezza Rice, and General Graves. The meeting convened in the ward room, around a long table with a blue tablecloth and small holders with U.S. and Soviet flags.

The briefing focused on the first meetings Saturday morning: format, content, and major discussion points. The President and the Chairman will have consecutive translation, and President Bush is expected to offer the opening presentation. The President commended the team for their extensive preparatory work and their organization of issues to be discussed. The President plans to lay out a number of issues that represent U.S. interests in the Soviet Union, and which will demonstrate the U.S. desire for progress and improvement in East-West relations.

The two delegations at tomorrow's meeting will be: On the U.S. side: The President, Secretary Baker, Governor Sununu, General Scowcroft, Robert Blackwill, and interpreter; and on the Soviet side: President Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, A. Yakovlev, A. Bessmertnykh, A. Chernyayev, A. Dobrynin, S. Akhromeyev, and interpreter.

The President is eager for the meetings to begin. I will try to provide a readout, either written or to the pool, following Saturday morning's session. In addition, I will brief at the filing center Saturday night, at a time dependent upon the conclusion of the dinner.

Note: In the statement, Press Secretary Fitzwater referred to Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Paul B. Wolfowitz, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; Reginald Bartholemew, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology; Robert B. Zoellick, Counselor of the Department of State; Raymond G.H. Seitz, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs; Margaret Tutwiler, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Spokesman of the Department; Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Condoleezza Rice, Director for Soviet and Eastern European Affairs at the National Security Council; Lt. Gen. Howard D. Graves, Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, Secretary and Chairman of the International Policy Commission of the Soviet Central Committee; Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Anatoliy S. Chernyayev, foreign policy adviser; Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, foreign policy adviser; and Sergey F. Akhromeyev, principal military adviser to Chairman Gorbachev.

Statements by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meetings With Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta
December 2, 1989

The President called Vice President Quayle at approximately 6:30 p.m. last evening for an update on the situation in the Philippines. The Vice President reported that the situation is improving. The President got up at 7 a.m. this morning and had breakfast with Secretary Baker, Governor Sununu, and General Scowcroft. The President received a detailed report on the situation in the Philippines. He also received his regular intelligence briefing.

Overnight the winds picked up in Marsaxlokk Bay, Malta, where the cruiser *Belknap* and the Soviet cruiser *Slava* are anchored about 400 yards apart. Maximum sustained winds in the early morning hours were 30–36 knots from the northeast, with gusts up to 42 knots. The two ships, both of which are anchored at the bow and stern, dragged their stern anchors. The relative position of the two ships remains the same. There was no danger to anyone aboard *Belknap* as a result of the high winds. However, the winds make it difficult to disembark from launches at the *Slava* and the *Belknap*. Therefore, this morning's first meeting has been shifted to the Soviet ship *Gorky* at anchor in Malta. The ceremonial activities will be canceled. The first meeting will begin at 10 a.m.

President Bush and Chairman Gorbachev spent approximately 5 hours together onboard the Soviet cruise liner *Gorky*, from 10:05 a.m. to 3 p.m. In the first expanded meeting, which included the full Soviet and U.S. delegations, President Bush and Chairman Gorbachev had a very productive, informal, and substantive meeting. They covered a wide range of issues of interest to their two countries.

President Bush spoke for more than an hour to open the meeting, laying out more than a dozen ideas for economic and political progress in U.S.-Soviet relations. The discussion ranged from the economic situation in Eastern Europe to arms control and Central America. Chairman Gorbachev spoke at length of *perestroika* and the goals of his reform program. The President emphasized his support for the success of *perestroika*. He set forth his ideas as a broad framework for actions that would help the two nations work together for peace and prosperity.

The expanded bilateral lasted until after noon. Attending the expanded bilateral were President Bush, Secretary Baker, Governor Sununu, General Scowcroft, Marlin Fitzwater, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Paul Wolfowitz, Counselor to the Department of State Robert Zoellick, and Robert Blackwill. On the Soviet side attending were Chairman Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, A. Yakovlev, A. Bessmertnykh, A. Chernyayev, A. Dobrynin, S. Akhromeyev, and Gennadiy Gerasimov.

Immediately after the expanded bilateral, the two leaders began a one-on-one session, with notetakers, which lasted until nearly 1:30 p.m. The President and the Chairman had lunch aboard the *Gorky*, so that their conversation was almost continuous from 10:05 a.m. until 3 p.m. The meetings were marked by a spirit of forward-looking cooperation during these increasingly changing times. They recognized that economic and political challenges were ahead for Eastern Europe and vowed to consider the opportunities presented with sensitivity and firm initiative.

President Bush and his party returned to *Belknap* immediately after the luncheon. The barge rolled somewhat through the high seas and was able to tie up alongside *Belknap* at about 3:30 p.m. President Bush sat in the front seat near the helm and said he enjoyed the sea experience. The President thought the morning session was extremely productive and looks forward to this evening's meeting. Tentative plans are to return to the *Gorky* at approximately 5:30 p.m. for another expanded meeting and then have dinner on the *Gorky*. Due to the high seas, the President suggested that the second meeting and the dinner be held on the *Gorky*.

Due to weather conditions, plans to leave *Belknap* have been delayed until at least 8 p.m. The possibility of leaving the ship at that time will be assessed in terms of dinner plans and another meeting.

At 11:44 a.m., the commanding officer of *Belknap* ordered his crew to slip the stern anchor, and the ship has been steaming toward the bow anchor, a better holding position. When the wind subsides, the stern anchor will be reset. *Slava* is holding her position with the help of tugs on the bow and stern. Weather forecasters on the two ships are sharing information. The wind has caused 3- to 4-foot seas inside the sheltered harbor. Seas outside the harbor are 16 feet and building. The forecast calls for the low pressure cell to move east, away from Malta, allowing winds to decrease to 20–25 knots tonight and tomorrow.

The President has been viewing the storm from the bridge and has been considering possible alternatives for other meetings tonight or tomorrow. President Bush has been in contact with officials in Washington. All communications aboard *Belknap* are working. The President has received an update on the situation in the Philippines and has discussed other international issues.

I am offering an exclusive Presidential interview to any reporter who can get to *Belknap* in the next 15 minutes. Any reporter who swims will be granted three interviews.

Due to the high winds and heavy seas, the Soviet delegation will not be coming to *Belknap* for dinner, nor will the U.S. delegation go to the *Gorky*. Therefore, the dinner and afternoon meeting were canceled. The President and the U.S. delegation will remain on *Belknap* for the night. We expect Sunday's schedule to be maintained as originally planned. I will brief tomorrow morning at a time to be arranged with the Soviets.

We are disappointed that the Soviet delegation was unable to join us for dinner on *Belknap* due to the storm. We look forward to tomorrow's meetings. We also regret that we were unable to visit the *Slava* for this afternoon's meeting. We feel this has been a very productive day in terms of the 5-hour meeting this morning. The 60 mile-per-hour winds preclude any movements off the ship this evening, but they have made for a very exciting afternoon sail.

Note: Four statements were issued during the day by Press Secretary Fitzwater. In the statements, he referred to John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, Secretary and Chairman of the International Policy Commission of the Soviet Central Committee; Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Anatoliy S. Chernyayev, foreign policy adviser; Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, foreign policy adviser; Sergey F. Akhromeyev, principal military adviser to Chairman Gorbachev; and Gennadiy Gerasimov, Chief of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate on United States Military Assistance to the Philippines

December 2, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In the early morning of December 1, 1989 (local time), a coup attempt was launched against the constitutional government of the Philippines. The coup began when rebel forces, apparently under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Gregorio Honasan, seized Villamor Air Force Base adjacent to Aquino International Airport in Manila. Over the next twelve hours, rebel forces attacked Philippine military installations, broadcasting stations, and other government facilities. Rebel forces also seized the Philippine Sangley Point Naval Station and other installations. Rebel controlled aircraft bombed and strafed the presidential palace and the Constabulary Headquarters. In this context, President Aquino formally requested limited U.S. military assistance to support her forces as they attempted to put down the coup.

In response to this request, shortly after midnight on December 1 (Washington time), I ordered armed U.S. aircraft stationed at Clark Air Field to establish a protective cover over Villamor and Sangley Point to prevent rebel aircraft from taking off. No rebel aircraft attempted to take off, and U.S. aircraft did not fire. There were no U.S. casualties.

At present, I do not foresee the need for U.S. military action in addition to the measures described above. I am prepared, however, to take additional actions to protect the lives of Americans, should they be threatened, and, if requested, to provide further assistance to the Government of the Philippines. In this connection, I note that, as a precaution, I dispatched a company of U.S. Marines to reinforce Marine guards at our Embassy.

This measured action by U.S. Forces was taken at my direction in accordance with recognized principles of international law and pursuant to my constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander in Chief. I am mindful of the historical differences between the Executive and Legislative branches and the positions taken by me and all my predecessors in office with respect to the constitutionality of certain provisions of the War Powers Resolution. I am sharing this information with you consistent with that Resolution.

Our two branches have worked together over the years to provide assistance to the democratically elected government of the Philippines. I look forward to continued close cooperation with Congress in order to further this important policy.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 2, 1989.

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate. The letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 3.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meetings With Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta

December 3, 1989

The President is in excellent spirits. He loves the sea. The President made a final visit to the bridge and the aft deck of the ship about 10 o'clock last night. The President seemed energized by the intensity of the storm, and he looks forward to the discussions today with Chairman Gorbachev. During his visit to the deck, the President discussed with the captain and the crew the severity of the weather conditions and the handling of ships under such circumstances. Captain Sigler stated that this is the worst in-port storm he has seen in 24 years.

The President went to bed shortly after 10 o'clock Saturday night and got up around 7 o'clock this morning. He received his intelligence briefing and daily briefing from General Scowcroft, Secretary Baker, and Governor Sununu about 8 o'clock this morning.

The Soviet delegation notified us this morning that they were unwilling to attempt to go to the *Slava* or to *Belknap*. Therefore, we have agreed to continue the meetings on the *Gorky*.

The President is attending church services beginning at 9 a.m. aboard *Belknap*. Your press pool has made several attempts to bring their two launches alongside *Belknap*. We understand one launch was able to get its passengers on board, but at this time the second launch has not been able to do so.

The location and time for closing statements by the two leaders and their press conferences are still to be determined.

Note: In the statement, Press Secretary Fitzwater referred to Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

Exchange With Reporters on the Meetings With Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta

December 3, 1989

Q. Mr. President, has the weather ruined this summit?

The President. Hell, no. Hell, no. [*Laughter*] The summit's going just fine, thanks.

Q. Has it become the *Gorky* summit?

The President. It doesn't matter where you meet. We were supposed to go over to the other ship, and they couldn't make it over. So, we don't care where we're meeting. The big thing is, we're getting something done here. That's good. So, we're not standing on any protocol. These guys are ready to receive them. If they can't make it out here, we'll go to them.

Q. Are you getting less done because you have so much less time together?

The President. No. No, we had more time yesterday than we thought we'd have; and I think, looking at the reporting, it's coming out very well. And so—the U.S. side, anyway—I can say we're very pleased with what has taken place.

Q. Are you going to extend the talks?

The President. I think we've had—see, we got more time in yesterday up till coming over here than we thought—personal meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. The luncheon proved to be a working meeting. We talked all during the lunch. So, I don't think there is, but if their side thinks we need more time, fine. I said what I want to say and have a little more to say, in a bit. But it's going well; it really is.

Q. Any major—on arms control, Mr. President?

The President. Well, as I told you before we came here, this is not an arms control summit. But if you'll stay tuned to our Press Secretary, we're going to do an official debrief. And I think you'll be pleased, or I think most of the world will, with what we've decided, in a broad sense, in terms of talking further about various categories of arms control.

Q. Is a START treaty really possible by next June?

The President. Yes, everything is possible. Yes, it's possible. We're fairly close together.

We'll see you all. Thank you, gentlemen.

Note: The exchange began at 9:50 a.m., as the President prepared to travel from the U.S.S. "Belknap" to the Soviet passenger liner "Maxim Gorky" in Marsaxlokk Harbor.

Exchange With Reporters on the Meetings With Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta

December 3, 1989

Q. Was this a bad idea, Mr. President?

The President. What?

Q. A shipboard summit.

The President. No, it was a very good idea.

Q. But half your meetings were rained out.

Q. Glad the Soviets brought a big boat stable enough to have the summit on?

The President. No, we could have floated the Holiday Inn out there to do it on.

The Chairman. This whole incident shows that we can adjust to changing circumstances very well.

The President. That's right.

Q. Mr. President, what do you think about central Europe?

The President. Which President are you speaking to? [*Laughter*]

Q. It's a special question about Austria.

The Chairman. I can tell you that we'll have an important discussion, including a discussion of that theme, too. I promise that after we complete our talks, we'll talk to the press.

The President. That's a good idea.

Note: The exchange began at 10:03 a.m., as the President arrived aboard the Soviet passenger liner "Maxim Gorky" in Marsaxlokk Harbor for his final meeting with Chairman Gorbachev. The Chairman spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks of the President and Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Malta

December 3, 1989

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, President Gorbachev has graciously suggested I go first. And I don't think anyone can say that the saltwater get-together was anything other than adventure—at least out in the harbor here.

First, I want to thank Prime Minister Adami and the people of Malta and others for their warm and gracious hospitality. I want to thank the captain and crew of *Belknap* for the great support that they have given us. I think they were wondering if I was about to become a permanent guest. And a special thanks to the captain and crew of *Gorky* for their hospitality, and also thanks to the captain and crew of *Slava*, who have been so hospitable to many on the American side.

I first approached Chairman Gorbachev about an informal meeting of this kind after my trip to Europe last July. Amazing changes that I witnessed in Poland and in Hungary—hopeful changes—led me to believe that it was time to sit down with Chairman Gorbachev face to face to see what he and I could do to seize the opportunities before us to move this relationship forward. He agreed with that concept of a meeting, and so, we got rapid agreement. And I think that the extraordinary developments in Europe since the time that the meeting was proposed only reinforce the importance of our getting together.

And so, I'm especially glad we had this meeting. And we did gain a deeper understanding of each other's views. We set the stage for progress across a broad range of issues. And while it is not for the United States and the Soviet Union to design the future for Europeans or for any other people, I am convinced that a cooperative U.S.-Soviet relationship can, indeed, make the future safer and brighter. And there is virtually no problem in the world, and certainly no problem in Europe, that improvement in the U.S.-Soviet relationship will not help to ameliorate. A better U.S.-Soviet relationship is to be valued in and of itself, but it also should be an instrument of positive change for the world.

For 40 years, the Western alliance has stood together in the cause of freedom. And now, with reform underway in the Soviet Union, we stand at the threshold of a brand-new era of U.S.-Soviet relations. And it is within our grasp to contribute, each in our own way, to overcoming the division of Europe and ending the military confrontation there. We've got to do more to ameliorate the violence and suffering that afflicts so many regions in the world and to remove common threats to our future: the deterioration of the environment, the spread of nuclear and chemical weapons, ballistic missile technology, the narcotics trade. And our discussions here will give greater impetus to make real progress in these areas.

There's also a great potential to develop common opportunities. For example, the Soviet Union now seeks greater engagement with the international market economy, a step that certainly I'm prepared to encourage in every way I can.

As I leave Malta for Brussels and a meeting with our NATO allies, I am optimistic that as the West works patiently together and increasingly cooperates with the Soviet Union, we can realize a lasting peace and transform the East-West relationship to one of enduring cooperation. And that is a future that's worthy of our peoples. And that's the future that I want to help in creating. And that's the future that Chairman Gorbachev and I began right here in Malta.

Thank you, sir, for your hospitality.

The Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen, comrades, there are many symbolic things about this meeting, and one of them—it has never been in the history that the leaders of our two countries hold a joint press conference. This is also an important symbol. I share the view voiced by President Bush that we are satisfied, in general, with the results of the meeting.

We regard this informal meeting—the idea of it was an informal meeting, and the idea belongs to President Bush. And I supported it—that we would have this informal meeting without restricting it to any formal agenda, to have a free exchange of views—because the time makes great demands to our countries, and this increases the responsibility and the role of our two countries. And I can assure you that in all our discussions—and our discussions lasted for 8 hours, in general—this responsibility on both sides was present.

Our meeting was characterized by openness, by a full scope of the exchange of views. Today it is even difficult, and perhaps there is no sense, to explain the entire range of issues that we have discussed. I wish to say right away, nevertheless, that on all the major issues we attempted in a frank manner, using each side's arguments, to explain our own positions, both with regard to the assessment of the situation and the current changes in the world and Europe and as it regards disarmament issues. We addressed the Geneva negotiating process, the Vienna process, and also negotiations on the elaboration of the convention on chemical weapons ban. All those questions were considered thoroughly.

The President and I myself also felt it necessary to exchange views on our perception, both from Moscow and Washington, of the hot points on our planet. And this exchange of views was very significant and thorough. We reaffirmed our former positions that all those acute issues must be resolved by political methods, and I consider that this was a very important statement of fact.

We not only discussed problems and explained our positions. I think that both sides had many elements which, if they are taken into account in our future activities—activities of both governments—then we can count on progress. This concerns the subject of the reduction of strategic offensive arms by 50 percent, and we have an optimistic assessment of the possibility to move even next year to the conclusion of the Vienna treaty. We both are in favor, and this is our position—naturally, we can be responsible only for our position—we are in favor of signing this document at the summit meeting.

This time we discussed much bilateral relations; and I, on my part, would like to note many positive elements and points which were contained in statements and words by President Bush. Thus, I would say that in all directions of the political dialog of our discussion, including bilateral relations, we not only confirmed the consistency of our political course, the continuity of our political course—and I should say it—although we had an informal meeting, we met only for the first time with President Bush in his capacity, and the confirmation of the continuity of the course is an important element. What is also important is that during this informal meeting, we have laid the foundation for increasing this capital. And I believe that, in the first place, it serves the interests of our both countries and also the interests of the entire world community.

Well, we have made our contact, a good contact. The atmosphere was friendly, straightforward, open; and this enabled us to make good work. In our position, the most dangerous thing is to exaggerate. And it is always that we should preserve elements of cautiousness, and I use the favorite word by President Bush. [*Laughter*] Our world and our relations are at a crucial juncture. We should be highly responsible to face up to the challenges of today's world. And the leaders of our two countries cannot act as a fire brigade, although fire brigades are very useful. We have to keep it in mind also. This element was also present.

I would like once again to thank the President for the idea of holding this meeting with which we are satisfied, I hope. And I would like to thank the people and the Government of Malta and to express the words of appreciation and gratitude for the hospitality. Thank you, Mr. President, for your cooperation.

The President Thank you.

The Cold War

Q. Chairman Gorbachev, President Bush called on you to end the cold war once and for all. Do you think that has been done now?

The Chairman. In the first place, I assured the President of the United States that the Soviet Union would never start hot war against the United States of America, and we would like our relations to develop in such a way that they would open greater possibilities for cooperation. Naturally, the President and I had a wide discussion—rather, we sought the answer to the question where we stand now. We stated, both of us, that the world leaves one epoch of cold war and enters another epoch. This is just the beginning. We're just at the very beginning of our long road to a long-lasting peaceful period.

Thus, we were unanimous in concluding about the special responsibility of such countries as the United States and the Soviet Union. Naturally, we had a rather long discussion, but this is not for the press conference; that is, we shouldn't explain that discussion regarding the fact that the new era calls for a new approach. And thus, many things that were characteristic of the cold war should be abandoned, both the—[*inaudible*]—in force, the arms race, mistrust, psychological and ideological struggle, and all that. All that should be things of the past.

Central America

Q. President Gorbachev. What are the hot spots, President Gorbachev, that you spoke about? There's El Salvador. Were you able to assure President Bush that the Soviet Union would use its influence on either Cuba or Nicaragua to stop the arms shipments? And, President Bush, were you satisfied with President Gorbachev's response?

The Chairman. This question is addressed to me? This subject has been thoroughly discussed. We have reaffirmed once again to the President that we have ceased arms shipment to Central America. We also reaffirmed our position that we're sympathetic with the political process that is going on there regarding the settlement of the situation. We are in favor of free elections, with the representatives of the United Nations and other Latin American countries, to determine the fate of Nicaragua. We understand the concerns of the United States. We listened carefully to the arguments by President Bush, in this respect, and we assured him that our position of principle is that we are in favor of a political settlement of the situation in Central America.

I believe—and now I wouldn't like to explain everything that we discussed on the subject—but to sum up, I would say that there are possibilities to have peace in that area, tranquillity in the interests above all of the peoples of that region, which does not run counter to the interests of the people of the United States.

The President. Please ask the question.

Q. The question was: Were you, Mr. President, satisfied with—[*inaudible*]——

The President. My answer is that we had an in-depth discussion on these questions, as President Gorbachev said. I will not be satisfied until total self-determination takes place through verifiably free elections in Nicaragua. And the Chairman gave me every opportunity to express in detail the concerns I feel about that region. He, indeed, has cited his concerns. So, I can't say there are no differences between us. But we had a chance to talk about them. And if there are remaining differences, I like to think they have been narrowed. But you know—all you from the United States—the concerns we feel that the Nicaraguans go through with certifiably free elections and that they not export revolution into El Salvador. So, we had a big, wide-ranging discussion, and I would simply say that I feel we have much more understanding between the parties as a result of that discussion.

East-West Economic Cooperation

Q. The Izvestia newspaper to President Bush, and if there are comments from Comrade Gorbachev, we would welcome it. There has been a longstanding issue of expanding economic [co]operation between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is a very acute problem, taking into account our economic reforms and our economic difficulties. To what degree that issue has been discussed during your meeting, and what is the position of your administration, Mr. President, regarding the expanding of your economic [co]operation and whether the U.S. business would like to promote contacts with the Soviet Union?

The President. We had a long discussion on economic matters. We made some specific representations about how we can work more closely on the economic front with the Soviet Union, and we've made certain representations that I will now follow through with, in terms of observer status. And I think one of the most fruitful parts of our discussions related to the economy. And I would like to have a climate in which American businessmen can help in what Chairman Gorbachev is trying to do with reform and, obviously, with *glasnost.* But I think the climate, as a result of these talks, for investment inside the Soviet Union and for certain things we can do to help the Soviet Union and, indeed, other countries seek common ground with these multilateral organizations related to finance: All of that is a big plus. It was an extraordinarily big plus as far as I'm concerned.

Q. President Gorbachev?

The Chairman. I would like to comment, the answer. First of all, I confirm what I've said, what the President said. And the second point: The things that have taken place at the meeting could be regarded as a political impetus which we were lacking for our economic cooperation to gain momentum and to acquire forms and methods which would be adequate to our contemporary life.

Well, as to the future course of this process, this will depend on the Soviet actions, whether legal or economic. You understand that today we tried to turn drastically our economy towards cooperation with other countries so that it will be part and parcel of the world economic system. Therefore, we think and hope that that which has happened during the meeting on this subject of the agenda—well, let's call it the agenda—these are of principal importance.

Lebanon

Q. With the tense situation in Lebanon—how did you discuss the military option in Lebanon? And what have you decided on the Middle East in general? How did you discuss it? The question is both President Bush and President Gorbachev.

The Chairman. We couldn't address this Lebanese conflict because both the U.S. and the Soviet people are sympathetic with the grave situation and sufferings of that people. We shared our views and assessments in this respect and agreed to continue the exchange of views so that each, according to its possibilities—and I think that everyone has its own possibilities—well, President Bush thought that we had more possibilities and I thought that we had equal possibilities, in order to resolve positively this conflict.

The President. And our aspirations, shared in by President Gorbachev, is to see a peaceful resolution to the question regarding Lebanon. We support the tripartite agreement. He has supported it very actively. We do not want to see any more killing in Lebanon. The Chairman agrees with us. We're in total agreement on that. And so, Lebanon was discussed in detail, and we would like to see a return to a peaceful, democratic Lebanon. And everybody in the United States, I think, share the agony that I feel about the turmoil in Lebanon. But we're going to try to help. We're trying any way we can to help.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. My question is to President Bush. You, as President of the United States, participate for the first time at the summit meeting, but you were the Vice President of the previous administration that took part in forming foreign policies. So, what is your assessment of the course that our two countries have passed since Geneva to Malta?

The President. That's what we call a "slow ball" in the trade. [*Laughter*] It's an easy question because I really think they are improving dramatically. There is enormous support in our country for what Chairman Gorbachev is doing inside the Soviet Union. There is enormous respect and support for the way he has advocated peaceful change in Europe. And so, this meeting accomplished everything that I had hoped it would. It was a no-agenda meeting, and yet it was a meeting where we discussed, as the Chairman said, many, many subjects. So, I think if a meeting can improve relations, I think this one has.

Arms Control

Q. Did you reach any actual understandings on instructions or timetables or deadlines to negotiators on chemical weapons, nuclear weapons, conventional arms?

The Chairman. Well, we devoted much time to the discussion of concrete issues related to disarmament negotiations on different types of arms. And just as an example, to show you that this was a substantive discussion, I'll tell you that in the near future our foreign ministers will meet, which have been instructed to do some specific work to move the positions closer.

In connection with new interesting proposals by President Bush regarding chemicals weapons, which have the goal of a global ban and provides for certain phases and movement toward this global ban, then we have the possibility of a rapid movement towards it.

As to strategic offensive arms, the analysis of the situation and the instructions that have been given regarding the preparation of that treaty demonstrate that we may be able by the second half of June—and we agreed on the formal meeting at that time—to do the necessary work to agree on the basic provisions of this treaty, which there later in the coming months would be ready for signature.

Therefore, I highly assess and evaluate what we have done here. Well, of course, there are questions which would require detailed discussion so that there will be no concerns on both sides. As to our concerns, as regards to strategic offensive arms and the preparation of the treaty on the 50-percent cuts of such weapons, they concern SLCM's [sea-launched cruise missiles]. Well, and in general, we raised a question with the President that when we have events along different directions on the reduction of nuclear arms and conventional forces, when we move towards defensive doctrines—that is, we, the Soviet Union—we are interested in having new elements in the military doctrines of the NATO countries. And therefore, the time has come when we should begin discussing naval forces. We should discuss this problem also.

Thus, I would also like to confirm—and I think that the President would confirm it—that our discussions were very thorough, which encourages; and therefore, we can count on success. This was a salute.

Malta Meeting Results

Q. Can I ask you a question, Mr. President? Will you tell us, President Gorbachev—will you tell me why you were so cautious at the beginning of the negotiations? The Soviet side was very optimistic, and now you voice certain optimistic elements. What is the reason for it? Maybe that optimism was not justified. This is Portuguese television to President Gorbachev.

The President. This is for you. Go ahead.

The Chairman. Well, I would say that there were elements of optimism and pessimism here, and I wouldn't dwell into the details.

Q. Could you just——

The Chairman. Well, the core of the question is that—if I read you correctly—is that to what degree we can speak of optimism or pessimism regarding the results of this meeting. Or perhaps, I didn't understand you correctly. Did I get you right? Yes. Well, you know, on the eve of the meeting, both sides were restrained and had a well-balanced position, a cautious one. I would say it again. This did not mean, however, that we were pessimists. That meant that we were highly responsible. Today, now that the meeting has taken place and we have summed up the results together with the President, I can tell you that I am optimistic about the results and the prospects that are open now. This is dialectics.

Naval Arms Control

Q. President Bush, may I refer to the question of naval forces, please, that President Gorbachev raised just a moment ago? Can you respond to your feeling and exactly what you've told President Gorbachev about your disposition toward reducing naval forces, NATO's disposition, on that regard? And if in fact the Soviets are prepared to move to a defensive posture, is not it time to consider some cuts in this regard?

The President. The answer is that this is not an arms control meeting in the sense of trying to hammer out details. We still have differences with the Soviet Union—he knows it, and I know it—as it relates to naval forces. But the point is we could discuss these things in a very constructive environment, and the Chairman knows that I could not come here and make deals in arms control. And I'm disinclined to think that that is an area where we will have immediate progress.

But we talked about a wide array of these issues, but we have no agreement at all on that particular question of naval arms control. But the point is he knows that, and I know that. The point is he had an opportunity to let me know how important it is. And I can, as a part of an alliance, have an opportunity to discuss a wide array of disarmament questions with our allies. So, it's exactly the kind of climate for a meeting that I had envisioned and that he had envisioned. We can sit there and talk about issues of which we've had divisions over the years, try to find ways to narrow them. And we did narrow them in some important areas. And there are still some differences that exist. There's no point covering that over.

European Security

Q. Did you discuss the Soviet proposal on Helsinki II? And an adjoining question: Are you prepared to take a joint initiative with Soviet Union about the Middle East crisis?

The Chairman. The first question is regarding Helsinki II. I think that we have found during this meeting, we have come to a common understanding of the extreme importance of the CSCE process and have noted the positive results of the CSCE process, the results that have made it possible to proceed with deep changes in Europe and in the world as well, as Europe has a great influence on the world due to certain reasons. Both the President and myself are in favor of developing the CSCE process in accordance with the new requirements that are required by our times so that we would think of and build a new Europe on the basis of common elements among the European countries. We reaffirmed that this is a common affair for all the European countries that signed the Helsinki Act, including the whole EC [European Community]. And this element was present everywhere whenever we discussed Europe and other parts of the world with the active and constructive participation of the United States and Canada. Thus, we are in favor of the proc-

best copy available

ess gaining in strength and in force.

The transformation of the CSCE-Helsinki institutions at this stage should be such that their nature would change, or rather would be adequate to the current changes. Take, for example, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. They should not remain military alliances, but rather military-political alliances, and later on just political alliances, so that their nature would change in accordance with the changes on the continent.

We are also entitled to expect that when the Common Market and the CMEC would also change in respect of greater openness, with the active participation in economic processes of the United States. Thus, we think that the time has come for us to act, step by step, in a thorough manner, in accordance with the requirements of the times, taking full responsibility, without damaging the balance and security. We should act in a way that we would improve the situation, stability, and security. We will strengthen security in this way.

This was the manner of our discussion. And I believe that the President can only nod and say that we have coincidence of views of this. [*Laughter*]

Q. President Gorbachev, did you assure President Bush that you will not——

Q. Mr. Gorbachev—a question to Chairman Gorbachev.

Military Forces in the Mediterranean

Q. The meeting took place at the center of the Mediterranean. How did you discuss the problem of the reduction of the military presence of the size of the Mediterranean?

The President. Is this to me? Well, first on the reduction, we did not have specific figures in mind. The Chairman raised the questions of naval arms control, and I was not particularly positive in responding on naval arms control. But we agree that we want to move forward and bring to completion the CFE that does affect Italy and other countries, in a sense—they're a strong part of our NATO alliance. So, we didn't get agreements, crossing the "t's," dotting the "i's" on some of these issues, but that's not what we were trying to do.

May I respond to this gentleman's last half. The question was Soviet and U.S.——

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Joint initiative.

The President. It doesn't require joint initiatives to solve the Middle East question. But we have found that the Soviet Union is playing a constructive role in Lebanon and trying throughout the Middle East to give their support for the tripartite agreement, which clearly the U.S. has supported. And so, there's common ground there. That may not always have been the case in history. And that may not always have been the way the United States looked at it as to how constructive the role the Soviets might play. But I can tell you that after these discussions and after the discussions between [Secretary of State] Jim Baker and [Soviet Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze there is a constructive role that the Soviets are implementing. And again, I cite the tripartite agreement. I'm sure that they share our view after these talks, in terms of peaceful resolution to these questions in the Middle East, be it Lebanon or in West Bank questions. So, I don't think we're very far apart on this.

Q. President Gorbachev, did you assure President Bush that the Soviet Union will——

The Chairman. Well, my opinion on the Middle East, in terms of discussions at the meeting, I can only add to what President Bush has said—that we have just discussed very thoroughly, rather thoroughly, this subject. And I believe that we have come to an understanding that we should use our possibilities and interact in order to promote solution to this protracted conflict, which affects negatively the entire world situation.

As it seemed to me, we also agreed that, as a result of the side's progress, we have approached the point when we have a realistic chance to start the settlement process. Therefore, it is important not to lose this chance because the situation is changing very rapidly. Therefore, we think we will contribute to this.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. I'm from the group of Czechoslovak journalists. President Gorbachev, did you assure President Bush that the changes in

Eastern Europe are irreversible and that the Soviet Union has forsaken the right to intervene there militarily? And President Bush, similarly, as a result of this meeting, are you now more trusting that the Soviets have indeed renounced the Brezhnev doctrine?

The Chairman. I wouldn't like you to consider me here or to regard me as a full-fledged representative of all European countries. This wouldn't be true. We are a part of Eastern Europe, of Europe. We interact with our allies in all areas, and our ties are deep. However, every nation is an independent entity in world politics, and every people has the right to choose its own destiny, the destiny of its own state. And I can only explain my own attitude.

I believe that those changes, both in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe, have been prepared by the course of the historic evolution itself. No one can avoid this evolutionary process; and those problems should be resolved on a new basis, taking into account the experience and the potential of those countries, opening up possibilities for utilizing anything positive that has been accumulated by mankind. And I believe that we should welcome the thrust of those processes because they are related to the desire of the people to make those societies more democratic, more humane, and to face the world. Therefore, I'm encouraged by the thrust of those processes, and I believe that this is highly assisted by other countries.

I also see deep, profound changes in other countries, including Western European countries, and this is also very important because this is a reciprocal movement so that the people will become more close around the continent, and preserving at the same time the identity of one's own people. This is very important for us to understand.

Q. I ask a question on the part of the Czechoslovak journalists. We are discussing the future of Europe?

The President. May I just respond briefly? There is no question that there is dramatic change. Nobody can question it. And as President Gorbachev talks about democratic change and peaceful—that certainly lays to rest previous doctrines that may have had a different approach. And so, he knows that not just the President but all the people in the United States would like to see this peaceful, democratic evolution continue. And so, I think that's the best way to answer the question because the change is so dramatic and so obvious to people.

But I will say we had a very good chance to discuss it in considerably more detail than I think would be appropriate to discuss it here.

Central America

Q. President Bush, you have accused the Soviet Union for sending arms to Central America, and, President Gorbachev, you have denied those charges. Now both of you sit here together. Who is right? [*Laughter*]

The President. Maybe I ought to take the first shot at that one. I don't think we accused the Soviet Union of that. What we did say is arms were going in there in an unsatisfactory way. My view is that not only did the Nicaraguans acquiesce in it but they encouraged that to happen. And the evidence is demonstrable. But I'm not challenging the word of the Foreign Minister. He and Jim Baker talked about that, and President Gorbachev and I talked about it.

All I know is that—and he said it earlier—elections, free elections, should be the mode. And I also reported to him what Mr. Oscar Arias [President of Costa Rica] called me about, blaming Castro and the Sandinistas for exporting revolution and for tearing things up there in Central America.

So, we may have a difference on that one, but I want to be careful when you say I accused them of sending these weapons. I did not, because Mr. Shevardnadze made a direct representation to Mr. Baker. And everyone knows that there's a wide international arms flow out there. But whatever it is, however it comes, it is unsatisfactory for countries in the region that want to see the evolution toward democracy continue.

The Chairman. The President explained correctly the discussion on the subject. We were never accused, and we didn't have to accept or reject anything. We informed the President that we had firm assurances from Nicaragua that no arms, including those aircraft, are being used. And the President took our arguments and agreed to them. As regard the fact of principle—I have mentioned it—is that we are for free elections so that this conflict would be resolved by political means and the situation was kept normal.

The President. Well, that's what we agreed on. I agree that that's the assessment. I still feel that arms are going into El Salvador. We've seen clear evidence of it. But I can't argue with the factual presentation made here.

But we have a difference—I don't believe that the Sandinistas have told the truth to our Soviet friends. And why? Because we know for fact-certain that arms have gone in there. I'm not saying they're Soviet arms. They've said they aren't shipping arms, and I'm accepting that. But they're going in there. And I am saying that they have misled Mr. Shevardnadze when they gave a specific representation that no arms were going from Nicaragua into El Salvador. So, we have some differences in how we look at this key question. And the best way to have those differences ameliorated is to have these certifiably free elections in Nicaragua. And Castro: I have no influence with him whatsoever, and maybe somebody is yelling that question at President Gorbachev. But look, we've got some differences in different places around the world.

Q. What about Cuba?

Q. Question to both Presidents.

The Chairman. What do you mean?

Q. Oscar Arias apparently called President Bush and told him that Cuba was really creating the situation in the region by commenting——

The Chairman. We discussed the situation in Latin America and Central America, and explained our assessments. On the basis of our analysis, on our own analysis, and our assessment, I told the President that there were conditions emerging for improving the situation for the better, as different countries had the desire to change the situation and normalize the situation—both in the United States and in other countries.

Q. Will you give, Mr. President, an answer?

The President. I'd be glad to. Somebody better tell me what the question was then if I'm going to answer. The question of Germany?

German Reunification

Q. Whether the German question was discussed and your attitude toward the Kohl [Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany] plan.

The President. The United States, as part of NATO, has had a longstanding position. Helsinki spells out a concept of permanent borders. I made clear to President Gorbachev that we, for our part, do not want to do anything that is unrealistic and causes any country to end up going backwards or end up having its own people in military conflict, one with the other. And so, I think we have tried to act with the word that President Gorbachev has used to—and that is, with caution—not to go demonstrating on top of the Berlin Wall to show how happy we are about the change. We are happy about the change.

I've heard many leaders speak about the German question. And I don't think it is a role of the United States to dictate the rapidity of change in any country. It's a matter for the people to determine themselves. So, that's our position, and the last word goes to the Chairman on this.

The Chairman. Yes, and the President wrote a note to me in English. I don't read English, but I answered in Russian—he doesn't read Russian—but we agreed on it anyway. [*Laughter*]

I'll be brief. In the past few days, I already answered a few times on the question. I can only confirm what I said before. But as we have discussed with the President this question, I can say that we approach this subject on the basis of the Helsinki process, which summed up the results of the Second World War and consolidated the results of the war. And those are realities. And the reality is such that we have today's Europe with two German states, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, which are both members of the United Nations and sovereign states.

This was the decision of history. And I always revert to this subject, or thesis, which saves me. Indeed, in order to remain realists, we should say that history itself decides the processes and fates on the European continent and also the fates of those two states. I think this is a common understanding shared by anyone. And any artificial acceleration of the process would only exacerbate and make it more difficult to change in many European countries those changes that are now taking place now in Europe. Thus, we wouldn't serve that process by an artificial acceleration or prompting of the processes that are going on in those two countries.

I think we can thank the media for their cooperation. We are not yet aware of what they will write about us.

The President. Right to thank them afterward you mean? [*Laughter*] After they've written?

The Chairman. We should thank them in advance, and therefore, they will do better in the future. I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for your cooperation.

The President. We're going to have to leave at 1:20 p.m. Should we each take one more question or not? Last one to me, right here. No rebuttal. No backup questions. Last one.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. What's your personal relationship now between you two leaders? And would regular contacts that would perhaps no longer be called summits be helpful?

The President. I had known President Gorbachev before, and I'd let him speak for himself. But I think we have a good personal relationship, and I believe that helps each side be frank, point out the differences, as well as the areas we agree on. And that is a very, very important ingredient, I think, because of the standing of the two powers and because of the dramatic change that is taking place.

And I am not saying that if he likes me, he is going to change long-held policies, and I am going to say that if I like him, we're not going to change long-held policies. But what we've been able to do here is to get together and talk about the difference without rancor, and frankly as possible. And I think it's been very constructive. So, I couldn't have asked for a better result out of this nonsummit summit. [*Laughter*]

The question is regular meetings. I'm open to see him as much as it requires to keep things moving forward. We've already set a summit meeting. That summit meeting will drive the arms control agenda. And that's a good thing because I represented to him that we wanted to see a START agreement, a CFE agreement, and hopefully, a chemical agreement. That's a very ambitious agenda, but I think if we hadn't sat here and talked we might not have understood how each other feels on these important questions.

The Chairman. I would like to confirm what President Bush has said: that we have known each other for a long time. But I would also add—and I have not agreed on it with the President in advance, but this is no secret—that we have had considerable exchanges of views in previous contacts, and we had an understanding of the positions of each other. And we would only mention the Governors Island or our discussion in the car, and then we would understand what we are talking about. Then we exchanged letters.

And today's meeting boosts our contacts to a higher level. I'm satisfied with the discussions and meetings we had, including our two private discussions. I share the view of the President that personal contacts are a very important element in the relations between leaders of state, the more so we are talking about the leaders of such countries as the United States and the Soviet Union. And I welcome those personal relations.

And the President was quite correct in saying that this didn't mean that we would sacrifice our long-held positions at the expense of our personal ties or that we forget our responsibility. I think our personal contacts help us implement our responsibilities and help us better interact in the interests of our two nations and in the interests of the entire world community. And I, myself, would like to thank the President for cooperation for this meeting, for the cooperation in a very important joint Soviet-U.S. endeavor. And our share is 50–50.

The President. Well, I guess we're going to fly away to Brussels.

Note: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. aboard the Soviet passenger liner "Maxim

Gorky" in Marsaxlokk Harbor. Chairman Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Malta
December 3, 1989

Meeting With Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. Are you still talking to Bucky?

The President. Bucky Bush? You mean because of the weather? Yes, yes, because I think it worked. It didn't work to perfection because of the weather, but the meeting worked. So, I'm still talking to him.

Q. You came here setting out goals for yourself to have this informal, unstructured meeting, as you said you did out there. But I'm curious if you feel that you achieved the goals you set out, the more ambitious goals you set out in your Thanksgiving speech, where you said you wanted to come and Mr. Gorbachev join with you in tearing down the barriers and ending the cold war.

The President. I didn't say we were going to do all that at Malta. But, yes, I think the meeting was very productive and constructive. It worked exactly the way I visualized it when we took the initiative, which he confirmed, to set the meeting. Indeed, at one moment, I actually did put my foot up. And I say that because there were no subjects off the table, there were no tensions as any subject was raised on either side. And I have a very positive feeling.

And yet we have not solved all the problems that exist between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, nor all the problems that have existed over the years between Western Europe and the rest of the NATO allies and Eastern Europe. But I understand better where he's coming from, and that, I think, is very important. And he understands our priorities. He understands the concerns, for example, that I feel about Central America because we really had a good, frank discussion.

Q. But if I can follow up on this goal, as I say, you set for yourself, at least toward moving toward ending the cold war. He said an epoch has ended. How do you feel about that?

The President. I think it's a major step towards understanding and in trying to tear down any remaining barriers that shot up because of the cold war. There's no question that the conditions today are far different than at the depths of the cold war—no question about it. I haven't even heard anybody argue to the contrary.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Q. Mr. President, what do you think of NATO and Warsaw Pact evolving to political organizations and really moving out of the military mode?

The President. Well, if we make the progress that I hope we'll make on various arms control items, and if tensions continue to go down, as they have, inside the Soviet Union and in terms of relations with the United States and in Eastern Europe, who knows where the change will take us? But obviously I have a certain responsibility for keeping NATO strong, and nothing here has altered that desire. But as you see the historical changes taking place—I think it's fine to envision a group of countries that spend a lot more time worrying about the economic side and less on the defense side. We are not there yet. We're not there.

Meeting With Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. What will you tell the NATO leaders?

The President. Well, I'll wait until I get there to decide that. I'll give them a pretty good report on what went on, considerable detail—not all necessarily—because some relates to the U.S.-Soviet equation. But we'll have a good, frank discussion, and I think they will be pleased at what the results of the meeting are.

Q. Mr. President, other than the weather, were there any disappointments? You seem to still be at odds very much so on Central America. And was there anything Mr. Gorbachev told you that especially surprised or pleased you?

The President. No, no surprises. But as I say, Michael [Michael Gelb, Reuters], we cannot—in 10 hours of discussion, or whatever it is—solve all the problems that exist between the United States and the Soviet Union and the way we look at different areas. But it would be euphorically optimistic to think that a meeting like this would solve all those problems. But it's better; we understand more. I've got some areas where I can now go back to him—various areas, but there were no surprises. It was a wide discussion. I'm not sure we left out any subjects, in a geopolitical sense. But we covered a lot of——

Q. No specific disappointments? Something you wish he was more forthcoming on?

The President. No particular disappointments, no, because I think the goal now is to go forward, as we have wanted to anyway, and demonstrate everybody's commitment to CFE talks, everybody's commitment to chemical weapons reductions, eventual elimination, and, of course, the START agenda.

Q. Mr. President, you talked about now having a better understanding of Mr. Gorbachev after this meeting. Could you tell us what you know about him today or understand about him today that you didn't know?

The President. Well, I know that he's perfectly willing to have very frank discussions, even if I'm on the opposite side of a question from him. There was no anger, there was no vitriol. It was a very constructive set of meetings in that regard. And so, I saw a man who is confident. I saw a man who is calm in his presentations and responded as factually as he could in some of the questions I raised. And so, I'm convinced that the concept of getting it together for a no-agenda meeting was very, very sound.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Do you think that the United States and the Soviet Union now are dealing with each other more as allies than adversaries?

The President. I wouldn't say allies, but with far less misunderstanding and with far more common goals.

Q. What do you think of the adversarial relationship, or the nature of the relationship now?

The President. Well, as I say, I think it's vastly improved—tensions reduced—not eliminated, but reduced. We still have different ways of looking at certain questions, but I think the answer is "improved," Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

International Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, relatives of the Pan Am 103 bombing were going to have a ceremony at the harbor today—drop flowers into the harbor—as part of their attempt to have both you and Mr. Gorbachev work together in fighting international terrorism. Did this come up specifically this weekend, and could you talk a little bit about that?

The President. Yes. Not 103 per se, but you're talking about anti-international terror—yes, it did—and also in the antinarcotics efforts. There's more we can do. We didn't discuss it specifically, but I'm thinking about certain kinds of intelligence interchange that can prove to be beneficial.

Perestroika

Q. What was the conversation he was referring to on Governors Island?

Q. In the car?

The President. No, no, the car was in Washington. You remember, when we rode from the Embassy over to the meeting at the White House? And in New York—he did refer to Governors Island, and I think what he was talking about is that he opined that some people in our country wanted to see *perestroika* fail and that it wasn't going to fail and that it is irreversible. And I told him back then that I didn't think there were any serious elements in the United States that wanted to see *perestroika* fail. So, that's probably what he was alluding to. I missed that part.

Central America

Q. Secretary Baker, before you came out here a couple of weeks ago, said that the Soviet role in Cuba, Central America, was the primary obstacle to a more beneficial full-scale relationship between the two countries. You disagreed here, but did you advance the issue at all? Can you say——

The President. I don't know if we advanced it, but I was very, very clear in telling him how strongly I feel about that. And it did build on what Jim Baker had talked to Shevardnadze about out in Wyoming. So, there is no doubt in their minds that their assistance to Cuba and their lip service for the Sandinistas give us a considerable amount of difference with them. So, it's very clear—well, until we see a free Cuba, self-determination and the people deciding what they want, Cuba will stick out until that date as a tiny country that's swimming against Mr. Gorbachev's own tide. And I made that point to him.

Q. How did he respond to that?

The President. Well, I'll let you ask him first chance you get.

Arms Control

Q. Could I ask you a question on arms control? Did I understand President Gorbachev to say that you hope to have a framework agreement [illegible] START treaty?

The President. I think we should shoot for [illegible] technical problems involved, but let the experts discuss, not me. So, if he said that there wouldn't be—I mean, if the implication that you got was there won't be a START treaty in the summer of '90, I didn't get that feeling from him.

Q. So, you still think it's entirely possible or likely?

The President. It's possible, but we're going to have to drive the system.

Q. Is it likely, do you think?

The President. It's hard to quantify my feeling on that one. But I really don't see a reason why it can't happen.

Q. What about SDI in that context? Did you talk about SDI?

The President. Just a wide array. You can just be sure that defensive was talked about as well as offensive, rockets as well as people. It was a wide array of discussion on that general—yes?

Q. Was the procedure for our troop cuts beyond CFE I discussed?

The President. Yes, he is very much interested in seeing troop cuts beyond CFE. He knows I'm part of an alliance and not going to go off on some unilateral attack on that. But I think in fairness to the man, he did raise that. But I think we both agree that the immediate goal is to push the system on both sides so we can get a CFE agreement.

Back to Terry's question: I think that's entirely possible. It should be, and I'm going to be driving our bureaucracy and discussing it at NATO because I think it's a very important step.

Defense Budget Cuts

Q. Well, in that respect, are you going to cut the defense budget?

The President. Not in that respect. We've already cut the defense budget.

Q. Well, [Secretary of Defense] Cheney certainly has been talking a lot about——

The President. Listen, he's doing exactly what I want him to do: go back and [illegible] defense so I can solve this Gramm-Rudman problem.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Well, do you believe him when he says he won't start a hot war?

The President. I think he has no intention of starting a hot war. I mean, where he said attacking the United States interests? How did he phrase it? It was something like that.

Q. A hot war against the United States.

Q. The question was about a cold war.

The President. Yes. I have no evidence that there's anything other than the truth in that statement.

Mr. Fitzwater. We're going to have to go. We'll give Frank [Frank Sesno, CNN] a final one here.

Meeting With Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. May I ask you a personal question? Just some personal thoughts coming here after all the preparation and some of the criticism of being too timid or whether——

The President. Yes. I'm not interested—let me interrupt once to editorial—wasn't it interesting the way he used the word "caution"? And I didn't put him up to it, either, but go ahead.

Mr. Fitzwater. He said prudent at one time, too.

The President. Did he really? [*Laughter*] Go ahead.

Q. What was it like for you? What did it feel like, sitting across from this man and, in many ways, discussing the shape of the world that cannot really be forecast?

The President. Well, inasmuch as I had met him before and had a couple of private conversations with him before, it was probably less formidable than if I'd never met him. And given the changes that he's advocating, in terms of self-determination and Eastern Europe changing without any threat of force from them, the climate was easier because of those things. But there still was a recognition on my part, one, that this was serious business and, two, that we [illegible] constructively.

And [illegible] first met Mr. Gorbachev and we talked about human rights, and he became visibly agitated with me for raising it. And I think there's been a great evolution in his thinking on that question, and certainly on his relations with the United States, just as there had been an evolution on my thinking. You may remember, I was the one who was against the very kind of meeting that I decided was necessary, because I think as these changes take place, this kind of meeting can be helpful.

So, the emotional part of it, Frank, is hard to describe for me because I'm not the most articulate emotionalist. But I just can't have asked for a better ambiance, a better feel from the meetings, even though the differences are acute in some areas. But you get the feeling he really wants to work with us. And he knows that I'm cautious. And you heard him talk. He used the word "prudent." I'm sure that was deliberate on his part. I do think this: that 6 months ago there was probably a misunderstanding on his part about the intentions of this new President. And I think one of the good things is I don't think he has any feeling that I'm going to be unforthcoming in situations where I should be. I don't think he has me down as a total negativist at all, and I certainly don't have him down. And as I see the reception he gets in Italy, I can talk to him about why that emotional response, his identity with change.

So, back to the personal side: The events helped; his own personality helped. I'd like to think he thought I knew what I was talking about, so we could have a good exchange without having to go to the experts or go to the notebooks. And it worked. And now we've got to move. Now we've got to move forward, and I think we can in a lot of ways. [illegible]

[illegible] NATO [illegible]

Mr. Fitzwater. At some point.

Q. Early?

Mr. Fitzwater. At an unspecified time.

The President. That's the best way to do it.

Q. In an Oval Office speech or——

The President. Well, I just did one just before going, and I don't want to——

Q. Press conference is good. [*Laughter*]

The President. ——abuse the hospitality of the airwaves. But I think we can get the message out by responding to questions.

Q. Did you ever lose your temper?

The President. No.

Q. You said that he had no rancor himself.

The President. No, I don't lose my temper.

Q. Did you get seasick?

Q. What?

The President. I don't.

Q. Come on.

The President. I don't.

Q. You hit the ceiling a lot.

The President. I keep it all inside.

Q. No, that's how you get ulcers.

The President. No, no, that's where I think your reporting has been a little off. [*Laughter*]

Q. Keeping it all inside?

The President. What was the—that they got on Marlin about saying "He hit the ceiling." What was that, a few months back—which was untrue.

Q. On somebody—one of the——

Q. Some leak. [*Laughter*]

The President. Some leak—probably Reuters.

Q. Any seasickness from either superpower?

Q. That's how you got that ulcer. You kept it in. You don't do that anymore.

The President. No, but I don't have to. I'm matured. And the answer is: Don't worry about things you can't do anything about. That's a little advice I got from [illegible]

Q. [illegible] you go up in smoke sometimes.

The President. Okay. This is getting into a difficult area. [*Laughter*]

The President. Not really. You think it's smoke? You ought to see me. If occasionally I do go up in smoke, it doesn't relate to this line of work. It's other things.

We'll see you guys—see you on the plane.

Q. Are you going to come back and chat?

The President. Are you going out to the Bois for dinner? It's marvelous. What's that restaurant in the woods?

Q. Dinner?

Q. To dinner? [*Laughter*]

The President. Did you have lunch?

Q. No.

Q. No.

Q. Some people haven't had breakfast yet. [*Laughter*]

The President. I haven't either.

Q. Thank you very much.

Q. Thank you.

The President. All right. Thank you all. It was good. Thank you for coming in.

Q. We're glad it went well.

The President. I think it did.

Q. For the world.

The President. I really mean it. Yes, and I look at it that way—grandkids, all of that. Very important.

And let me just add one thing. Mrs. Gorbachev went out of her way to greet me inside before we came in here. And she couldn't have been more pleasant. I sent her a little note from Barbara, a tiny little souvenir. And she was most gracious and most, I would say, pleased with the way the meetings had gone and all of that, which is a nice touch, a very nice touch.

Q. She sat there smiling.

The President. I didn't see her facial expression, but I know that when we chatted earlier it was positive, quite positive. Nothing other than in keeping with the whole mood of this meeting.

Q. Did the President exchange any gifts?

The President. I think we did, but we didn't do it personally.

Q. A piece of the Wall? Did you give him a piece of the Wall?

The President. No, I did not have a piece of the Wall.

Q. Do you regret that Mrs. Bush didn't come?

The President. No. It wasn't planned from the beginning, and she had the Kennedy Center Honors, which the President should—or family should participate in. And the setting at sea was such that it didn't lend itself. But I know Barbara's looking forward to getting up with Raisa. I'm sure of it.

Upcoming Soviet-U.S. Summit

Q. Where is the next summit? On the barge?

The President. No. Not set.

Q. In Washington?

The President. On the barge. [*Laughter*]

Q. Texas?

The President. No, probably Washington, but we didn't actually set the place.

Houston Economic Summit

Q. I'll bet the Houstonians are glad about the economic summit.

The President. Well, I haven't seen any press. I thought they would be, but maybe it got good——

Q. You made the announcement from here, that's why.

The President. Yes, it may—well, did we, or——

Mr. Fitzwater. On the way.

The President. ——on the way over, yes. But I haven't had a chance to see the reaction. But it's appropriate, it's good, and I'm glad, obviously, that it's going to be there.

Philippines

Q. Anything on Mrs. Aquino?

The President. No more word today. No more word. It was quiet last night, our time, thank God.

Mr. Fitzwater. Okay.

Q. When's your next summit?

The President. I don't know. I don't know. These are available for $1.50 each. I don't know whether anybody's interested. [*Laughter*]

Q. Next week they'll be down to a quarter. [*Laughter*]

The President. I'm going to mail them. I'm sitting here now, sending them to friends.

Q. Did you get a first-day issue stamp?

The President. Yes. Well, that's what we got for these.

Q. We have some of those.

The President. And you put them on the other things I sent. I had a very clever note that I wrote out before I got here. Real clever—and funny. Oh, you'll die. [*Laughter*] It's a whole new emotional humorous side to this President. But I can't share it with you.

Q. Secretive humor.

The President. If you can find 1 of the 25 people that received it, you're going to break up and say, "What have we been missing in this guy all this time?"

Q. Give him my address.

The President. Too late. No, this is the letters that I sent—cards. Unlike this, however.

Q. What did you say?

The President. Can't tell you any more, Helen, honest. Personal relationships, you know how that is.

Q. Thank you.

The President. You've spent a lot of time out in the cold.

Q. Not too bad.

The President. Sorry you didn't get on the ships because it was so nice. Actually I enjoyed last night, we stayed up and watched. We're not going to leave you, if that's what you're getting at.

Q. Leave orbiting?

Mr. Fitzwater. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:47 p.m. on the Soviet passenger liner "Maxim Gorky" in Marsaxlokk Harbor. In his opening remarks, he referred to his brother, William Bush. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President and Press Secretary.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony in Brussels

December 3, 1989

Prime Minister Martens. Mr. President, it is my very special privilege to welcome you tonight to Belgium, where all our allies are gathering this very day to hear a message that you, Mr. President, will present tomorrow at the NATO Headquarters. This is a cold evening, Mr. President, but there is a glow of anticipation alive in all of us who have been witnessing the events of recent months.

Now that Christmastime is near, we are looking for good tidings. And I believe that with constancy and determination we may proceed in that direction and not be led astray. Welcome to Belgium!

The President. Well, thank you very much, Prime Minister Martens, for that welcome. You have this wonderful way of making people feel genuinely welcome.

Today we met in Malta, Winston Churchill's "tiny rock of history and romance"; ancient stepping stone to Europe; today, the crossroads of East and West. And tonight we meet in Brussels, and tonight we stand at the crossroads of history on our way to a Europe made whole and free.

At the outset of these remarks, may I, sir, express the condolences from the American people for the sad accident that happened right here today. And I express my condolences to the families, if you will, of those whose lives were taken.

It's always a pleasure to come back here to Brussels. This city represents the finest that Europe has to offer in friendship and hospitality. And it also represents the strength and the vitality of European institutions, nourished and protected for more than 40 years by the security shield of NATO, one of the great success stories of our century, and now increasingly invigorated through the European Community. Brussels itself symbolizes a vibrant and growing transatlantic partnership, one that has helped foster the astounding changes that we're seeing today.

The modern Atlantic alliance was born at sea. It was on a battleship off the coast of Canada that Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill met during Europe's darkest hours—great leaders, a rendezvous at sea, rendezvous with destiny. The legacy of that meeting became known as the Atlantic Charter, significant not for its details but for its vision. And it spoke of a day when all peoples in all nations would enjoy freely to choose their form of government and live lives rich with opportunity and hope. It spoke of a day when nations would resolve their differences at the negotiating table, not on the field of battle.

Tonight, I've come to Brussels to share with our friends and our allies the results of that vision, results borne of strength and solidarity, continuity and commitment. It seems like the world is changing overnight. But the yearning for freedom lives within all of us, and always has. And that simple truth is manifested in the thunderous events that are taking place just a few hundred kilometers to the east. And that simpler truth brought Mikhail Gorbachev and me together on a windswept harbor off Malta.

The seas were as turbulent as our times, but it was not an ill wind carrying us on our mission. No, it was the winds of change—strong and constant, profound. And today, as the sun broke through the clouds there at Malta, we could see a new world taking shape, a new world of freedom.

Much was accomplished to accelerate and improve East-West relations. And I made clear to Chairman Gorbachev that the United States supports fully his policy of *perestroika*. And I outlined steps we are prepared to take to demonstrate that support. Much remains to be done. But none of these positive developments that we are seeing, nor the steps that I have laid out with the Soviet Union, would be possible without the enduring foundation of the North Atlantic alliance.

For 40 years, NATO was dependent on our democratic way of life—defended it. And by protecting freedom for the peoples of the West, it has held out the hope of a better future for the peoples of the East. Here in Brussels just 6 months ago, we pledged again as allies to work together to end the division of Europe, and we now stand at the threshold of making that dream a reality. Europe is in the midst of the most profound transformation in four decades. Now, more than ever, this alliance of free nations remains the bedrock of peaceful change in Europe, and that is what I will be discussing with my NATO colleagues tomorrow. I'm sure they will agree with that.

It's an exciting time for the alliance, for America, and for Europe. Thank you again, Mr. Prime Minister, and God bless you and the wonderful people of Belgium.

Note: The President spoke at 7 p.m. at Zaventem Airport. In his opening remarks, he referred to an explosion that occurred at a private shooting range in Brussels.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meetings With Foreign Leaders in Brussels
December 3, 1989

The President gave Prime Minister Martens an account of the meeting in Malta. The Prime Minister said he thought it was a great success for the President and the West. They talked about the ensuing challenges for NATO in managing change in Europe and agreed that the European Community would have an important role to play in peaceful change on the continent.

Chancellor Kohl congratulated the President on the outcome of the Malta meeting. The Chancellor said that the discussions there had pushed forward East-West cooperation and were a demonstration of America's commitment to the future of Europe. The two leaders agreed that NATO would remain the cornerstone of the West's efforts to manage peaceful change in Europe.

Note: The President met with Belgian Prime Minister Wilfred Martens at 7:15 p.m. and with West German Chancellor Helmt Kohl at 8:20 p.m. at Chateau Stuyvenberg.

White House Fact Sheet on the Meeting With Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta
December 4, 1989

The President and Chairman Gorbachev exchanged views on a variety of issues during their meetings in Malta, including the remarkable events leading to peaceful and democratic change in Eastern and Central Europe.

The President noted his strong support for *perestroika* and suggested that the two leaders work to give major new impetus to the U.S.-Soviet relationship. The President conveyed his strong personal commitment to this goal.

In this spirit, the President put forward the following ideas:

Next Steps

1. Holding the summit in the United States during the last 2 weeks in June.

2. Having the next meeting of Foreign Ministers next month in the Soviet Union to prepare for the summit.

Economics and Commercial Relations

1. Targeting the 1990 summit for completion of a trade agreement granting most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union so that the President can grant a Jackson-Vanik waiver at that time. To reach that goal, the President proposed beginning negotiations on a trade agreement now and urged the Supreme Soviet to complete action on its emigration legislation early next year.

2. Supporting observer status for the Soviet Union in GATT after the Uruguay round is completed next year. The President urged the Soviet Union to use the intervening time to move toward market prices at the wholesale level so its economy will become more compatible with the GATT system.

3. Expanding U.S.-Soviet technical economic cooperation. The President presented a paper proposing specific economic projects covering topics such as finance, agriculture, statistics, small business development, budgetary and tax policy, a stock exchange, and antimonopoly policy.

4. Exploring with Congress the lifting of statutory restrictions on export credits and guarantees after a Jackson-Vanik waiver.

5. Beginning discussions of a bilateral investment treaty that would provide protections for American business people who want to invest in the Soviet Union.

6. Improving ties between the Soviets and the OECD, and East-West economic cooperation through the economic basket of the CSCE process.

Human Rights

Resolving all divided family issues by the time of the 1990 summit. In this regard, the President handed over a list of people wishing to emigrate

Regional Issues

Expressed disappointment with Soviet policy on Central America, noting it was out of step with the new Soviet direction domestically in Eastern Europe and in arms control. Nicaragua/Cuba remains the single most disruptive factor in the relationship.

Arms Control

1. Speeding achievement of a chemical weapons ban by offering to end U.S. production of binary weapons when the multilateral convention on chemical weapons enters into force in return for Soviet acceptance of the terms of our U.N. proposal to ban chemical weapons.
2. Proposing to sign an agreement at the 1990 summit to destroy U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons down to 20 percent of the current U.S. level.
3. Suggesting joint U.S.-Soviet support for a CFE summit to sign a CFE treaty in 1990.
4. Accelerating the START process in order to resolve all substantive issues and to conclude a treaty, if possible, by the 1990 summit. To this end, the President suggested that Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze concentrate on resolving at their January meeting three of the outstanding START issues: ALCM's [air-launched cruise missiles], nondeployed missiles. and telemetry encryption.
5. Completing work on the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET) for signature at the 1990 summit.
6. Proposing that the Soviet Union join efforts to constrain missile proliferation more effectively by observing the limits developed by the U.S. and its allies in the Missile Technology Control Regime.

Military Openness

Making public more information on military programs. The President suggested that the Soviet Union make public the details of its military budget, force posture, and weapons production figures, just as the United States now does.

Olympics

Suggesting joint U.S.-Soviet support for Berlin as the site of the 2004 Olympic Games.

Environment

1. Hosting a conference next fall to negotiate a framework treaty on global climate change, after the working groups of the U.N.-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change submit their final report.
2. Convening an international meeting at the White House next spring for top-level scientific, environmental, and economic officials to discuss global climate change issues. The President expressed hope that the Soviets will join us by sending their top officials in the field.

Student Exchanges

Increasing significantly university exchanges so that an additional 1,000 American and 1,000 Soviet college students are studying in each other's country by the beginning of the 1991 school year.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With President Jacques Delors of the European Economic Community in Brussels

December 4, 1989

President Bush discussed with European Economic Community President Jacques Delors the broad outlines of his conversations with Chairman Gorbachev, emphasizing particularly the economic and political developments in Eastern Europe. He complimented President Delors on the EC's coordination of Western aid to Hungary and Poland. This was the third meeting this year between President Bush and President Delors, an indication of the importance both sides attach to the U.S.-EC relationship.

The President underscored the United States commitment to Europe and noted his belief that a strong, vigorous European Community is a vital partner with NATO in preserving the freedom and democratic values of Western Europe—those very values which are now sweeping eastward.

Note: The two Presidents met at 8:05 a.m. at Chateau Stuyvenberg.

Outline of Remarks at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Headquarters in Brussels

December 4, 1989

Introduction

This morning I reviewed my discussions with President Gorbachev at Malta, and we heard from Prime Minister Andreotti and Prime Minister Mulroney about their recent meetings with him. I would like to take this opportunity this afternoon to talk about a subject of even broader scope: the future shape of the new Europe and the new Atlanticism.

A Time of Choice

When we last met in May, our summit declaration described the setting as a "juncture of unprecedented change and opportunities." In the last 6 months, we have witnessed events that have finally begun to match our hopes these 40 years. Our dreams for an historic transformation of Europe from a divided continent into a continent whole and free are coming true.

The alliance was established in 1949 to provide the basis for precisely the extraordinary evolution which is occurring in Eastern Europe today.

This year the people of the East made fundamental choices about their destiny, and governments there began to honor the citizen's right to choose. What these changes amount to is nothing less than a peaceful revolution.

The task before us is to consolidate the fruits of this peaceful revolution and provide the architecture for continued peaceful change. Great choices are being made, and greater opportunities beckon.

The First Principle for Europe's Future: Overcoming the Division of Europe Through Freedom

In any time of great change, it is good to have firm principles to guide our way. Our governments committed themselves again in May to seek an end to the painful division of Europe. We have never accepted this division. The people of every nation have the right to determine their own way of life in freedom.

Of course, we have all supported German reunification for four decades. And in our view, this goal of German unification should be based on the following principles.

First, self-determination must be pursued without prejudice to its outcome. We should not at this time endorse nor exclude any particular vision of unity. Second, unification should occur in the context of Germany's continued commitment to NATO and an increasingly integrated European Community, and with due regard for the legal role and responsibilities of the allied powers. Third, in the interests of general European stability, moves toward unification must be peaceful, gradual, and part of a step-by-step process. Lastly, on the question of borders, we should reiterate our support for the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

An end to the unnatural division of Europe and of Germany must proceed in accordance with and be based upon the values that are becoming universal ideals, as all the countries of Europe become part of a commonwealth of free nations. I know my friend Helmut Kohl completely shares this conviction.

The Role of NATO

The political strategy for NATO that we agreed upon last May makes the promotion of greater freedom in the East a basic element of alliance policy. Accordingly, NATO should promote human rights, democracy, and reform within Eastern countries as the best means of encouraging reconciliation among the countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

This effort recalls the origin of NATO as a political alliance of nations sharing the same fundamental values, a foundation on which I expect NATO will increasingly build in this new age of Europe.

Alliance support for reform and positive change in the East needs to be broad, multifaceted, and flexible. It should not only be a question of economic assistance—as important as that might be—but of steps to support greater political pluralism, open up flows of information, develop needed technical expertise, and provide through our defense and arms control efforts a stable security environment for individual European states, both East and West. This fits the concept of "New Missions for NATO" which I proposed when I was here last May for our summit.

But we also must remain constant with NATO's traditional security mission. The potential for strife is inherent in any period of fundamental political transition. In seeking and preparing peaceful change, this alliance also must remain a reliable guarantor of peace in Europe, as it has been for 40 years. It unites the free states of the Atlantic community in sharing risks and responsibilities as we work together to nurture and guide the development of a new Europe.

As a defensive alliance and partnership of democracies, NATO should not be seen as threatening by the East; rather, it can help manage peaceful change in Europe in a way that preserves security and stability for all states. A healthy NATO will support both moves toward greater unity within Western Europe as well as the dissolution of barriers with the East.

Although this is a time of great hope, we must not blur the distinction between promising expectations and present realities. My government therefore remains committed to the alliance strategy for the prevention of war based on a mix of nuclear and conventional forces. I pledge today that the United States will maintain significant military forces in Europe as long as our allies desire our presence as part of a common security effort. As I said at NATO earlier this year, the United States will remain a European power. That means the United States will stay engaged in the future of Europe and in our common defense.

This is not old thinking; it is good thinking. Of course, I would like to see a less militarized Europe. Everyone here knows how strongly I support the progress being made in the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe toward an agreement that would reduce the size of the conventional forces on both sides of the East-West divide. This CFE agreement would dramatically cut back Warsaw Pact, particularly Soviet, force strength. This has great implications for the process of reform in Eastern Europe, as well as for the security of Western Europe, and it would provide for a carefully managed and responsible set of allied reductions as well.

As we seek to adjust our military posture to the changing political climate, I can think of no better model than the CFE process as a way to coordinate our responses to the new requirements of European security. We must stand together for negotiated, coordinated, stabilizing reductions—against a rush to throw off defense burdens, against a return to the narrow protection of self-interest that could be so dangerous at a time when European politics are in a state of flux rivaled in my adult life only by the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

Yet, the CFE process has not realized its full potential. Last May we agreed to seek an agreement within 1 year. We have made good progress since then, but too little and too slowly to take full advantage of the opportunity before us: the chance to ease the Soviet Army out of Eastern Europe and substantially reduce the risk of surprise attack and aggression. We as political leaders need to remain fixed on this goal and to reenergize our bureaucracies and negotiators to seize this urgent opportunity. I hope you agree with me on the need for action now. If we in this alliance are not equal to the changes that are going on in Europe around us, the CFE process could be overrun by events. That could be dangerous, and we must avoid it.

Similarly, we need to give thought to how the alliance can best maintain, in the midst of change, deterrence at the lowest possible level of forces. For that reason, I am prepared to look with an open mind at ways in which we can together achieve even lower levels of conventional and nuclear forces in Europe as part of a negotiated agreement.

The Role of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)

Many of the values that should guide Europe's future are described in the Final Act of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. These values encompass the freedom of people to choose their destiny under a rule of law with rulers who are democratically accountable. I think we can look to the CSCE to play a greater role in the future of Europe.

Earlier this year, I suggested we expand the CSCE human rights basket to include free elections. Given the calls and commitments to elections in many nations to the East, this could be an excellent time for the CSCE to assume this additional mandate.

In addition, the economic basket of the CSCE has been underdeveloped. I suggested to Chairman Gorbachev this weekend that we could breathe new life into this aspect of CSCE by focusing on the practical questions involved in the transition from stagnant planned economies to free and competitive markets.

In sum, the 35 nations of the CSCE bridge both the division of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. It is a structure that should be able to contribute much to the future architecture of Europe.

The Role of the European Community (EC)

I also appreciate the vital role the EC must play in the new Europe. Before my trip to Malta, President Mitterrand called to share with me the views about recent events expressed at the EC meeting he had called. And I know the Community will be returning to these topics in Strasbourg later this week.

It's my belief that the events of our times call *both* for a continued, perhaps even intensified, effort of the 12 to integrate, *and* a role for the EC as a magnet that draws the forces of reform forward in Eastern Europe. That's why I was exceptionally pleased that we agreed at the Paris economic summit on a specific role for the EC in the Group-of-24-effort to assist Poland and Hungary. Now the G–24, catalyzed by EC efforts, must deliver. One key step is to help Poland assemble the $1 billion stabilization fund it has requested to support the major macroeconomic overhaul plan it intends to put in place within weeks.

I recognize, of course, that the EC cannot bear this burden alone. The United States will be at the Community's side in this noble endeavor. I also am committed to a close U.S. partnership with the EC. We are bound together by common values and democratic institutions, as well as by shared interests. So, we should look for ways to improve our ties, so a new Atlanticism will pull in harness with a new Europe.

Conclusion

We stand on the threshold of a new era. We know that we are contributing to a process of history driven by peoples determined to be free. The people of Europe, especially the brave citizens of the East, are illuminating the future. Yet the outcome is not predestined. It depends on our continued strength and solidarity as an alliance. It depends vitally on the actions we take, as governments and individuals, to offer leadership, protection, and encouragement for this process of peaceful transformation.

Europe is changing, and we will be equal to the change. Our transatlantic partnership can create the architecture of a new Europe and a new Atlanticism, where self-determination and individual freedom everywhere replace coercion and tyranny, where economic liberty everywhere replaces economic controls and stagnation, and where lasting peace is reinforced everywhere by common respect for the rights of man.

Note: The President participated in morning and afternoon working sessions and had lunch with alliance leaders at NATO Headquarters. The outline referred to Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany, and President François Mitterrand of France.

The President's News Conference in Brussels

December 4, 1989

The President. I have a statement, and then I'll be glad to respond to your questions.

This year the people of the East made fundamental choices about their destiny, and governments there began to honor the citizen's right to choose. What these changes amount to is nothing less than a peaceful revolution. And the task before us, therefore, is to consolidate the fruits of this peaceful revolution and provide the architecture for continued peaceful change, to end the division of Europe and Germany, to make Europe whole and free.

Great choices are being made. Greater opportunities beckon. The political strategy for NATO that we agreed upon last May makes the promotion of greater freedom in the East a basic element of alliance policy. Accordingly, NATO should promote human rights, democracy, and reform within Eastern countries as the best means of encouraging reconciliation among the countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

Although this is a time of great hope—and it is—we must not blur the distinction between promising expectations and present realities. We must remain constant with NATO's traditional security mission. I pledge today that the United States will maintain significant military forces in Europe as long as our allies desire our presence as part of a common defense effort. The U.S. will remain a European power, and that means that the United States will stay engaged in the future of Europe and in our common defense.

Many of the values that should guide Europe's future are described in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. These values encompass the freedom of people to choose their destiny under a rule of law with rulers who are democratically accountable. I think we can look to the CSCE to play a greater role in the future of Europe. The 35 nations of the CSCE bridge both the division of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. It's a structure that should be able to contribute much to the future architecture of Europe.

I also appreciate the vital role that the EC [European Community] must play in the new Europe. And it's my belief that the events of our times call both for a continued, perhaps even intensified, effort of the 12 to integrate, and a role for the EC as a magnet that draws the forces of reform toward Eastern Europe. And that's why I was exceptionally pleased that we agreed at the Paris economic summit on a specific role for the EC in that Group of 24 effort to assist Poland and Hungary.

We stand on the threshold of a new era. And we know that we are contributing to a process of history driven by the peoples determined to be free. The people of Europe, especially the brave citizens of the East, are illuminating the future. And yet the outcome is not predestined. It depends on our continued strength and our solidarity as an alliance.

Our transatlantic partnership can create the architecture of a new Europe and a new Atlanticism, where self-determination and individual freedom everywhere replace coercion and tyranny, where economic liberty everywhere replaces economic controls and stagnation, and where lasting peace is reinforced everywhere by common respect for the rights of man.

I now would be glad to respond to some questions. And we've got to be out of here about a little after quarter of.

U.S. Military Role in Europe

Q. Mr. President, I have a two-part question. You've made it clear that you are going to stay in Europe. But in view of the dramatic reduction in tensions and the obvious weakening of the Warsaw Pact, what will be the real American role? And two: Will there now be more money for the poor, the homeless, public housing—the nation's really badly in need of repair infrastructure?

The President. We have a lot of demands at home, and there's no question about that. But I think it is premature to speak, as some are at home, about a peace dividend: take a lot of money out of defense, and put it into other worthy causes. And so, as I started over the budget figures for the next budget cycle, we are under a tremendous burden to get our total spending down in order to meet the Gramm-Rudman targets.

In terms of the U.S. role, I think I set it out here pretty well. We will continue to play a very active role in NATO. I see nothing that diminishes the importance of the United States. And I might say that I gathered from our interlocutors there—the other heads of state and governments—that they want us fully involved. And thinking back on my talks with Mr. Gorbachev, I don't see any conflict there either.

German Reunification

Q. Mr. President, Vernon Walters, your trusted adviser and the Ambassador to Bonn, said that he envisions a—he says that Germany East and West will be reunited within 5 years. Do you think that's possible? And what would be the implications for NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

The President. I am not into the predicting of time on the question of Germany. I don't know whether the Secretary General read you these points. Let me just read the four points that represent the U.S. position on reunification. Self-determination must be pursued without prejudice to its outcome, and we should not at this time endorse any particular vision. Secondly, unification should occur in the context of Germany's continued commitment to NATO and an increasingly integrated European Community, and with due regard for the legal role and responsibilities of the allied powers. Third, in the interest of general European stability, moves toward unification must be peaceful, gradual, and part of a step-by-step basis. And lastly, on the question of borders, we should reiterate our support for the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

So, I am not trying to accelerate that process. I don't think our allies are. I think Chancellor Kohl [Federal Republic of Germany] feels comfortable with the four points I have just read. And so, I think it's better to let things move on their own and without the United States certainly setting some kind of deadline.

Meeting With Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you said in announcing your meeting with Chairman Gorbachev that one of the main reasons was that you wanted to make sure that in this time of change you didn't miss anything. In your 2 days of meetings, did you learn anything that you feel that you might have missed had you not had them?

The President. Yes. What I would have missed is I wouldn't see quite as clearly his priorities. I see them more clearly because he and I sat down and talked. We had about 8 hours of talk, some private. And I feel I can sense much more clearly the things he feels more strongly about. And we had a good chance to point out to him some of the difficulties with our relationship.

It wasn't all sweetness and light. I had a very good opportunity to tell him how we view the problems in our own hemisphere: the sending of arms in there to help the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] and the unhelpful role that Cuba is playing. I recited in detail the Oscar Arias [President of Costa Rica] phone call to me: "Please raise with Mr. Gorbachev the destructive role of Cuba."

So, I think it's more emphasis, although we did put forward some general themes on the economy. And I think he was pleased because I think from his standpoint—and this is important for mine—he now sees that we want to have a cooperative, forward-leaning relationship with the Soviet Union.

Q. Mr. President, you have, perhaps more than any contemporary American President, exercised personal diplomacy—establishing personal friendships with a wide variety of leaders. Are you prepared now to say that Mr. Gorbachev is your friend?

The President. I'll say this: We had a very friendly conversation. And then, once in a while, there was a little tension there. But it was extraordinarily friendly in the conversation aspect. I don't know how you go further than that in definition. But I'm convinced that he is determined to do that what he told me he's doing: reform, *perestroika,* openness—we totally agree on—is a democratic value.

So, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], what happened was, I think, he took my measure and I took his. And I think we just feel more comfortable about our common objectives.

U.S. Role in Europe

Q. To go back to what Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International] asked you about, you said we would remain an Atlantic power.

The President. Keep talking. I'm just going to get some water.

Q. After World War II, the Europeans needed our money with the Marshall plan. They needed our military backing because of the Soviet threat. But now, if the Soviet military threat does recede—and I know it's early days yet—maybe this is a question that one of your successors will have to deal with eventually: What are they going to need from us? What role will we really have to play here?

The President. Well, we have a tremendous interaction if you want to hypothetically project to that guaranteed peaceful time. I would say interaction with the United States on student exchanges, cultural exchanges, economic matters. I mean, there's a tremendous potential for a Soviet Union that is in accord with us on these democratic values. It's a tremendous market, for example, but it needs the economic reform. So, what we've got to do is be sure that we conduct ourselves in such a way that the changes, the political reforms, can keep going forward there in Eastern Europe; that the Soviet Union can do what Mr. Gorbachev is trying to do internally. And then there's just enormous potential for living at peace with that tremendous power.

Q. Sir, maybe I misstated my question. What I really mean is: Why do West Europeans need us once the military threat recedes? The West Europeans? Why would there have to be a NATO? This is a political and military alliance, and truly a political alliance because of the military need.

The President. You mean why will there always have to be a U.S. presence?

Q. Why will there always have to be a NATO?

The President. Well, if you want to project out 100 years, or take some years off of that, you can look to a utopian day when there might not be. But as I pointed out to them, that day hasn't arrived; and they agree with me. And so, the United States must stay involved. What we don't want to do is send the signal of the decoupling of the United States and Canada from NATO, particularly at this highly sensitive time. And Mr. Gorbachev understood that. He made that point to me.

Ethnic Unrest in the Soviet Union

Q. Did President Gorbachev ask your forbearance in case he decided to crack down on dissidents? And if so, what did you say? Or what role did the question of ethnic and Baltic dissent have in your meeting?

The President. The answer to the first part is no. And the answer to the second part is: I asked him to describe for me the nationality problems inside the Soviet Union. And he did it in considerable detail.

Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you had mentioned that you got some insight into President Gorbachev at this point. I wonder if the insights included any sense of internal—did he behave as if a man operating from a strong position or a man who seemed to be in jeopardy, or how did you assess that?

The President. I thought he seemed very much in control. You could tell the way he interacted with his own top people there. And he felt very confident in discussing without notes a wide array of subjects with me. He did have a little notebook that he referred to. It was written in his own handwriting, the best I could see. [*Laughter*] And once having seen it, I couldn't read it. [*Laughter*] And so, he seemed in control. He seemed—subdued is the wrong word, but I would say determined and unemotional about it. The most emotion we saw was at that press conference yesterday, but it was a wonderful presentation. And the climate for—leave out the weather—the climate for the discussions was really good.

German Reunification

Q. Mr. President, again as part of the insights you gained, what is your understanding about Secretary General Gorbachev's view of unification of Germany? Do you think he's as opposed as he's said in public, or do you think that he accepts the fact that——

The President. I think his view was one of—if I could use a word that's unfamiliar to many—caution. And I really believe that. I think he recognizes the rapidity of change. He has very constructively talked about peaceful change. And I think his hope is that people don't try to set up some artificial calendar date by which that reunification should happen. And I think he feels that if there were outside forces setting dates on something like that, that would complicate the way in which he is helping manage the change in the Pact.

Arms Control

Q. Mr. President, there was a lot of speculation going in that you and Mr. Gorbachev might get involved in talking about deeper cuts, particularly in European forces. Did you, in fact, do that? And is there skepticism within this organization here about moving too rapidly beyond what has now been dubbed CFE I?

The President. No, we didn't get into that. We talked very broadly about our aspirations for further arms control, but there was no emphasis on that. There may be some strains in one country or another, viewing the rapidity of change differently than we do. But what I suggested to our NATO allies is: Let's go forward with the agreements we've got out there—the CFE. Let's get it done. I, the President of the United States, will kick our bureaucracy and push it as fast as I possibly can. I've talked to General Galvin [Supreme Allied Commander in Europe]. I had a meeting with him over here last night, and I'm convinced that I must do more to keep it on schedule. And I've encouraged the other allies to do the same. I don't think there was any resistance to that—similarly, START and chemical weapons.

So, before we go into a wide array of other questions, I think the best thing to do is take advantage of the moment and move forward in those three areas. And I went over that in little talks with individuals from NATO, as well as in the meeting itself.

Q. Do you accept the principle of a CFE II?

The President. Well, I'd like to get a CFE I in the bank first—get it locked up, get those troops out, move down to equal levels, U.S. and Soviet forces. And so, we ought to manage that before we start the architecture of something else. I want to see that done on time.

German Reunification

Q. Mr. President, on East Germany, as you know, the Communist Party structure has collapsed there. It's unclear who's running the Government. I wonder if you talked about that, if you personally think that it's a dangerous situation, that that moves unification up in the timetable at all? And secondly, what Gorbachev said to you when you said to him unification of Germany would have to be in the NATO context?

The President. No, I don't think it's a dangerous situation. I don't think anybody here in this room, including myself, has been able to predict the rapidity of the change, the totality of the change. But I don't see it as dangerous as long as the Soviet leader and the Germans and the West conduct themselves the way I've been urging.

What was the second part?

Q. Well, what Mr. Gorbachev said to you when you said unification, but only in the NATO context. He keeps saying it has to be in the Warsaw Pact context.

The President. No, we were—I don't think we went into that in real depth, Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News].

Q. Well, what do you think he'd think of that? I mean, obviously——

The President. That's too hypothetical. I've got trouble figuring it out on our side with all our experts, rather than knowing what he might think about something he hadn't thought about, maybe. [*Laughter*]

Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you seem to have traveled some distance between what you were saying about Mr. Gorbachev a year or so ago and some of the things you said yesterday. Could you please talk in a little bit more detail about the evolution in your thinking that you mentioned yesterday—how that happened and what persuaded you along the——

The President. As I watched the way in which Mr. Gorbachev has handled the changes in Eastern Europe, it deserves new thinking. It absolutely mandates new thinking. And when I see his willingness to give support to a CFE agreement that calls for him to disproportionately reduce his forces and that is there on the table, I think that mandates new thinking. When I hear him talk about peaceful change and the right of countries in the Warsaw Pact to choose, that deserves new thinking.

And so, I approach this—and I think in step with our allies—with a certain respect for what he's doing. And thus we want to try to meet him on some of the areas where he needs help. I'm thinking of a few suggestions I had in the economic area. But I also believe that the West must remain strong and together and try to be helpful where we can in a united way, but not be imprudent.

Meeting With Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned earlier that there was some tension during the meeting and earlier reported you had said that there was no personal rancor. Could you outline the moments of tension and tell us a little bit about the moments where you felt there was tension between you and the Soviet leader?

The President. Well, I think where you don't have agreement some slight tension might result. I don't want to imply there was great, dramatic moments of tension. Please let me clarify it if that's the impression I left.

But we have a big difference on how we look at Central America. And I would like to see him use his influence with Mr. Castro and, if he's got any left, with Mr. Ortega [President of Nicaragua] to facilitate democratic change in the Western Hemisphere. And I made clear this isn't just the view of the United States, but it's the view of many Americans. And it's the view of Oscar Arias. So, when you get into a subject like that, where he may have a different formula, it's a little more concentrated than when you're clicking off agreements in some areas.

Is there anybody here that's not accredited to the White House? Only because I don't want to be rude to the foreign—you're not a foreign journalist. Who—you are? I wasn't talking to you. Go ahead, please.

European Economic Integration

Q. Can I ask you to elaborate on who you are and what you mean by European Community integration?

The President. What?

Q. You made a statement before. You know, a statement. You referred to the European Community, EC—greatly needs integration.

The President. Well, what I'm talking about is primarily on the economic side. You're going to have enormous interchange between the East and West. And what we're trying to do in the West, and I think the EC is trying to do it also, is to assist those countries that are moving down the democratic path. The EC was charged out of our G–7 meeting in Paris to move forward on a coordinated economic approach to help Hungary and Poland. And so, it's in that area where I see the earliest and the most productive integration.

Houston Economic Summit

Q. Mr. President, the last 2 weeks of June, Mr. Gorbachev will be in the U.S.A. for the summit. At the very beginning of July, G–7 will be meeting in Houston. Now, you said in Malta that you wanted to help steer the Soviet Union into the global economy. Is there a prospect that Mr. Gorbachev might stay on for the G–7 summit? Or when you called on that summit, why didn't you include some of the Eastern powers?

The President. The answer is I don't think so. Put it this way: Two chances, slim and none, for that particular meeting. Nor did he request to be included in that particular meeting. But we're in times of rapid change. And we'll see how things move forward in terms of having a common subject to discuss. You see, we've got to understand his dilemma. They have not had a market economy. They have not had the privatization that joins the G–7 together. It's different. And so, what I have proposed, as opposed to the question you asked, is that we work with them in observer status in the GATT eventually, soon as the Uruguay round is over—do more for him to do more with OECD. It is important that not just the Soviet Union but other countries in Europe understand the market economies, understand the dynamism of the economic systems that join those seven countries. So, I don't think it's likely that he would hang around Houston waiting for the next meeting.

Defense Budget Cuts

Q. Mr. President, you stepped aside on a question about a peace dividend and said that you've got a terrible Gramm-Rudman problem next year. As you look at the chances in Europe and the possibilities of further defense cuts, do you expect any time in your first term to have a peace dividend to apply to some of the economic and social problems at home? And when would you expect that?

The President. That's an awful tough question to answer about "any time." I would think it would be extraordinarily difficult because of not only the enormity of the Gramm-Rudman, the difficulty of reaching the Gramm-Rudman target this year, but what follows on.

And so, what we are trying to do is emphasize the areas where we can be of most help to the people through various programs. And in some areas—I don't know whether Helen mentioned in her question education—but in some areas the problem isn't going to be solved by putting more money into it.

But on your question, as we go on down on meeting these Gramm-Rudman targets, there just isn't a lot of excess money floating around there.

Q. Not for the foreseeable future? Not for the rest of your first term?

The President. Well, look at the Gramm-Rudman targets that face us. I don't want to hold out to those that want to rush out and spend a lot more money the hope that that is going to happen. We've got some tremendous economic problems that have to be solved, because the best answer to helping people—if you have to divide it, have to quantify it—the best is to have a job. And the best way to have the climate for a job is to have a sound economy.

And to our foreign friends here, I'd say one of the things that would be the best guarantee of that would be to get our Federal deficits down. It would also help us with investment. And that is the best poverty program: a job in the private sector. I had a letter from a distinguished Senator before I left—because he'd read about possible defense cuts, a reduction in the defense budget—saying take that money and spend it for a cause that he felt was very worthy. And I had to write him back and say, "Look, that isn't the way it's going to work. That isn't the way it's going to work."

Conventional Force Reductions in Europe

Q. Mr. President, you spoke in your opening statement about the need for a greater role for the 35-nation group known as CSCE. You know that in Rome Chairman Gorbachev raised the possibility of a new conference, a congress of Europe. I understand that didn't come up in Malta.

The President. No, it didn't.

Q. It did?

The President. No, it did not. You're right.

Q. But even though it didn't, it's an important suggestion, and I wonder how you feel about it.

The President. Well, I feel about it that I have—with respect to him—an even more important suggestion. And that is that we sign a CFE agreement. There's something that's very practical, that's very much within our grasp, and I think that should be our prime objective for that kind of a meeting.

East-West Relations

Q. Chairman Gorbachev said yesterday that you and he agreed in your talks that the Malta meeting marked the end of the epoch of the cold war and entering a new period. Do you agree with him that the cold war is over?

The President. Carl [Carl Leubsdorf, Dallas Morning News], let me tell you something. [*Laughter*] We're fooling around with semantics here. I don't want to give you a headline. I've told you the areas where I think we have progress. Why do we resort to these codewords that send different signals to different people? I'm not going to answer it. And I can tell——

Q. He did.

The President. Well, good. He can speak for himself in a very eloquent way. But in terms of if you want me to define it, is the cold war the same—I mean, is it raging like it was before in the times of the Berlin blockade? Absolutely not. Things have moved dramatically. But if I signal to you there's no cold war, then it's "What are you doing with troops in Europe?" I mean, come on.

Yes, Maureen [Maureen Doud, New York Times]?

Q. A question for——

The President. Is your name Maureen, sir?

Q. ——Soviet journalist. I am from a visiting newspaper.

The President. Name Maureen? Go ahead. [*Laughter*]

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction to Chairman Gorbachev's proposal that NATO and the Warsaw Pact should not remain just military alliances but rather become military-political alliances and later on just political alliances? Can you envisage in the future a new form of cooperation between the two alliances?

The President. Well, I can see an economic interaction. And I hope that NATO will—along with the EC and along with OECD and these other areas—will take more of an active East-West role in the economy, in helping each other in terms of systems. But he did not press that point with me at all; I think he envisions an active U.S. presence in Europe, one way or another.

Meeting With Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, after 5 hours of talks on Saturday, despite extremely treacherous seas—you even had trouble getting to the talks—you got back on your launch and got back on your ship. Mr. President, why did you do that?

The President. Because I wanted to go back in time to receive him for dinner.

Q. But didn't you understand you were risking the summit, number one? And number two, what do you think Gorbachev thinks of your judgment?

The President. Maureen, you've been to Maine. Don't tell me that that little chop was—[*laughter*]—risking anything. Frankly, I haven't had that much fun in a long time, either. But the fact that we got out there and the seas kicked up even more—the winds were up to 60 miles an hour, 50 knots, which is a big wind. And along with it came a swell, and along with it came a chop. But we didn't miss a beat. In fact, we had a very relaxed evening out there. And then showed up, and we got 8 hours of talks in. So, that was a nonissue. And I didn't feel there was any risk in getting in a little safe launch like that and going back out to the ship—it was sheer pleasure—really.

Q. It wasn't hot-dogging?

The President. Hot-dogging? No. [*Laughter*] Well, you know, these charismatic, macho, visionary guys. They'll do anything. [*Laughter*] This is the last question. I've got to go. I've got to go home.

Central America

Q. Mr. President, a few moments ago you questioned whether Gorbachev had any influence at all over Danny Ortega. Yet in his news conference yesterday, Chairman Gorbachev indicated that there may be an opportunity now for peace in the region. Did he indicate to you in any way whether, one, he had any control over Ortega or, two, whether there was something in the works that may lead to some kind of peaceful political——

The President. No, he didn't. He didn't indicate whether he had any control over him. What he did indicate was that there were going to be free elections. And I told him that's fine. Have those free elections, but they've got to be fair. You have to have access for the minority parties and the opposition party, the UNO [United Nicaraguan Opposition], to get in there and participate—full access. And so, we had a little discussion of that, but that was about it.

Q. To follow up: If he indicated there would be free elections, that would in turn indicate that he does in fact maintain some sort of influence over Ortega. And then wouldn't you hold him further responsible to stop that flow of arms to El Salvador?

The President. Well, I'm not sure. I don't see quite the logic. If he says there's going to be a free election, that means he controls them. I'm unclear on your——

Q. How could he assure you that there would be free elections?

The President. Oh, excuse me. I don't think he assured me there was. He just says free elections are scheduled. And I told him how important we felt it was that they go forward. I am told that our congressional delegation, made up of some who had been rather generous in their comments about what the Sandinistas were about, or at least were less than supportive, historically, for the *contras*, were on this delegation; and that the delegation was denied the right to come in and take a look. And I told him this is counterproductive. This doesn't help. But I don't want to imply from that, that he can just snap his fingers and have Mr. Ortega do what he said.

I think he was impressed. I may be wrong, but I think he was impressed by the message from Oscar Arias. And I asked Arias if it was okay to tell him of the call, and he said: "Yes, I hope you will." So, when I said this man, this Nobel Prize winner down there with whom we've had some differences, though normally we're in pretty good sync, appeals to you to use your influence to stop the export of revolution, it may have made an impact.

I really do have to run. We're supposed to be out of here, for those who are flying with us, at quarter of, and it's now 14 of. No, wait a minute, 12 of. [*Laughter*] What's the big hand? Here, I'm getting a little tired. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President's 29th news conference began at 4:20 p.m. in the Luns Press Theater at NATO Headquarters.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Continuation of Fernando Manfredo, Jr., as Acting Administrator of the Panama Canal Commission

December 5, 1989

The President has asked the current Panamanian Deputy Administrator of the Panama Canal Commission, Mr. Fernando Manfredo, to continue to serve the Commission and to serve as Acting Administrator of the Commission upon the retirement of the current U.S. Administrator, Mr. McAuliffe, effective January 1, 1990. The Panama Canal Treaty of 1977 requires that on January 1, 1990, the Administrator be a Panamanian national and the Deputy Administrator, a U.S. national. An announcement regarding an Acting Deputy Administrator will be made subsequently by the Board of Directors of the Commission.

The administration has asked Mr. Manfredo to continue to serve the Canal Commission in an acting capacity, given the outstanding ability he has demonstrated both as Deputy Administrator and as Acting Administrator on previous occasions when the Administrator has been absent. As this step demonstrates, the United States is committed to meeting the requirements of the Panama Canal Treaty even under current circumstances in which no legitimate government authority exists in Panama. A Panamanian Administrator will be appointed at such time as a legitimate Panamanian Government exists and proposes its candidate for Administrator in accordance with the procedures set forth in the treaty and applicable law.

Mr. Manfredo's 10 years of experience as Deputy Administrator and his demonstrated capability will ensure that the waterway will continue to be managed safely and efficiently.

Nomination of Enrique Mendez, Jr., To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

December 5, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Enrique Mendez, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs. He would succeed William E. Mayer.

Since 1989 Dr. Mendez has served as the secretary of health for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in San Juan, PR. In 1988 he served as the medical director of the Damas Hospital in Ponce, PR. Prior to this, he served as president and dean of the Ponce School of Medicine in Puerto Rico, 1984–1987, and dean of the Ponce School of Medicine, 1983–1984. From 1955 to 1983, Dr. Mendez served in the U.S. Army, and he has served as the Deputy Surgeon General of the Army and commanding general of the Walter Reed Army Medical Center. He retired from the Army as a major general in 1983.

Dr. Mendez graduated from the University of Puerto Rico (B.S., 1951) and Loyola University of Chicago (M.D., 1954). He was born July 15, 1931, in Santurce, PR. Dr. Mendez is married, has four children, and resides in Caparra Heights, PR.

Remarks at the National Republican Congressional Committee Dinner Honoring Representative Robert H. Michel

December 5, 1989

Thank you all. Please be seated. We may never get to eat. Thank you all. Thank you, Joe. And the great thing about having the speeches before dinner, they're normally shorter, and I will try to follow that pattern. But I want to first thank Joe Rodgers. What a job he did for the United States as our Ambassador in France. And also, he has always been in the front line of helping the solid, sound Republican causes. Joe, thank you for suiting up again.

I want to thank Guy Vander Jagt, the chairman, and his cochairman, Ed Rollins. I'm delighted to see members of my Cabinet here and, of course, so many members of the House leadership: Newt [Gingrich] and Mickey [Edwards]—well, I'm going to get in trouble if I keep going, but many of them right up here, and then out there in the audience. Let me thank the NRCC faithful—that's you, putting up the money, hanging in there through good times and bad. And I'm delighted to see this wonderful turnout to support this worthwhile cause.

And then, finally, recognize the man of the night, our honoree, Bob Michel. He is our leader, and he's a longtime friend of mine. I served with him up on the Hill. I played baseball with him on the Republican baseball team. We had winning seasons in those days. [*Laughter*] And he knows the Congress inside-out. He is our leader, as I say, a key player in working with this President. And it makes a difference; it makes a difference if you have a leader that you can pick up the phone and talk to and get advice from and then know that you'll also have support up there. And so, he is a keen ally, a strong player. And I'll tell you, we are going to hit the ground running when the Congress comes back next year. And I'll be counting on him in the future, as in the past.

You remember the big Presidential dinner they had last spring? I made the best-dressed list, but I would only want you to remember Bob Michel's sportcoat at that dinner. [*Laughter*] He is a shoe-in to make it. And here he is conservatively clad for this one.

I'm glad to be back here—a little bit spaced-out. I'm on Malta standard, but I want you to know that it is a pleasure. And I thought I'd say just a word or two, not to bore you with the details on the meeting but just a mention of the atmosphere, because I think the meetings did capture the imagination of a lot of the world.

I'll tell you that at NATO—I was very pleased with the reaction from the solid NATO partners we have. And whatever the weather in Malta. I can tell you the weather inside was relaxed. There were some moments when we would disagree on things, clearly; that's what those kinds of meetings are about, I guess. But I was able to talk in a straightforward manner with Mr. Gorbachev with no rancor. I think we did establish good lines of communication, and I think in an era of rapid change—and we certainly are living in that—it is important that we have good lines of communication. I made clear to him that it was not our role as the United States and as a leader in the NATO alliance to seek to exploit the changes in the events taking place in Eastern Europe but really only to assist the forces of freedom and reform that are emerging there. And I was very up-front with him on the differences, particularly the differences in our own hemisphere.

We are going to be the first hemisphere that is truly, totally democratic. And our goal is to assist countries that are moving in democracy's way. And we find that we have some differences obviously with, certainly, past performance of the Soviets and, regrettably, I'm afraid, in the future. But we're going to keep on working this. I was upfront with him about the destabilizing flow of arms into the region from nations that are receiving Soviet support. And both of us, though, agreed that we do not have to sacrifice candor in order to build up a better relationship.

There is no question that progress was made at Malta. It wasn't a meeting where we were going there to cross the "t's" and dot the "i's" on some kind of an arms control agreement, but progress was made. I think, in a sense, we've got an agenda out there now, an agenda that, if we can fulfill it and follow through on it, will strengthen the peace and provide a solid base for future advances.

We agreed to accelerate the timetables for reducing arms. And that means we're going to have to do our part, not just the United States but our alliances. I want to see a conventional force reduction. We have it on the table. It's a good one. It calls for disproportionate reductions—fewer U.S. troops coming out than Soviet. But the Soviets, in principle, are agreed. Now we've got to move that forward because I believe that kind of an agreement will really enhance the peace. We agreed to set the timeframe for a summit meeting here in the United States next June. The general agreement was out there, but we pinned it down until the last of June.

We agreed to move forward in trying to forge a closer economic relationship, in light of the positive changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. We know it's a long way to go. They have not been blessed with the wonders of the free economic system we have. They don't know what free markets are and convertible currencies and all the things that we, obviously, take for granted in the United States. But as long as these changes, these democratic changes, keep moving inside the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, I think the United States ought to be out there trying to help—not in some kind of a superior manner but trying to say, "Look, here's what works." Let us get in there and try to assist if we possibly can.

And I might say when Mr. Shevardnadze [Soviet Foreign Minister] said—before our meeting somebody said, "Do you want the United States to bail you out?" And to the man's credit, he said, "No, we don't want a bailout." That's good because we don't have any money anyway. [*Laughter*] So, I was delighted that he had that attitude.

No, but I look at Malta as a hopeful step in a new relationship. The first step in the next decade and the new world that is taking place each passing day—it's got to be a new world of freedom. And make no mistake, the progress that I think we set in motion there at Malta would not have been possible without the steadfast support of the American people and, certainly, the steadfast support of those leaders that we have up here on this stage tonight, those leaders in the Congress—Jerry [Lewis] and Duncan Hunter and Bob and Mickey and Newt and Guy Vander Jagt—and I mean that.

When you go to a meeting of this nature, there's trepidation. People wonder whether you're going to—you know, how it's going to come out. But if you know you have strong friends that will tell you exactly what they feel—they who have been elected by their own constituencies—it gives the President a great deal of confidence. And I am grateful, again, to our Republican leadership in the House of Representatives.

I'm pleased to share that report with all of you, especially given Bob Michel. This is one time I don't have to ask will it play in Peoria. I can say that his politics have been playing there a long time. And we are in close touch on this.

You know, what is it? Less than a month—this is a little hard to focus on—less than a month from now, we're going to begin a new decade, the last in this century. And I think all of us feel a natural inclination to look ahead, to think about the changes that a new century can bring. Barbara and I, we're heavy in the grandchild business these days, with 11 of them, and you can't help but see any one of them running around there that your focus doesn't shift to what kind of world are they going to be living in. And there's more than that natural impulse at work. Each day brings new change, from Warsaw, Budapest to Prague, Berlin—new evidence that the love of freedom, freedom that sometimes you and sometimes I take for granted, is gathering force.

And so, I'm a lucky person to be President of our great country in these very exciting times, times that are exciting for every American, for people all over the world who cherish now the freedoms that we've enjoyed for years. And they're exciting times, I think, for our party. We feel that our values on these issues are triumphing; but they're values that we have stood for a long, long time, values that have kept America free and prosperous and at peace, values that help create the conditions for that new world of freedom that is unfolding before us.

I am convinced that the American people will continue to look to us, look to leaders like Bob Michel and his fellow Republicans in the House, to keep this country on course in these times of change. And let me say right now to all the loyal members of the NRCC: The 1990's will bring a new world. We've all seen the grim spectacle—voices struggling to be heard, a minority trampled by unbridled power—the decades-old fight against oppression. Yes, I'm talking about Republicans in the House of Representatives. The tide is turning, though. [*Laughter*]

The tide is turning. People didn't think freedom would come to Berlin. [*Laughter*] But change will come to Capitol Hill. And I'd like to think that here the days of one-party rule are over. So, our message is getting—[*applause*]. And I think our message, thanks to Bob and Newt and others, is getting through: the party with ideas, with experience, with the answers to the questions we face in the decade ahead. And there's no greater goal than the one that inspires everyone here tonight to build support in mainstream America into majority status in the House. And when that day comes—a proud day for every Republican, from the House leadership right on down to the rank and file—we'll have the NRCC to thank for its tireless efforts.

It's been a great pleasure to be here tonight. I hate to leave before Bob Michel sings, but that's just one of the breaks, you know. [*Laughter*]

God bless you, and God bless the United States. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 7:04 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the J.W. Marriott Hotel. Representative Michel was minority leader of the House of Representatives. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a Toys for Tots party in the hotel hosted by lobbyist Roy Pfautch.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Appointment of the Coordinator and Deputy Coordinators of United States Assistance for Eastern Europe

December 6, 1989

We are witnessing dramatic and historic events in Eastern Europe that were scarcely imaginable a year ago. The formation in Poland of the first non-Communist government in Eastern Europe in more than 40 years hopefully represents only the beginning of a more profound systemic transformation in the region. The political and economic reforms in Hungary are further evidence of this phenomenon. The United States has encouraged and promoted these changes, which offer the prospect of a Europe whole and free, and a more peaceful world.

As part of this effort, and in accordance with the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989, President Bush today has named Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger as Coordinator of United States support to Eastern Europe. In that position, Secretary Eagleburger will be responsible for overseeing and coordinating all SEED programs and activities which pertain specifically to Poland and Hungary. The President also has named Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and John E. Robson, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, as Deputy Coordinators.

United States assistance to Poland and Hungary is designed to contribute to the development of democratic institutions and political pluralism in those countries, as well as to promote the development of free market economies. Such assistance includes food aid, labor programs, environmental projects, educational and cultural exchanges, assistance for democratic institutions, trade benefits, investment guarantees, and structural adjustment and technical assistance programs. Secretary Eagleburger will be responsible both for overseeing these U.S. initiatives as well as for coordinating them with similar initiatives by other Western nations and by international institutions.

The United States is also prepared to work closely with our Western partners in assisting other Eastern European countries that make meaningful progress toward economic reform and democratic change.

Memorandum on Education of Hispanic Americans

December 6, 1989

Memorandum for the Secretary of Education

Subject: Education of Hispanic Americans

All children in America should have the opportunity to achieve their fullest potential as human beings. And, as you know, much of that opportunity depends on education.

Sadly, Hispanic Americans are especially undereducated. As Hispanics become the largest minority group in the United States early in the next century, it becomes more and more important to overcome the crisis in Hispanic education.

Indeed, the statistics that you have provided to me compel attention:

- Between 9 and 11 percent of Hispanic students drop out of high school each year—the highest dropout rate of any major ethnic or racial group.
- Among Hispanics over the age of 25, an alarming 52 percent have not completed high school, compared to 24 percent of non-Hispanics.
- Only 10 percent of Hispanics over the age of 25 have completed 4 or more years of college, compared to 21 percent of non-Hispanics.
- Every major report on adult illiteracy has found that the rate for Hispanics is much higher than the rate for the non-Hispanic population.

The Working Group on Education of the Domestic Policy Council, which you chair, is already addressing important education issues. I am directing you to form a Task Force within that Working Group to focus on Hispanic education. The Task Force on Hispanic Education will report to me through the Domestic Policy Council and its Education Working Group.

Specifically, the Task Force on Hispanic Education should:

- Assess the participation of Hispanics in Federal education programs.
- Identify barriers that may limit Hispanic participation in education programs and suggest remedies.
- Suggest goals and strategies for the education of Hispanics (e.g., reducing the dropout rate, increasing enrollment in higher education, and promoting adult literacy). These goals should be considered in conjunction with the process of setting national education goals as called for at our Education Summit.

I also understand that you will be appointing a special advisor on dropouts—a new position in your office. Because of the problem of dropout rates in the Hispanic community, I urge you to direct your special advisor to work closely with representatives of the Hispanic community.

We must step up our efforts to ensure the education of Hispanic Americans as a vital part of our overall commitment to excellence in education.

GEORGE BUSH

Remarks to Hispanic and Corporate Leaders on Education

December 6, 1989

I hope I didn't interrupt our wonderful Secretary of Education, Larry Cavazos. Every time I hear him speak, I learn a lot, and I'm just delighted that he's here. To Rod DeArment: Thank you for the ideas and inspiration. Alfredo Estrada, the publisher of Hispanic Magazine: I want to thank you and your staff for your suggestions. And I'm especially delighted to be among so many Hispanic and business leaders. Welcome to the White House. Barbara and I have both been looking forward to this meeting.

I, as you know, am just back, having spent several days on ships in the Mediterranean Sea. And I must say that I must have left my sea legs in the Navy because walking over here, I found myself tilting to starboard. [*Laughter*]

It was a good meeting, a wonderful meeting there, one that I hope sets the basis for future progress, building peace and advancing freedom for a new century. And yet no matter how far I travel, who I meet, or what I see, nothing can beat the thrill of coming back to the United States.

I asked you here today to thank you for what you've done. As you know, our growing Hispanic community will soon form the largest minority in our nation. And if this is to remain the land of opportunity, then all the citizens of America must be well-educated, must be well-prepared for the challenges of the future.

There was a time in this country when you could prosper without a high school degree or a special skill. But we're entering an age of specialization. And in the 1990's, those who do not learn will not earn. They'll find it hard to contribute. They'll find it hard to advance. And it's just as simple as that.

Sadly, almost 11 percent of Hispanic students drop out of high school each year. And more than half of all Hispanic-Americans over the age of 25 have not completed high school. And when it comes to higher education, too many Hispanics just never get the chance, never have a fighting chance to go to college.

Solutions are coming now from Hispanic America. Strong family support, the encouragement of learning and excellence: These have always been the most striking features of the Hispanic tradition. And now this tradition, though, is endangered by tensions—the very tempo of modern life. And so, we've got to work together to protect this heritage, work together as leaders in government and business, as men and women concerned with the future. Nothing less than a national effort will suffice.

Secretary Cavazos heads the Working Group on Education for our Domestic Policy Council, and he is already addressing important education issues. And now I am pleased to tell you we are embarking on a new effort, one just for Hispanic-Americans, due in part to the advice that I've received from so many of you. I've signed a directive asking Doctor Cavazos to form an Hispanic Education Task Force to assess how well Federal education programs serve Hispanics, and then recommend ways to enhance the Federal role. The task force will complete its work and report by the end of February, and then I'll incorporate these findings into our broader efforts to improve American education, mandated by our education summit with the Nation's Governors.

The corporate leaders here today understand that supporting education and training is good business as well as good citizenship. Look at the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund, which has sent almost 10,000 young Hispanic men and women to college. This means 10,000 highly educated and highly skilled Americans will bring their talent and energy to American business and their leadership to a new generation.

By contributing to the many programs and funds that advance the cause of Hispanic youth, you have truly made an investment in this generation and in the future of our country. But education is more than an investment, and the cause of education transcends the many prosaic matters that I've discussed today. Education is, as Will and Ariel Durant wrote, not just "the painful accumulation of facts and dates and reigns nor merely the necessary preparation of the individual to earn his keep in the world." It is the "transmission of our mental, moral, technical, and aesthetic heritage as fully as possible to as many as possible." Let the next generation of Hispanic-Americans fully know their heritage—the heritage of Benito Juarez, and Jose Marti, George Washington, Octavio Paz, and William Faulkner.

For advancing this cause, I pass on to you the gratitude of the Nation. Thank you, God bless you all, and thank you very much for coming to the White House. And now Barbara and I look forward, indeed, to having a chance to say hello to all of you. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 6:15 p.m. in *the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Deputy Secretary of Labor Roderick DeArment.*

Nomination of David E. Jeremiah To Be Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

December 6, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Adm. David E. Jeremiah, USN, to be Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. Admiral Jeremiah will succeed Gen. Robert T. Herres, who is retiring.

Admiral Jeremiah is presently serving as commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, Pearl Harbor, HI. He was born February 25, 1934, in Portland, OR.

Letter Accepting the Resignation of M. Danny Wall as Director of the Office of Thrift Supervision

December 6, 1989

Dear Danny:

I accept your resignation as Director of the Office of Thrift Supervision, to become effective on a date determined by the Secretary of the Treasury. I commend your willingness to remain for a period of time to assist in an orderly transition.

When I proposed to the Congress legislation to restructure and restore public confidence in the thrift industry, we recognized the immensity of the task ahead and the need for the full concentration of our efforts on its accomplishment. An important element of our recovery plan was the creation of the Office of Thrift Supervision to administer the tough new capital and other regulatory standards governing the industry.

As the first Director of the Office of Thrift Supervision, you served during the important organizational phase of the new agency. I thank you for your hard work in that position, and for your unselfish recognition that the job of revitalizing the industry demands the complete and undistracted attention of the agency's entire leadership and staff.

In closing, I also want to note my appreciation for your comments on behalf of the many dedicated employees of the Office of Thrift Supervision who are working long hours to restore soundness to our Nation's savings and loan industry.

Best wishes for your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: The letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 7.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With the Governors' Education Task Force

December 7, 1989

The President met this morning with Governors Ashcroft, Campbell, Clinton, Carruthers, Hunt, and Gardner to hear their thoughts on the development of national education goals before their Education Task Force meeting today with Cabinet members, where they will discuss the development of such goals.

The President is committed to working with the Governors to move the Nation forward in education reform. Since the education summit in Charlottesville, administration officials have met with Governors numerous times to move the process of developing national goals forward. In late November, the President met with his Education Policy Advisory Committee to hear their views with respect to national education goals. Our primary objective in the development of national education goals is to produce goals that are specific, measurable, and results-oriented.

Note: The President met with Governors John Ashcroft of Missouri, Carroll A. Campbell, Jr., of South Carolina, Bill Clinton of Arkansas, Garrey E. Carruthers of New Mexico, Guy Hunt of Alabama, and Booth Gardner of Washington. Later in the morning, the President traveled to Houston, TX.

Remarks at the Acres Homes War on Drugs Rally in Houston, Texas

December 7, 1989

Thank you all very much. Mayor Whitmire, Kathy, thank you. Thank all of you from Sugar Plum Day Care, too, right here in the front row. Thank you for that warm introduction, mayor. I'm especially pleased to have with me two key members of my administration, both of them actively involved in the fight against drugs. They were announced when I came in, but one of them, Nick Brady, is the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States—right here. And of course, our drug control director—we call him the czar—who is doing an outstanding job, Bill Bennett—fighting every single day to win the battle against drugs.

I, of course, want to pay my respects to your distinguished and able police chief, Lee Brown, Kathy's counterpart in the county; my friend of longstanding, Judge Jon Lindsay over here; and of course, another close friend of mine who's working on the legislative side, one of Houston's great Congressmen, Congressman Fields right over here.

And thank all of you, all of you in Acres Homes community, not for standing up to greet us today but for standing up for Houston every day. And I should single out—for special thanks from this President—Erma Scales and Thelma LaStrap for all they have done to make this day possible.

As our distinguished mayor said, Acres Homes was a part of my congressional district twenty-some years ago. In fact—little-known fact—this was the home turf for the George Bush all-star championship women's softball team. And I just had a little reunion with our—I think I see some—maybe the third baseman. No, but I just saw Bobby Moore. He and I started this team in 1960. And we had good teams, and these—I want to say girls; they were then; now women—but they almost won the State championship. Traveled all over the State and played out of De Soto Park, which is just down the road a little bit, so I do feel at home. In fact, I even preached in a church here. Well, I didn't exactly preach in it, but I was Reverend Floyd Williams' guest at Antioch, down the road a ways. And I understand he's here today also—and what wonderful work he has done for this community.

But let me reminisce just one second more. It's great to be back here. It's great to be back in Texas, especially after that little rough sea over there in Malta, all the way across the Atlantic and halfway around the world—but glad to be back on dry land. Got the weather report—I wasn't sure it was going to be dry, but it is.

But the talks there in Malta, the talks that I had representing you all with President Gorbachev, remind us all that we live in dramatic and exciting times, times that present great opportunities, opportunities for great and historic change. And that's true not just in Eastern Europe, where people are seeking freedom to travel and freedom to vote—the freedoms that we just take for granted here in Houston and here in the United States—but right here in the United States in places like Acres Homes, where brave men and women—and I mean brave, brave men and women—have used "People Power" to fight for another kind of freedom: the freedom from fear, the freedom from crime, and the freedom from drugs. And just as with that new freedom in Eastern Europe, freedom from drugs isn't something the Government can give you. You have got to take a stand—you've got to take back the streets. And that's exactly what you did, right here in Winzer Park.

Acres Homes has a proud history. Once the largest unincorporated black community in the South, its quiet, tree-lined neighborhoods were mainstream America—the embodiment, if you will, of the American dream. But in recent years, the dream on Main Street has become the "Nightmare on Elm Street"—a twisted, backwards world where our children and our playgrounds are taken away by an evil menace called cocaine, often out there in broad daylight. By 1987, 25 to 30 drug dealers were operating right here, right here in Winzer Park. And the circular driveway behind us at Carver and Dolly Wright was so clogged with the cars of the drug buyers that police called it Crack-in-the-Box. [*Laughter*]

That's when your community people and your police came together to declare a new "independence day"—April 9, 1988. One thousand people swept into the park, and one thousand people swept the drug dealers out of the park. They haven't come back, and they better not—because I've heard what they say about you, the members of the Acres Homes War on Drugs. They say you are community-based, and they say you are tough as nails, and they say you're not afraid of anything or anybody. And looking out at you today, I believe that. You were united. You were determined. You got mad. You were angry—but you were right.

One thousand people—one thousand people took back what's yours: took back your parks, took back your kids. And you not only put the drug dealers out, you put pride back in. And you were among the first to assemble and rally and move forward with a plan to fight drugs, and you were among the first to recognize that the community's future is in the hands of the community. And efforts like yours are a critical part of Bill Bennett's plan, of America's battle plan, the new national strategy that I submitted to Congress earlier this fall. We invited Congress to join us in a new comprehensive partnership with America's communities.

First, drug education—the 1990 budget has provided over a $200 million increase for school and community prevention programs like those that have proven so successful right here. We've got to teach our children to stay away from drugs. We've got to stop illegal drug use before it even gets started.

And second, drug treatment and prevention—too many people in too many cities simply aren't getting the help they need. That's not right. And that's why the '90 budget has boosted spending on drug treatment and prevention, and especially cocaine treatment, by about $375 million.

And third, for those who cannot learn or will not seek help, we have a plan for them, too, because we're going to take back the streets by taking them off the streets. And that means helping your able police chief. That means punishing those who do evil.

And to some ears, the very word "evil" is embarrassing, an obsolete reference to some old-fashioned attitude. Well, we've all heard the supposedly sophisticated arguments that turn right and wrong into empty concepts, words without meaning. But the people in this park know better. You see, you have seen violent crime close up and firsthand. And you know that crime, and crimefighting, is usually a question of right and wrong—good and evil, if you will. And you know that a community that cannot understand the difference between right and wrong can never protect itself.

What's the difference, then, between the wonderful young kids behind me, this great-looking group back there, and the kids who huddle a few blocks from where we stand, using and dealing drugs? Same neighborhood. Same schools. Same Houston—but a different choice. Often a choice made by the parents; always a choice made by the kids.

Roy Douglas Malonson said it right here in Acres Homes the same night I addressed the entire Nation on drugs. He said: "The bottom line is we're going to have to take a stance and quit blaming others for the problem. We need personal accountability." Roy couldn't be more right. Only the American people can make this change in attitude. Only you can cultivate character and a sense of values in our kids. It's not a Federal problem for which there is a simple Federal solution. We can't do it by looking to the Government alone.

But as you have proven here in Acres Homes, and particularly in this park, parents and teachers and religious and neighborhood leaders can do it. You—and probably only you—can teach our kids right from wrong. Erma Scales says: "We need to teach a system of values. Parents need to spend more time with their kids and go back to being parents, not just being buddies." And, Erma, I bet you agree with me that it's time we went back to teaching what I like to call the four R's—reading, writing, 'rithmetic, and respect—in the schools of this country. And while we're at it, I might add respect for the teachers who give their lives to help educate these wonderful kids.

What I've called the Thousand Points of Light—that galaxy of individuals and institutions who live not just for themselves but also to serve others—is really what we're talking about here today. Each day at the White House, I announce now a daily Point of Light, an individual or group working to rid our communities of drugs or homelessness or hunger or illiteracy, loneliness—so many other problems. And nowhere in America is there a group more deserving than today's Presidential Point of Light, a bright star in our nationwide battle—the Acres Homes War on Drugs. And thank you, thank all of you for demonstrating that each point of light counts; each point can mean one life changed, one life saved. But we need thousands, thousands in every city and every neighborhood. And if anyone wants to know just how bright that light can be when a thousand points come together, look around you. Look at the home of strong hearts, clear minds, and indomitable wills. Look at the people of Winzer Park.

Thank you for this warm greeting on this December day. God bless you all. I hope every one of you have a wonderful, Merry Christmas. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in Andrew Winzer Park. In his remarks, he referred to Erma Scales and Thelma LaStrap, chairwoman and secretary of the Acres Homes War on Drugs Committee.

Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senator Phil Gramm in Houston, Texas

December 7, 1989

Thank you, Phil. I'll admit it: These days I'm a little nervous when I give a speech on December 7th—Pearl Harbor Day, I think. [*Laughter*]

To our dear friend Wendy Gramm and the Secretary of the Treasury, Nick Brady, and to Dr. Bill Bennett, who's waging the fight against narcotics for our country; to Chairman Atwater, the able chairman of the Republican National Committee; and to our able State leaders, Fred Meyer and Penny Butler, Tom Loeffler—pleased to be with you all. And of course, it's a great pleasure to see my friend Lee Greenwood again and Chuck Norris, with whom I campaigned. We campaigned with both of them, and so many other celebrities here tonight.

And I want to say a special hello to the members of our terrific Republican Texas congressional delegation. To them, I would simply say, my condolences for going from one House of Pain to another. You know, the only thing better than being introduced by Phil Gramm is hearing Phil Gramm being introduced by Moses. [*Laughter*]

And Chuck, it's a great pleasure to see you again, "Long John Silver"—and that'll be a tremendous success, I know.

But it's always good to come home to Texas. And actually, I'm happy to say that Houston was just selected as the site for the next economic summit. In 1990, the world's economic superpowers will all convene here. I thought I'd show off my hometown, and I hope you don't mind, but it's going to be a tremendous meeting here.

As you know, I've just returned from what many have called a saltwater summit with Mikhail Gorbachev. Others have called it the schmooze cruise. And as usual, reality is somewhere in the middle. Our meeting was a positive, productive, hopeful step toward a new American-Soviet relationship. Our talks ranged widely and offered a glimpse of what all of us have hoped for for these 40 years—a more stable, more peaceful world. With the support of the American people and with the solidarity of the alliance, the promise of a new world of freedom is within our reach. May it be fulfilled in our lifetime.

I offered a number of ideas to Chairman Gorbachev. And I suggested that we work to complete a trade agreement, which would lead, then, to most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union by the time I meet with him next year, at the end of June, here in the United States. I proposed that we work to sign a new treaty in 1990 to dramatically reduce conventional forces in Europe. You're aware of our proposal where we take out 30,000 troops and the Soviets close to 200,000. And I suggested we accelerate the START process and speed the ban on chemical weapons.

Now, tensions have been reduced. But there was one area where we differed, one area where I had to speak firmly and frankly, and that was on Central America. There can be no misunderstanding here. Whatever the Sandinistas have told the Soviet Union, we know for fact-certain that arms are going from Nicaragua into El Salvador. And we also know that Fidel Castro continues to export revolution not just into El Salvador but into other countries as well. Such activities in Nicaragua and Cuba weigh heavily on U.S.-Soviet relations. And we want to be the first hemisphere—our hemisphere—free of that burden. We want this to be the first hemisphere made up of entirely free, democratic countries.

And we support freedom everywhere. Just last week, democracy was challenged in the Philippines. And we stood with President Aquino then, and we continue to stand with her and with democracy now. We must not let the democratic process be overthrown by revolution and by military takeover.

I really feel in my heart that the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was a success, a chance to improve an important relationship. But tonight, Malta somehow seems far away. It's great to be home among so many old friends, here at the Super Bowl of political fundraisers, and to have a chance to say a few words about a very close friend, one of the best friends that Texas has ever had, Senator Phil Gramm.

I've known Phil for a lot of years, and I know that when a problem needs attention—when good policy needs to be created, or misguided policy needs to be changed—Phil is always the first one out of the blocks. Willing to take the political risk for the public good, he brings courage to Capitol Hill. And there's no better evidence for that than the story of how Phil got his start as a Republican.

You heard it mostly from Chuck Heston a minute ago. In 1983, you know, Phil was a

Democratic Congressman, justifiably proud of his work on the 1981 budget—rebuilding national defense, reordering government priorities. He risked a lot to push that budget through, and because of that, he was stripped of his seat by the liberal Democrats controlling the process there on the House Budget Committee. So, he changed parties, and in a real profile in courage, he resigned from Congress to allow the people of his district to judge him and his actions. And he won reelection on Lincoln's Birthday as the first Republican Congressman in the history of the Sixth District of Texas. And because of his views and his strong principles, he appealed to Republicans and Democrats then, just as he does now. We were glad to have him, and America was lucky to get him back.

And let me tell you how personally I feel. We were even luckier to have Senator Phil Gramm when, last winter, my administration set out to make new progress on a number of fronts: education, the environment, the fight against drugs and crime, and a balanced budget. And we made progress, and Phil Gramm has been with me, consulting, leading—he's been with us every step of the way.

Because education is the path to a brighter American future, we convened the first education summit in American history. We called for greater choice and increased accountability while promoting and rewarding excellence. Phil Gramm understands the value of good education. He cosponsored our Educational Excellence Act.

We've also worked hard to preserve all of the facets of our precious environment. We've proposed the first reforms to the Clean Air Act in over a decade, working to balance economic growth with environmental protection. And Phil understands that balance, and he's helped us craft economically efficient market incentives for our clean air proposal. Here in Texas, he's been a leader in the Federal and State program to preserve Galveston Bay. He's supported legislation for an international treaty banning offshore dumping in the gulf. And he's worked to clean up the Rio Grande River. Phil Gramm is making sure the great State of Texas preserves what's hers.

But we must preserve another precious resource—our children. There is no greater threat to the health of the American mind and the American family than the poison of illegal drugs. So, our administration is working to win the fight against drugs. I've saluted Bill Bennett for his courageous work, and I want to say this: Phil Gramm understands that fight. He's been on the front line from day one. He was there as Bill Bennett crafted our widely accepted national drug strategy to toughen enforcement, limit supply, and shut down demand. But it will be a long war, and that's another reason that we, you and I, need Phil Gramm in Washington.

In many ways, our fight has been delayed unnecessarily. You see, I sent a tough, strong crime package to the Members of Congress last June. Our Texas congressional delegation supports it. Our distinguished Senator, Phil Gramm, supports it. But we need action on that package—we need action now. And I hope that Congress, when they come back, will pass this critical legislation early in the next session to take back America's streets. We owe it to the young people of this country.

We'll also need Phil for another tough fight. This administration is committed to get that deficit down, committed to a balanced budget, and Phil Gramm understands how to balance a budget. He's fought budget-busting irresponsibility by creating landmark budget-balancing legislation—the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation—by helping us fend off tax increases, and by encouraging the kind of incentives that continue to create an average of over 200,000 new jobs a month—every month—for the last 84 months of this recordbreaking peacetime economic expansion. You see, Phil understands prosperity. He helps create it every day that he's working in the United States Senate.

The Senate needs him because, as you know, this man is very smart. Last spring, when I was flying with Phil on Air Force One on my way to going to the Aggie commencement address—*[cheers]*—I see he's brought along the reserves—he offered to trade his A&M tie for my basic, elitist, ivy-league striped tie. I thought that was a pretty shrewd trade on my part until later, when I found out that Phil went off to the Tarrant County Republican Women's Club and sold off my tie for $1,000 dollars. [*Laughter*] With that kind of savvy in Washington, there is no doubt that we'll be able to balance the budget.

Just the other night, I was reading a Christmas story to a couple of grandkids. And when they asked me who the Three Wise Men were, I said, of course, Gramm, Rudman, and Hollings. [*Laughter*] I'm not so sure about that third wise man.

Thanks to that landmark legislation, in 3 of the last 4 years government has actually gotten smaller compared to the private sector of our economy. The deficit as a share of gross national product has been cut roughly in half. The discipline that this legislation imposes on Congress is absolutely crucial to our long-term efforts to balance the Federal budget deficit. And I know that Washington will never find a stronger advocate for a disciplined, balanced budget than the Senator from Texas, Phil Gramm.

You know, there's a story that Phil's half-brother tells that when Phil was a little guy, he started a neighborhood army of a half a dozen kids. One day, the smallest of the group ran crying to Mrs. Gramm. The other boys were corporals or captains, and they were working this young private pretty hard. When Phil's mother called in Colonel Gramm and told him to fix the situation immediately, Phil said, "Yes, ma'am," turned around, promoted the private to second lieutenant, and promoted himself to major general. [*Laughter*]

Like I said, he's smart, a smart man—a man who understands power and how to use it to improve education and the environment, to win the fight against drugs, and to balance the budget. But even more important, Phil Gramm knows how to empower other Americans—all Americans. "The largest beneficiary of a program for economic freedom," he said recently, "is not the person who already has a piece of the pie but the person who wants the opportunity to get one."

I need and Texas demands and America deserves his bold, courageous leadership to make the right things happen on Capitol Hill. He's a Senator who knows what it means to serve his constituents and his country, and every day he's in the Senate he serves them ably, compassionately, and well.

It's my pleasure and it's Barbara's pleasure to have been with you here tonight. Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:09 p.m. in Astro Hall at the Houston Astrodome. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Gramm's wife, Wendy Gramm; William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy; Fred Meyer, Texas Republican Party chairman; Penny Butler, Republican national committeewoman from Texas; former Representative Tom Loeffler; country music singer Lee Greenwood; and actors Chuck Norris and Charlton Heston. In the morning, the President traveled to Denver, CO.

Statement on the Anniversary of the Armenian Earthquake

December 8, 1989

A year ago yesterday—December 7, 1988—a massive earthquake devastated the Soviet Republic of Armenia, claiming more than 25,000 lives and leaving half a million homeless. It was a tragedy whose scars will be visible for decades and of a magnitude that no country could handle alone.

Together with many other nations, the United States responded immediately with an expression of sympathy and offer of assistance, which was readily accepted. The next day a U.S. team of governmental and private sector specialists were on hand in Soviet Armenia. Private American organizations such as Project Hope and Americares, along with the Armenian community in the

United States, have played an important role in this sustained relief effort.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that this outpouring of American help was reciprocated by offers of Soviet help in the aftermath of the San Francisco earthquake. As we look to a new era in U.S.-Soviet relations, we can take hope from these examples of humanitarian cooperation between our two countries.

Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senatorial Candidate Hank Brown in Denver, Colorado

December 8, 1989

Thank you, Hank Brown, and my respects and thanks to our distinguished Senator from Colorado, Senator Bill Armstrong. I want to thank the Eagle Ridge Elementary Choir over there—they were really good, really wonderful—and also to brag on having with me and to thank our drug czar Bill Bennett, the Director of the National Drug Control Policy, who is with me here from Washington. Lee Atwater, our national chairman, Republican National Committee—doing an outstanding job. Congressmen Joel Hefley and Dan Schaefer—and they are doing a wonderful job for your State. I wish we had an entire delegation like them, I'll tell you. And to Bruce Benson, our chairman, and Judy Hughes, my old friend, the president of the National Federation of Republican Women. Of course, it's always a treat to see our son Neil, and Sharon and Pierce managed to get in there, sitting over there. And I also want to say hello to Charlton Heston, who came out here today from Houston last night, a real trooper, a true patriot—having him here today is just wonderful. And of course, I really came out to salute the next Senator from Colorado, Hank Brown.

He wanted a big crowd today, so his campaign tried to get Ralphie the Buffalo from C.U.'s football team. And when he couldn't make it, they asked for C.U.'s Houston Trio, the three H-Men. And as you can see, they're not here either. And you got me instead. I'm from Houston. That's the only thing I've got in common with those football players.

But before I go any further, I'd like to just say a few words about one of the finest men that we do have in Washington, and I'm talking about Bill Armstrong. He is one of the best and brightest, as they say, a principled politician, a top player on our Republican team. And he's been a leader in the Congress since 1973, first in the House, now in the Senate. And he is going to be missed by me, by his fellow Senators and, most of all, by the people of Colorado. Bill, thank you for a job so well done.

You know, earlier this week, I was in Malta—Hank alluded to it—for, I think, a very productive meeting with Chairman Gorbachev. I guess you've heard that I brought only a small number of my top staff with me. The meeting went very well, but there was one adviser I forgot to consult—Willard Scott. Where was he when we needed him? [*Laughter*] But the seas and the rain really could not dampen the spirit of the Malta meetings, and I really believe in my heart of hearts—not just because it's coming up to the Christmas season—but I really believe that Malta will make a contribution to a more peaceful world, a world with more freedom, a world with more democracy.

After the meetings with Mr. Gorbachev there at Malta, I went on to Brussels to brief our allies. And I can tell you that NATO is together and strong. And as the changes in Eastern Europe unfold at this dazzling pace, it is important that NATO remain together and strong.

And now here I am in Denver, and that's a lot of travel for 1 week. But that's fine, that is just fine with me, because working for a Republican majority in the Senate and in the Congress is vital and, with me, it is a priority. And that means why we're all here—electing Hank Brown to the United

States Senate.

He and I are on the same wavelength, working together on the issues important to all of us: strengthening peace and freedom around the world—and we must be strong—keeping the economy strong, and protecting our precious environment. Hank Brown is what you need and is what this administration needs—a Senator to make Colorado strong to make this nation proud, and a leader in the Senate that I can work with as President of the United States.

It's hard to believe, but in just a few weeks, we'll be entering the next decade. As events in the world quickly unfold, I see an America that is filled with optimism and hope and a sense of new beginnings. And across the Atlantic, we also sense new beginnings as democracy blooms behind what used to be called the Iron Curtain. For the first time in 40 years, the people of Eastern Europe believe that freedom is within their grasp. They aren't just thinking about change—they are changing the way they think about the future and what it can bring and what it will bring. And they're taking their destiny into their own hands, and they're helping build a new Europe, whole and free.

At Malta, President Gorbachev and I took our first hopeful step into a new American-Soviet relationship. We took our first step towards the next decade and the new world that is taking shape, a new world of security and freedom. Our mission to Malta was about peace—not the kind of uneasy peace that we've known for the last 40 years, hard and cold, but about the new kind of peace we aspire to, one that is rich with the promise of permanence, one that forms a foundation for freedom and democracy throughout the world. Yes, there were differences at Malta, but we could express them in an agreeable, forceful way without being disagreeable about them.

The 1990's can be a time for peace, but it must also be a time of continued prosperity for all Americans. And that means keeping our economy growing through innovative initiatives like the capital gains tax cut—to which I remain committed and to which I am going to fight for when the Congress comes back because that commitment is to bring more jobs to more people. The capital gains may be over now—the fight for this year, 1989; but the fact is, a majority in both the Senate and the House are now on record in favor of cutting the capital gains rate. And it was Hank Brown, sitting right here, as one of the key members of the House Ways and Means Committee, who played a crucial role in getting action in the House—getting the bill to the floor of the House of Representatives. And I'll always be grateful to him for that.

When Congress reconvenes in the new year, cutting that capital gains rate is once again going to be one of the top items on my agenda, and the battle will commence again in the House Ways and Means Committee. I'm counting on him once again to be one of my top lieutenants in that fight. And because of people like him, it's a fight we are going to win. You know, we've got to keep America's economy strong. We've got to keep the job creation machine rolling.

I'm also counting on Hank Brown to help me hold the line on new taxes. As Congress returns, I'm reminded of a story that Franklin Roosevelt used to tell about his opponents, which I think fits the tax-and-spend Democrats of today. It's a little story about a poor chameleon that turned brown when placed on a brown rug and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a scotch plaid. [*Laughter*] We can't let the chameleons in Congress talk about deficit reduction and then raise taxes so they can load up the budget with more and more spending. We must stick to what the American people elected us to do: hold down taxes, exercise fiscal restraint, and keep the longest peacetime economic expansion going strong. And we will not be satisfied until prosperity reaches every corner of America. We have really just begun.

You know, Hank's district here is known as Colorado's Breadbasket, home of your agricultural heartland. So, as work begins on the 1990 farm bill, we're going to be looking to Hank for help because he knows the people of Colorado—five generations of his family, Coloradans before him. And Hank understands what farmers are going through to produce a crop nowadays. This administration has introduced policies to benefit both the farmer and the consumer, and to continue our work, we need Hank Brown to move from the House to take Bill Armstrong's place in the Senate.

I'm a little tired of the Democrats claiming their key interest in the old sole proprietors of the environmental issue. We've initiated bold new environmental policies to reduce air toxics and urban smog, to help clean up our air and hazardous wastes, to expand our parklands. And through it all, Hank's been there with us. Take a look at his record: worked to clean up Colorado's drinking water, and through his efforts, the Rocky Mountain Arsenal cleanup was named to the EPA's Superfund national priorities list; and just last week, I signed into law his bill to expand the Rocky Mountain National Park. He believes, as I do, that the future of generations to come depends on the kind of commitment to the environment that we make now.

It looks to me like your State's on quite a roll this year. I've been following the sports pages, and I see that Bill McCartney has made C.U. the college team ranked first in the country—going to the Orange Bowl, playing there on January 1st. And Dan Reeves, who was in the Oval Office with me the other day, has led the Denver Broncos through a great season—number one in their division, maybe even heading for the Super Bowl—who knows? Well, let me put it this way: Hank Brown has led his district through a winning decade as a Congressman, and now it is time for him to lead the State into this exciting next decade as a Senator. We need his energy, we need his commitment, we need his total honesty, his integrity. We need Hank Brown in the Senate.

And I want to thank you for inviting me to this beautiful State. Thank you for your support for this fine man. And now let's go out and work to make Hank Brown the next Senator from the State of Colorado. Merry Christmas to you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at noon in the Currigan Convention Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Bruce Benson, chairman of the Colorado Republican Party; Sharon and Pierce Bush, the President's daughter-in-law and grandson; actor Charlton Heston; television weatherman Willard Scott; Bill McCartney, coach of the University of Colorado football team; and Dan Reeves, coach of the Denver Broncos.

Question-and-Answer Session With Students at John F. Kennedy High School in Denver, Colorado

December 8, 1989

The President. Thank you for coming. You've been singled out—fairly or unfairly, I shall have my part in making the determination and you can decide—as the best and the brightest. I don't know whether that's fair, but that's what they've told me about you guys. So, what I wanted to do, really, is to get some questions from you—any thoughts you might have on anything—be glad to field them. And if I don't know the answer, I'll give them to Tony. [*Laughter*] And if he doesn't know the answer, I'll give them to Pat or to Bill Bennett. You've got it.

Alcohol Abuse

Q. I'd like to know: We focus on drugs like cocaine, crack, but I believe we're getting away from the most abused drug, which happens to be alcohol. What is the Government doing about that?

The President. I think we are giving full support—I'm going to let Bill Bennett add to this—but to a myriad of programs across the country. The one that comes to mind that I think really deserves a lot of support is this MADD, the Mothers Against Drunk Driving. But, Bill, do you want to add something to that? I mean, there's a wide array.

Of course, you have laws on the books that need to be vigorously enforced, and we are trying to give encouragement to the law enforcement officers that are out there. What do you want to add to it, Bill? His major role is the other substances that are abused. But go ahead.

Mr. Bennett. We do have an important responsibility in regard to alcohol when it comes to prevention education. And, in fact, the laws that we are putting in place and funding that is put into place insists on attention to alcohol in the educational programs and the prevention programs. And often, you've got alcohol and illegal drugs mixed; lots of people use both of them. I think the question we have as a society is not whether we have alcohol or not—because that's been decided, we're going to have it—the question is do we want legalized alcohol and, as well, legalized marijuana, cocaine, et cetera, et cetera.

We know the problems alcohol has caused—as the President said, Mothers Against Drunk Driving. But it is an illegal drug if you're using it underage, so it needs to be treated that way.

AIDS

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to know the money that you've set aside for the AIDS program—education programs, if they're doing any good, and if so, will you fund more money for that in the future? And if not, will you just deplete the education for AIDS totally, or——

The President. No. Most of the Federal Government funding is for research—very active program at the National Institute of Health under a guy named Dr. Tony Fauci, who is really—I singled him out last year as a hero—he really is a hero in this program he's involved in. I think the amount is about $1.4 billion—somebody—well, I think it's around that, and there will be an increase, modest increase in the budget. The researchers might be able to use more research money, but they've been relatively well-satisfied with that from the Federal Government. And then you've got to add to that what's going private.

We've got to find an answer. It's a virus. There will be an answer found. But I think we ought to give great credit to the National Institute of Health and to the private sector. My own doctor was on the AIDS Commission, Dr. Burt Lee; he's not with me on this trip. But he tells me that people can be sustained, their lives can be sustained, for far longer today than when we really first started fighting this drug [disease] a few years ago.

So, the Government will keep up its interest, private sector will, and hopefully, we'll find an answer. But for those interested in that general subject, you know, I said to him, well, why can't we get a breakthrough and get something that defeats this? And he said, well, if it was that easy, we'd end up—nobody would have a common cold. It is a virus. And we haven't been able to do that with all the medical knowledge we've got.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. Good morning, Mr. Bush. My name is Albert Carrillo. I'm a senior. I was wondering, what are your thoughts on the recent fall of the Berlin Wall? And do you see the possible unification of Germany into one nation as a threat to the U.S. or to the NATO alliance?

The President. Albert, I look at the changes in East Germany—convinced me that the people's quest for freedom knows no bounds. Obviously, we'd hoped that this would happen and that the people would, indeed, get what others have had, which is the right of self-determination. But it's happening faster and in so many different countries and in so many ways different than we predicted.

And so, what I've been trying to do as President of the United States is to welcome the change, but to conduct ourselves in conjunction with our allies in a way as to not encourage any force in any of the Eastern Europe countries or the Soviet Union to react in a bad way. By that I mean I would hate to see any kind of reversal to this change.

I am convinced that we will see a Europe that is whole and free. This is one of the subjects that I was discussing with Mr. Gorbachev a week ago from—well, tomorrow I guess we started our talks. And it was about the change in Eastern Europe. I think it will continue.

In terms of the German question, the alliance position has been self-determination—let the people decide. This gets a little technical, but the Helsinki Final Act talks about the permanence of borders unless people elect to change them peacefully. But you're onto something, in a sense that there is concern in some of the countries. There's concern in Poland; there's concern in some of Western Europe; there's concern, obviously, on Mr. Gorbachev's part about the rapidity of change and the way the change plays out for the future.

But the U.S. position is, that's a matter for the German people to determine. But we ought not to be trying to set the pace for them as how rapid that change should come about. Underlying it all—freedom, democracy, pluralism, right to choose your own future. And if you said to me 2 years ago, can you, sir, predict that in 2 years from now Germany will be doing what it's doing, throwing out totalitarian leaders and groping to find a way to a more democratic system—no, I wouldn't have seen that. But it's happening, and it's going fast, and it's moving in the way that our country has stood for—freedom and democracy.

So, let's hope that by the time you all finish here, finish college 4 or 5 years from now, you'll see a different kind of a Europe. And you'll see the United States interacting with Eastern Europe in a way that we haven't done since World War II.

Women's Issues

Q. I was wondering why the Bush administration is not advocating more social programs that would help women in need, like pay equity and equal rights amendment and child care and child support laws, but they do advocate the abolition of abortion?

The President. Well, I'm not—of course, I don't view that as antiwoman; I view that as prolife. We could have a fascinating discussion. I might be in the minority here. [*Laughter*] But you know, I looked at our adopted grandchild the day she was baptized, the day she was christened, and I said to myself, like any parent or grandparent would, well, I'm glad this child was born. Now, she's surrounded by a lot of love, and so, there's a difference here. And I know that a lot of women look at it differently and men look at it differently.

Child care—I want to see child care. We made a proposal, I think a bold and good proposal, to the Congress. They got one, some of the people that control the Congress—opposition party, they've got a different way of looking at it. They want more centralized restrictions and regulations, and I want more choice in child care. I want parents to be able to make a determination.

I don't think that a church-affiliated child care center should be discriminated against if they're doing a good job. I think families that are poor and elect to have neighborhood groups get together—let them have the money go there. They don't have to have some bricks and mortar downtown where the Federal Government tells you.

So, I think I've tried hard to get child care legislation through, but I want to get it through in the way I told the American people that we'd have it when I ran for office. It's hard to do when you have the Congress controlled by—there was another part of your question. Day care, abortion—oh, equal rights amendment. I don't think that that thing's gotten off; I don't really see much steam behind it now. I think we have existing laws to protect the rights of women, protect the rights of majorities and minorities, and I don't think that it's particularly needed at this point at all.

Defense Budget

Q. My question concerns the defense budget next year.

The President. Yes?

Q. Assuming that we were to save money because of, like, cutback in arms and closing of some bases, what are you proposing to do with that money? And is one of your options to pay off some of the Federal deficit or to train the unemployed military for civilian jobs?

The President. It's to pay off the deficit in this sense: If there are large savings in defense, defense has taken a hit for 5 years in a row. And even though the change that Hector talked about—or is it Albert—Albert talked about—that change, the Eastern European change, is very exciting and can lead, through arms control agreements, to agreed lower levels of defense—even though that's happening, I think it would be imprudent to make reckless cuts in our defense and think everything was just perfect in the world. It isn't. And I wouldn't be doing my job of guaranteeing the national security of this country as President if I acted like it was perfect.

And so, I will fight for what I think is a reasonable defense level. But to the degree defense is less than has been projected over, say, a year ago or 2 years ago, the money will go to—as I am compelled to do under the law—to meet what's called Gramm-Rudman targets in what you asked about, deficit reduction. That doesn't mean we don't have a lot of money going into social programs—we do.

But you know, there's some crazy—maybe it's idealistically good, but there's a lot of wild speculation that Congress is going to go in and take dramatic slashes in the defense budget and then take the money in what's called a peace dividend. And I will not acquiesce in that. By that, it means spend the money—go out and spend it more. My problem is that the best answer to poverty is a job. And the best way you have a job is to have a strong economy. And so, you have to get the deficit down, and that's where, under the law, I'm required to do it, so I'll keep fighting for that.

POW's/MIA's

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to ask you what the Bush administration is doing to resolve the issue of the POW's still in Southeast Asia?

The President. Doing everything we can. We've got a former general officer who was in charge of all, the Chief of Staff of the Army and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Vessey, and he is a special negotiator for the President. He just came back from Vietnam. To give them their due, they are being more cooperative about the remains of the missing.

It's a brutal kind of a field where you think you have to bargain to get the remains of the dead back. This is what kills me about this Middle Eastern situation, where that—Colonel Higgins, showed his body. And the brutality of people who will not return the dead is hard for us to fathom in our culture, but what we are doing is negotiating with the Vietnamese at very high levels, trying to get a total accounting.

Now, General Vessey is not convinced that people are alive still and held against their will, but he is a great soldier and a great patriot, and he is going to motivate himself as if they were. By that I mean, only when everybody is accounted for fully can we really lay back and figure that that assignment has been taken care of.

War on Drugs

Q. I was wondering if any legislation will be put forward in support of capital punishment for convicted drug dealers?

The President. Yes, and I favor that. It's controversial and I don't know the exact state of it, but look, just as in the question Anna asked, there's a lot of emotion on both sides of it. I happen to believe that drug dealers who take the lives of our law enforcement officers and corrupt the lives of our kids should pay with their lives. And you can define what a drug kingpin is, and I support it.

And the intellectual debate that you'd get—maybe you have it in this classroom—is that a deterrence? does a person have a right to take a life?—get back to your subject. And you get into all of these questions, but in my view, there's a difference between protecting innocent life and protecting the life of a person that has done violence to the life of another. And I do think a prompt enactment of that final penalty would indeed inhibit not all but some of the excessive behavior that is dominating this horrible, horrible narcotics field.

Q. Mr. President, I'm very interested, if the situations were reversed and you were involved personally with the Colombian cartel, would you advocate any positive changes in their government? And if you would, what would they be?

The President. You mean, if I were Escobar and I had something to say about the government?

Q. Yes.

The President. I'd say I hope that you don't give Colombia the support that the United States wants to give Colombia, because they're going to get me someday.

And they are. Was it Escobar that was running out in his underwear out through the jungle the other day? We almost nabbed him. And I will continue to support President Barco of Colombia.

Let me tell you something. We got problems in this country—we got terrible problems when a police officer goes out and lays his life on the line to help, I'd say, all of us when someone in these gangs get going on narcotics. But let's put ourselves, as you suggested—and a very good question—into the shoes of the President of Colombia, not the drug dealer. And here he is, courageously standing up and saying: I'm going to get you. I'm going to stop this. I'm going to save my country from the scourge of these narcotic traffickers—kingpins, you see.

Then the response by the drug dealer, into whose shoes you ask I put myself—says, I'm going to show you how we feel about this—hire some thugs, they plant a bomb, and they kill 100 innocent people standing outside of an office building—it could well be a school like this, it could be anyplace. Retaliation, brutality, threatening, killing judges—it's a good way to get fewer judges is to kill about 10 or 12—hey, who wants to volunteer to be a judge? Not so many volunteers.

And yet, in spite of this, this guy Barco, the President, Virgilio Barco, has decided, look, I don't care what it costs; I don't care how much the threat to me; I am going to do something. Because he knows that the majority of the drugs come in through—processed and come in through Colombia. If I were the drug kingpin, I'd be hoping that it would go away—I would be hoping that I could intimidate Mr. Barco so he would give up on the fight, and I'd be hoping that people in the United States would look the other way and say forget about it. I would be hoping, if I were him, that I could negotiate with the Government of Colombia—you read something about that—well, we won't extradite and the Government will make peace with the narco traffickers.

But let us hope that Virgilio Barco and others around him keep that courageous stance. And let us determine that the United States, without intervening into the internal affairs of Colombia, will do what we can to support him in his effort. It is vital, these Andean countries—Peru, Bolivia, Colombia—that we stand with them as they try to knock this stuff out at the source so your little sister isn't going to be approached at age 12 and get hooked onto some of this substance. And that's a big part of what our drug czar, Bill Bennett, is doing—working with these countries, assuring them of support, and trying to shore up those south of us that are willing to help.

Hey, listen, I could do this all day long. I learn from your questions, and I'm very grateful to all of you for taking the time. And I will follow our leader, though. She says shut up—I'll shut up. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 12:51 p.m. in the choir room at the school. In his remarks, he referred to Tony Dorsett, a player for the Denver Broncos football team, and Pat Bowlen, owner of the team; William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy; and students Albert Carrillo, Hector Sanchez, and Anna Valdez.

Remarks at an Antidrug Rally at John F. Kennedy High School in Denver, Colorado

December 8, 1989

Thank you, Pat, very much. And to the Governor of this State, thank you, sir, for welcoming me back—Governor Romer. To our Congressman in whose district we are, my friend Dan Schaefer, thank you, sir, for being with us over here. You've heard from our drug czar, Bill Bennett, who's doing a marvelous job fighting the narcotics scourge all across this country. I wanted to thank Superintendent Koeppe, but I also wanted to pay my respect to the marshal of enthusiasm—she who leads this school as principal, Bernadette Seick—thank you for that wonderful welcome.

And, of course, to all of Denver's choice for number one anywhere at any time, the Broncs, I want to say, Dan Reeves and John Beak, and Randy, Randy Gradishar, and—President of that Denver Broncos Youth Foundation—to Tony Dorsett and Andrew Provence and Billy Bryan and Randy Thornton—I want to thank all of them for being here. I understand that your soccer team, if you'll pardon the pun, has a commanding lead. Dan Reeves has his scouts out, wondering if any of these guys would be any good at field goals.

But, you know, whenever I fly over this part of the country on Air Force One, I'm always impressed, obviously, by the beauty of the Rockies—gray peaks, green forests, sun, and in springtime, fantastic. And so, you are lucky to be so close, so much a part of one of the most beautiful places on Earth, this great State of Colorado. And from Pike's Peak, to our south, right on up to the shadow of Long's Peak, the thrill of the Front Range is ever-present.

But you know, when you think of it, the greatest thrill in this world comes from the realization of a great ambition. It's the kind that a mountain climber knows when scaling that last rocky ledge to finally reach the summit. And this is the thrill that these gentlemen know—to be a Bronco, to inspire more consecutive sellout games than any other team in the history of the National Football League. But my point is this—my point is simply this: Such a moment has to be earned. It's as Montel Williams says, that if you want to be "fresh," you must first be "fresh" with your mind.

But the sad truth is that some people think you can get these same feelings of achievement without waiting, without striving, without doing much of anything at all. And they think all you need to do to feel like a winner is to smoke, or snort, or swallow a dose of drugs. But the drug high is only a sensation, not a fact—only for a minute, not a lifetime. And it is that simple, and it is that dangerous. For in that short time, the very ground beneath your feet is slipping away, opening up. And into that narrow grave you can bury your hopes, your dreams, and perhaps your very life.

And even if you don't pay the price today, rest assured, someone else will. Some people just think of themselves as peer group casual users. But there's nothing casual about buying drugs from people who consider killing to be a cost of doing business. Ask any policeman—and God bless them—any policeman here in Denver about the Crips and the Bloods. And watch the news from Colombia to our south. And you put it together: Every dollar spent on drugs is a dollar spent on death. And let us then send a message to the merchants of death, called those pushers: We have new tools at our disposal to defeat you. And we are going to defeat you.

Let me tell you about a new law that allows the Department of Justice to seize the assets of these drug kingpins and distribute the proceeds among law enforcement agencies. A simple traffic stop by a Lakewood, Colorado, policeman in 1981 resulted in the cracking of a major cocaine cartel and the seizure of a small fortune. So, I'm happy to say that in just a moment from now, I will present five checks totaling $2,196,951 to the local authorities. Take that money, give it to the local authorities who participated in the investigation—the police departments of Lakewood, Greenwood, and Aurora, and the sheriff's office of Jefferson and Arapahoe Counties. So, only in this narrow way—I will concede—but only in this narrow way, crime pays. It pays for more stringent law enforcement. And criminals pay with a hefty chunk of their lives—in this case with 20 years imprisonment. And in some cases, they will pay with their very lives.

And we can do even more—we've got to—much more to fight drugs. I sent a crime package to the Congress in May. Summer passed and fall passed. And now another winter will pass in Washington before new tough legislation is considered. But I am going to keep on fighting. We owe it to every kid at Kennedy to pass that kind of legislation. Crime is a number one concern of our nation. I call on the United States Congress today to make our crime package one of its first orders of business when it reconvenes in January.

Your school is experiencing many of the same problems as every other school in America. That's why I came here today to introduce you to the Denver Broncos Youth Foundation—because I do believe you can be commanders in the war on drugs. Listen to them and learn from them, and they'll teach you how to avoid drugs for the rest of your life. And after all, drugs may get by a lot of people, but nothing can get by the Orange Crush. The most important tactics, I'm told, that they teach are called "refusal skills." Perhaps you're under peer pressure to use drugs—fit in with some certain group out there—so you need to be able to do more than just say no. You need to have the confidence to look your false friends in the eyes and say, "Hell, no, I don't want any of that."

I'll bet every one of you can tell me a tale of what you've seen firsthand and what drugs can do to your fellow students. And if someone you know is using drugs, then be a decent friend to the guy. Help him. Talk to him—talk to her. Just ask your friend to take the problem home—and if that doesn't work, to a counselor or to the church or somewhere, or to Randy here and his people—but do something. Don't just sit there. Help your friend—take your friend to someone who will listen.

We're not going to get rid of drugs overnight in this country. But I believe that by working together, with the good people affiliated with this marvelous Denver Broncos Youth Association, you will one day get the drugs out of Denver. I know you live in tough times and, certainly, that your life isn't simple. But that's why we want your help and your thoughts. And if you have an idea to fight drugs, let's hear it. If you have a plan, share it—with your community leaders and your local officials; or with your Governor, who is waging a strong fight; and with our drug czar, Bill Bennett. Believe me—an individual can make a difference.

Randy says that winning takes teamwork. Well, in the field and in life, that's true. Teamwork means being of one mind, one spirit, agreeing to one purpose. And our purpose is to get rid of drugs in America once and for all.

Your blue and kelly-green banner is an emblem of pride. Let it also be an emblem of a drug-free school, the home of true Commanders.

I came here to thank you, pay my respects to your great faculty, to your principal, to your superintendent, and most of all, to you who are engaged in this fight. And now I want you to witness government perhaps close to its best, as I present to these local law enforcement officers the money that I was talking about that comes from the heroic fight they are waging to protect the life of every kid in this school. It's going to be my pleasure to present the checks to them.

Note: The President spoke at 1:27 p.m. in the gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to Pat Bowlen and Dan Reeves, owner and coach of the Denver Broncos football team, respectively; and players John Beak, Randy Gradishar, Tony Dorsett, Andrew Provence, Billy Bryan, Randy Thornton, and Montel Williams, who were members of the Denver Broncos Youth Foundation. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Des Moines, IA.

Nomination of David W. Mullins, Jr., To Be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

December 8, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate David W. Mullins, Jr., to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of 14 years from February 1, 1982. He would succeed H. Robert Heller.

Since 1989 Dr. Mullins has served as Assistant Secretary for Domestic Finance at the Department of the Treasury in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Acting Assistant Secretary for Domestic Finance, 1988–1989, and professor of business administration at the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.

Dr. Mullins graduated from Yale University (B.S., 1968) and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (S.M., 1972; Ph.D., 1974). He was born April 28, 1946, in Memphis, TN. Dr. Mullins served in the National Guard, 1968–1970. He resides in Washington, DC.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Upcoming State Visit of President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria

December 8, 1989

President Bush has invited Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to make a state visit to the United States, beginning on January 17, 1990. President Babangida will be making the first state visit by an African chief of state in the Bush administration. The United States enjoys cordial relations and growing cooperation with Nigeria. It supports President Babangida's ambitious economic reform program and commitment to return Nigeria to civilian, democratic rule by 1992. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country, a major exporter of oil, and one of the United States' most important trading partners in Africa.

Advance Text of Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senatorial Candidate Thomas J. Tauke in Des Moines, Iowa

December 8, 1989

I'm delighted to be here to salute a man who embodies values of hard work, honesty, and strength of character. He has been an exceptional Congressman; he will make an exceptional United States Senator. His name is Tom Tauke, and he deserves our support.

You and I both know why. Look at his background: reporter, attorney, elected to the Iowa Legislature and six times to the U.S. House of Representatives. Look at his record. He has fought for the family, the taxpayer, the farmer, the working people of Iowa, helping to build better education and better rural health care for a State whose best still lies ahead. Like all of you, I've seen Tom Tauke up-close and personal. I admire him enormously. We need him in the Senate. There, he can serve all of Iowa and help Iowa serve the Nation. There, he can help ensure prosperity at home and peace abroad.

As you know, last week I met with Chairman Gorbachev off the coast of Malta. We talked about the power of freedom to dismantle walls between nations and agreed that we must seize the opportunity to build a generation of peace. From Malta came initiatives to nurture Europe's tide toward democracy, accelerate arms control, and expand trade. And in that context, let me repeat my goal to grant most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union by the 1990 summit. This will relax trade barriers between East and West, expanding markets for American agricultural and other exports. We need Senators who will help America move beyond containment toward a Europe that is whole and free. Tom Tauke will do that.

Then there's the prosperity which has meant over 20 million new jobs since 1982—prosperity which results from lower taxes, responsible spending, and lower interest rates. This July, Tom Tauke was 1 of only 23 Members of Congress to be honored by the National Taxpayers Union. I need him in the Senate to keep taxes down.

Yet prosperity means little if our kids aren't free from drugs. So, we have unveiled a comprehensive drug strategy to stop use before it begins. Tom Tauke supports our strategy. He knows that we have not spent 213 years defending our democracy from the tyranny of oppression only to lose it to the tyranny of crack and cocaine.

You know, a writer once said of Iowa: "This is top-choice America—America cut thick and prime." Peace, prosperity, and an end to drugs are goals worthy of top-choice Americans, and so are other issues which concern every Iowan. For example, we want to make America's educational system number one in the world again. Consider that Iowa can boast the third highest percentage rate of high school graduates in the country. And you're number one—all alone—in ACT's, American College Testing. You better believe we want to do nationally what you have done locally. So, we've made education reform one of our top priorities, proposing legislation to give greater choice to parents and students, reward excellence, and demand greater accountability. Tom Tauke has championed those proposals. I'm also grateful to Governor Branstad for his leadership with the Governors. He was a stalwart advocate for a better education for America's children at our recent education summit.

Next, let me talk for a moment about agricultural policy and farm bills. Four years ago, Tom helped pass a pioneering farm bill to help a whole community in crisis. And today farm income is near record levels, and exports have dramatically increased since 1986. Most good land has been brought back into production, and about 30 million acres of fragile land have been semipermanently retired.

As many of you know, Tom Tauke has already been out front in our effort to promote ethanol as an alternative fuel. That's good for agriculture and good for our environment. This is all good news for farmers and taxpayers, for under the 1985 farm bill, agricultural program costs have fallen by more than half. Let's remember that next year as we write new farm legislation. Tom Tauke will make a good bill even better.

Finally, as I said in Des Moines during last year's caucuses, we know that Medicare hasn't always been fair to rural hospitals. So, our administration has welcomed new legislation to create more equitable payments between urban and rural areas. Tom Tauke founded and cochairs the Rural Health Care Coalition, which helped draft this legislation. I need him in the Senate to make health care affordable and accessible to the people of rural America.

Tom Tauke knows Iowa from the banks of the Mississippi to the bluffs of the Missouri. His values reflect the greatness of Iowa. You know, when I think of Iowa I think of a Midwestern State that is international as well, not just in terms of trade in farm products but in a broader context. Iowans have always had a keen interest in foreign affairs, and your insights are valuable indeed. Tom Tauke fits that picture, and his life embodies the spirit of Iowa: the spirit of "America can," not "Washington must."

So, let's remember that Tom has been there for us and pledge that we'll be there for him, supporting him all the way. And let's make Tom Tauke the next Senator from the great State of Iowa.

Note: The President spoke at 7:16 p.m. at the Des Moines Convention Center. Prior to the dinner, the President participated in a live radio interview at WHO. Following the dinner, he returned to Washington, DC. The remarks as delivered were not released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks on Signing the National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week Proclamation
December 11, 1989

Thank you all for being here, and welcome to the White House. I'm glad we have here several of our administration's leaders in the fight against drunk driving and alcohol abuse. Of course, our Secretary of Health and Human Services, Lou Sullivan, is involved; Secretary Skinner, of Transportation; Jim Kolstad; and of course, Doug Wead, here in the White House keeping me up to date with the work that many of you are doing. And I'm also delighted to see Members of the United States Congress here and the Senate.

I want to thank you and all those you represent. I had a chance to meet just briefly with some of the leaders of these groups out in the hall. But you've shown dedication and hard work, and that's gone into one of the most amazing success stories of the 1980's—the all-American campaign to reduce the awful toll of drunk driving.

America's lasting love affair with the automobile is a reminder of our roots as a nation of people on the move, a reminder of our love for individual choice and individual freedom. It speaks of the open road and wide-open spaces, of a people whose only limits are in the reaches of the imagination. But individual freedom means nothing without individual responsibility—because for far too many Americans, especially kids, especially young Americans, the promise of youth has been destroyed, wiped out by one of the most deadly scourges ever to strike modern times. And it's as crippling as crack, as random as gang violence, and it's killing more kids than both combined.

Drunk driving is a grave crisis. Drunk driving is a continuing crisis. And I agree completely that drunk driving is a national crisis. As Lou Sullivan reminds me, drunk and drugged driving is one of America's largest health and public safety problems. You know the statistics—you, above all, know the statistics.

Let me just cite that each year almost 500,000 Americans sustain injuries in alcohol-related crashes. That's like hospitalizing the entire population of the State of Wyoming every year. Even more staggering is the loss of life. Each and every year, our nation's highways witness the death of almost 50,000 Americans, an annual toll that would nearly fill the polished granite walls of the Vietnam Memorial. Fully half of all these deaths are alcohol related. And for young Americans between 16 and 35, drunk driving is simply the single leading cause of death. But as we learned from the roll call inscribed on the Vietnam Memorial, the statistics can't ever tell the real story. Many of you gathered here know firsthand the real tragedy, the individual tragedy, that each of these senseless deaths inflicts.

The death of a child, any child, is one of the most awful wastes, one of the most painful experiences imaginable. But like so many of you, we learned there is wisdom in the pain of any loss. Barbara tells how it was after our own daughter's death that she really threw herself into volunteering and discovered something that most of you have known for many years—that by helping others, we also help ourselves. This simple lesson has become one of the cornerstones of the better America that you and I are working to build. You're devoting your lives not only to serving others but also to saving others, and the good you have done is nothing short of outstanding and astounding.

In the past 6 years drunk-driving deaths fell an estimated 20 percent, even though total miles traveled rose over 25 percent. That's due to tougher State laws and enforcement, the uniform national drinking age we worked together to enact, and the rise of effective citizen groups like those we salute and honor here today. You helped provoke greater public awareness, a sense of responsibility, a sense of outrage. And speaking not only as President but as a father and as a grandfather, you have my respect, my admiration, and my thanks.

But there's much more to be done. Our challenge for the 1990's is to make further progress and not let up the pressure until the scourge of drunk and drugged driving is gone once and for all. And while primary responsibility for highway safety must properly remain with our cities and States, I have told Sam Skinner that the fight against drunk and drugged driving is one of the key transportation goals of this administration. He's doing a first-class job; his agency is redoubling its efforts in this cause. Just this year, Transportation has expanded funding to train police in detecting drugged drivers.

We've provided technical and financial assistance to launch State-run sobriety checkpoint programs, and our Justice Department has gone to the Supreme Court to fight for the right to use those safety checkpoints. We're also assisting State governments in upgrading their own laws, working with groups such as RID and MADD to provide training for their State and local members. And we're launching renewed public service ad campaigns to keep this issue high on the national agenda.

All these efforts are important. But in the final analysis, the success of our efforts depends not on what happens inside the White House but what happens inside your house. We must teach our children that alcohol is a drug and any irresponsible drug use is wrong, and that driving drunk is a crime—it's a violent crime. And we must teach them that choices have consequences and that some of life's worst consequences can be avoided.

As individuals, we must not only avoid the deadly combination of drinking and driving but also speak out and set an example for our families, friends, coworkers. You know what that means: Encourage the use of designated drivers. Be a responsible host in your home or at an office party. Make sure alternative transportation is available. Refuse to ride with drivers who are impaired.

The holidays are a time of light—Christmas trees and Menorah candles, starlight, candlelight—lights of joy and remembrance. And there was a special candlelight ceremony just last night. It was in Orlando, at an annual vigil where families and other drunk-driving victims from 50 States gather in prayer and in hope. I know some of you were there, and you were very much in our thoughts. For in the end, my message to each of you today is a simple one: Each Point of Light matters. Each time your message gets through can mean one life changed and another life saved. I think of Kentucky and that awful tragedy, and so many others around the world, especially at Christmas. And I want to reiterate: Each Point of Light matters.

Thank you for coming here to the White House at this beautiful time of year, a time most appropriate to highlight the concerns we all feel. God bless you during this holiday season. Godspeed you in your noble work. And now I am just pleased to death to sign this proclamation and this joint resolution. Thank you all very much for coming.

Note: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to James L. Kolstad, Acting Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board, and R. Douglas Wead, Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison. H.J. Res. 429, approved December 11, was assigned Public Law No. 101–212. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Catalina Villalpando as Treasurer of the United States

December 11, 1989

The President. Greetings to the Secretary of the Treasury and my Senator, Senator Phil Gramm, and of course, our star, Cathy Villalpando—delighted. Ambassador, nice to see you here, our Ambassador from Mexico to the United States, Ambassador Petricioli, a good friend of our country—delighted you came, sir.

And of course, needless to say, I'm pleased to be here for this special ceremony. This remarkable woman, who is going to be sworn in as the Nation's 39th Treasurer, is no stranger to big challenges. Private sector, government service, Cathy Villalpando has brought knowledge and enthusiasm and a lot of savvy to whatever task was at hand. Many knew her as the skilled representative of a dynamic telecommunications firm. Many others, including me when I was Vice President, worked with her and remember her service for President Reagan as Special Assistant for Public Liaison, a big task, tough job.

As U.S. Treasurer, she will advise Secretary Brady on coinage and currency matters as well as the important savings bond program. And she'll also oversee the U.S. Mint and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, take the lead on important work regarding advanced counterfeiting deterrence.

During her White House service, Cathy demonstrated outstanding creativity in working on issues of direct importance to our nation's Hispanic citizens. And she has also been an active hard-working leader in political and civic campaigns too numerous to mention and has been chairman of the Republican National Hispanic Assembly.

Her skills are formidable, her administrative skills well-known. So, it's a pleasure to welcome you to this team, and I am confident that you will provide the kind of leadership that has a rich heritage dating back to September 1777, and I'm confident you're going to do an outstanding job.

Secretary Brady will now administer the oath of office, and I am proud to be a witness, Cathy.

Treasurer Villalpando. Thank you, President Bush. Thank you, Secretary Brady, Senator Gramm—and also Congressman Bartlett from Dallas is here, a longtime friend. Thanks to all my family for being here today, my business associates, my friends, and all supporters.

I look forward to working for the President, the Secretary, to the best of my ability during my tenure as 39th Treasurer of the United States. It is truly a distinct honor to be a cosigner of the currency and to be selected to oversee the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the United States Mint, and the savings bond program.

This will be a great challenge for me and my new staff. It will be filled with opportunity for growth and deepening dedication, attributes the Department of the Treasury under the leadership of Secretary Brady is already recognized for.

I'm grateful to all of you for being here this day—to my grandmother, my parents, my sisters, my brothers-in-law, and my uncle and his wife, to my business partners that soon will be former partners, my new associates from Treasury, and to all my friends and all Bush supporters. Thank you so much. And a special thanks to God for making this happen. And Mr. Chairman, from the RNC, I know that you worked very hard on this. Thank you very, very much from the bottom of my heart.

Note: The President spoke at 10:22 a.m. in the Indian Treaty Room of the Old Executive Office Building. In her remarks, the Treasurer referred to H. Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Statement on Signing the Arms Control and Disarmament Amendments Act of 1989

December 11, 1989

I have today signed H.R. 1495, the "Arms Control and Disarmament Amendments Act of 1989." The Act authorizes appropriations for Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991 for arms control programs. I believe, however, that one section of H.R. 1495 must be carefully construed to avoid constitutional concerns.

Section 105(b) of the Act requires that the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency disseminate information pertaining to arms control verification and monitoring, including information regarding current, proposed, prospective, and potential arms treaties. It also requires that the Agency provide detailed information on such activities in its annual report to the Congress. I shall interpret the language of this Act so as not to detract from my constitutional authority to protect information relating to treaty negotiations or other sensitive national security information.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 11, 1989.

Note: H.R. 1495, approved December 11, was assigned Public Law No. 101–216.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Newspaper Editors

December 11, 1989

The President. Thank you all for coming. I'm particularly looking forward to this because you do represent a unique category of journalism. What I want to do is just make a few brief comments and then take your questions for awhile.

First, just a word on the recent Malta visit—I think it was very promising. Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed to hold a summit in the United States next year in June. We agreed that our foreign ministers would meet in the Soviet Union next month. We are on the brink of exciting, new U.S.-Soviet relations. And having said that, there are still some difficulties. Our Secretary of State's abroad right now, talking about some of the problems facing Europe. But basically, I end the year more optimistic than when I began it, and very encouraged about the change that's taking place inside the Soviet Union and all across Eastern Europe.

On the Third World debt question, we came up with a proposal for solving it—the so-called Brady plan. I want to be sure that we move further during next year in terms of implementation. At least we spelled out some broad parameters with which to try to help solve the problems of Third World debt. But as one who is very interested in this hemisphere, I can tell you that there's enormous interest in the part of our friends to the south—small countries and large—that we get on with this, and that our allies and others—private banking interests—help us get on with this.

On the economy—we end the year with a still-growing economy, the lowest unemployment rate in 15 years, and 20.5 million new jobs created over the last several years. I've been able to keep my pledge of no new taxes for this year. And generally, I feel pretty good about it. There's some signs of concern that have been expressed from time to time by the Fed [Federal Reserve Board], but I think the main thing now is to keep it growing until every American benefits by this—the longest recovery in history.

And on the ethics package—we sent an ethics package up early. Congress did incorporate many of the provisions in our governmentwide ethics package into the law passed recently that was coupled with the congressional pay raise. I think the reform is long overdue. We didn't get everything we want, but we made a beginning out there.

On S&L's—the package, which was not easy to come by, guarantees depositors that money will be safe and sets tough new standards to ensure that the crisis doesn't happen again. I'm disappointed, in some ways, with the Congress and with our progress—or lack thereof—in some areas.

The crime package—we sent a comprehensive violent crime control package which proposes augmenting enforcement and prosecutions, strengthening current law, restricting certain semiautomatic weapons, and expanding prison capacity. But, very candidly, it has not been acted on, so I'm going to have to come back now after the first of the year and try to push on that.

Clear air—the House and the Senate took some steps toward passing our bill this year. But we had some good clear air proposals. They were widely received, bipartisan fashion, but I'm disappointed that we haven't gone further there.

Child care—I'm in a fight with the Congress in terms of philosophy on child care. I want to have as much choice as possible. We sent up a new child care bill and proposed $250 million increase in Head Start this year, too. And now we're in the final throes of our budget process, addressing these questions again, but I think you'll see early action on child care.

All in all, it's been a productive year. We've proposed a lot of new initiatives. I exercised the veto 10 times and to date was not overridden on it. We made progress. I didn't mention the minimum wage, for example, but I had to hold the line on what I thought was right, and then we did pass it at the level that I suggested. But I'm not overly satisfied, but I think generally that the first year has gone pretty well.

I do want to make one comment, before taking questions, on the recent visit of General Scowcroft to China—a lot of interest in that. And following the meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, it seemed to me that it would be appropriate to brief the Chinese leaders. I made clear to them before the Malta meeting that I wanted to do this. I must say I was very pleased today, in the wake of General Scowcroft's visit, to notice that the Chinese Foreign Ministry stated that they would not sell missiles to any Middle East countries. That subject was raised by General Scowcroft and, in my view, it's a very sound development.

And I do not want to isolate the Chinese people; I don't want to hurt the Chinese people. We have certain sanctions. I hope I needn't reiterate my concerns about the events that took place in Tiananmen Square. I think we were positioned in the forefront of human rights concerns, and I think the Chinese know that they still have to address themselves to the problems that were inherent in this episode. But I don't want to see that China remains totally isolated. I don't want to take any further steps that are going to hurt the Chinese people. And I was very pleased that this statement on the missiles, the subject having been raised by General Scowcroft, took place before he barely hit the ground here.

There was some discussion about the Pelosi bill, and some political figures accusing me of not caring about human rights because I would not sign that bill. We have enacted by Executive order everything that that bill would have done. And I want to keep control of managing the foreign policy of this country as much as I can, and I didn't think that legislation was necessary. And I hope that the Congress comes back and takes a hard look at that, and then we'll go forward together, as we have in the past. But, generally speaking, I realize the difficulty of this relationship, but I don't want to make it any worse. I'd like to think it would improve. We have contacts with countries that have egregious records on human rights, and so I'm going to keep looking for ways to find common ground. But I realize that—I would say to those who are out there churning around saying that we have normalized relations with China that they simply do not know what they're talking about.

Now I'll be glad to take any questions.

Vice President Quayle

Q. Mr. President, Bill Cheshire, Arizona Republic. Since the Malta summit, Vice President Quayle has expressed some disappointment with regard to the Soviet Union's activities in Central America, essentially. Does this reflect the views of the administration, or did you pick up at the Malta meeting some indication that the Soviets may be more forthcoming and cooperative as our relationship develops?

The President. Well, I expressed the views of the United States Government at the Malta meeting that I was concerned about their actions in Central America, and so I think the Vice President was reiterating a view that he knew I held. I'd like to think there would be some change in their philosophy there. I had a phone call that I told Mr. Gorbachev about from Oscar Arias [President of Costa Rica] in which Arias simply asked me to raise with Gorbachev the question of Soviet support for Cuba—Arias putting a lot of blame on Cuba for the export of revolution into these fragile democracies in Central America and, indeed, in South America. So, I raised the question very forcefully, and I hope that the Soviet Union got the message that it is impossible to have totally smooth relations with us as long as they are supporting the export of revolution into these democratically elected countries. So, there's no difference between myself and the Vice President on this matter. And he was reiterating, really, a position that I have taken.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Tom Dearmore, of the San Francisco Examiner. Do you think the PLO is inspiring or orchestrating at least part of the Intifada riot activity? And if so, do you think Israel should be pressured or obliged to negotiate on any more than elections until this violence subsides?

The President. I don't think Israel should be pressured into negotiating with the PLO. Is that the question?

Q. Yes.

The President. No, they should not be. [Secretary of State] Jim Baker is working out a very difficult formulation with the Israelis, with the Egyptians, under which the representatives of the Palestinian people would sit down and talk. And it has been very difficult. Mubarak [President of Egypt], you remember, had his 10 points. Baker came up with five points. There has been progress on that, incidentally, but I don't think it is the role of the United States to force Israel to negotiate with the PLO.

China

Q. Mr. President, Eric Briendel, New York Post. Can you envision any steps the Chinese Government might take that would lead to the lifting of the sanctions that are now in place?

The President. Yes, but I'm not going to detail them for you. The question was: Can I envision steps that the Chinese Government can take that would result in the lifting of the sanctions? Yes, and we have had an opportunity to discuss that with very high levels in the Chinese hierarchy. And I think it is important that they know how we feel on this question, as to what changes need to take place. But let me reiterate, there has not been normalization of relations because General Scowcroft, at my request—and it was my idea, my suggestion—went over there and had very high-level talks in China.

German Reunification

Q. Joseph Sterne, of the Baltimore Sun. Mr. President, could you discuss the question of German reunification? Particularly, what steps need to be taken internationally to deal with that question—the Helsinki conference, possibly a second one, possibly a peace conference to settle borders?

The President. Well, I think the Helsinki agreement speaks to the question of borders, and it does provide for peaceful change, but it mainly recognizes existing borders. And that is a given—that is a position that we respect and that we support.

I think it's very important that the United States not appear to be trying to accelerate the change in Germany, that we not be out setting timetables or suggesting how fast this question—very difficult question for some—of German reunification be addressed. And so, what we've done is simply let the process go forward.

Look, I haven't been able to predict the rapidity of change in Eastern Germany, and if you find somebody that has, please let me know who that clairvoyant so-and-so is, because I don't think there is anybody that has been totally right. But we put on the table—and I don't have them with me—four points that should guide the question of German reunification. But it is one that is highly sensitive to the Soviet Union. And we don't have to do it just their way. It is of some concern to some of our European allies. But the NATO position and the position at Helsinki guide the U.S. view still on German reunification.

Q. Just one followup to that. [West German] Chancellor Kohl has made the point that Helsinki solves it only in a political context, and you need a peace treaty to deal with the border question and international law.

The President. Well, eventually, I think that we can address ourselves to that question. As you know, you have the Four Power occupying provisions, but I don't think that it's in our interests to be setting dates for the finalization of this. Secretary Baker is discussing that at this very minute with our various friends abroad. And I don't want to come out looking like I oppose change from the status quo in the GDR, but I just don't want to be in the position of trying to accelerate the question of German reunification. It's too sensitive, and it's not the role for the United States to do that.

China

Q. Mr. President, Bob White, from the Star Tribune in Minneapolis. I was interested in your observation about Chinese missiles, and I wondered what makes that different. The Chinese, for years, when we're so concerned about the missiles at the Strait of Hormuz, were denying that they had sent missiles to anybody. Why is this substantively different, and why is it suddenly important now?

The President. Well, because we've represented, sir, that they ought not to be selling missiles into the unstable Middle East. And for this to have been raised now, and then having this instant response—I view that as good.

Q. But they've said that before.

The President. Well, if they prove to not be telling the truth, that wouldn't be good. You say what's different about it? I think the fact that it was raised and then responded to with this rapidity is a good sign. There are many issues of difference that we have with the Chinese, or potential difference. So, I think that one does not address itself to human rights in China, but I think it's important. I think it's important that a top U.S. official sat down with China—24 hours later, we are told this. And if it works out badly, why, that wouldn't be productive.

Andean Drug Summit

Q. Rena Pederson, Dallas Morning News. At a time when a powerful individual such as [West German banker] Alfred Herrhausen can be killed by terrorists, doesn't it seem extremely risky to be attending the drug summit in Colombia? I've wondered if you've reconsidered attending it?

The President. Well, I'm going to take a look at that situation. But we've got a courageous President in Mr. Virgilio Barco. And I don't know that—well, put it this way: I don't want to send some signal that Virgilio Barco cannot provide the proper security for three heads of state visiting his country. I don't want to undermine the courageous stance he's taking by taking a view that would hurt what he's trying to do. And I'm sure that if the security concerns are raised to him that—we have a long time before the meeting, but near the time of the meeting—he would agree with the objective assessments. But right now I'm very hopeful that the meeting will take place in Cartagena. And I have so much respect for him, and I know the enormous problem he's under from people that want him to give up the fight on extradition, or fight against the narco traffickers. And I don't want to be the one that sends a signal that nobody should go to Colombia because they can't be protected.

So, I've got time to take a final decision on that. I will listen to the experts. I will not do anything imprudent. Nobody has ever accused me of being too daring. [*Laughter*] So, I will—but I don't want to undermine this courageous leader.

German Reunification

Q. Mr. President, Jim Klurfeld, from Newsday. I was wondering—in terms of the German question—whether you can give us better, more detailed sense of your discussions with President Gorbachev on that matter? And also, what type of steps the United States, with or without the Soviet Union, can take to prevent that situation from kind of reaching hyperspeed, the type of situation you seem to be concerned about now?

The President. How the U.S. can affect that?

Q. How the U.S. can do it by itself, or if there's a need for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to work jointly?

The President. Well, one thing you do is keep from doing imprudent things. There was a while when I was being criticized for not waxing enthusiastic enough. Some even suggested that it would be appropriate for the President to rush over to the Berlin Wall to show his excitement. I was excited, but I thought it would be foolish to go to the Berlin Wall because you could evoke a response that could have been totally counterproductive.

But this is the kind of subject that we can discuss with the head of the Soviet Union, but it's not going to be determined between Bush and Gorbachev. That's the kind of spirit of—that's in the past—that he and I would sit down and try to determine the fate of Germany. That is not the role that I'm going to play. That's not the role for the President of the United States. And so, we will watch the procedures. We'll have the talks that you've read about in the last couple of days, these Four Power talks at an ambassadorial level. We will stay in touch so we don't miss a signal of some sort. But this is a matter for the German people to decide. It isn't a matter that is going to be determined by the United States. And so, that's the way I look at it, and that's the way our policy is being conducted now.

Free and Fair Trade

Q. Peter Schrag, from the Sacramento Bee newspaper. Mr. President, I think it can be said—and I think most people agree—that the events of the last year indicate that the cold war has been going our way. Can we say the same thing about the economic competition that we've had overseas? And given the events that have unfolded in the last few months, is your administration now going to put more focus on the latter rather than the former?

The President. Well, I don't know about more focus, but we're going to put plenty of focus on it, because you raise a very important question, the question of fairness in trade. And we have tried, through a very tough and honest negotiator, our Trade Representative Carla Hills, to make the point that if we're going to go forward with these trade relationships, we've got to be—they have to be fair—fair trade. I have made the point on several occasions to Mr. Delors [President of European Communities Commission] in the EC and to our trading partners in various settings with our European friends that the American people are properly insisting that the barriers come down. I remain committed to free trade, but it's got to be fair, and I do think we can do a better job of showing our concern about that.

And I'm going to try to resist protectionist legislation when it comes down the pike—pure protectionist—but the way to avoid it is for us to make more progress in the negotiations. So, I think you'll see a heightened attention to trade matters. I'm going to avoid bashing some trading partner—popular though that might be in the political arena. I think it's bad foreign policy, and I think it's bad for the United States as a whole. But I am not sanguine—I am not relaxed about where we stand. And I will fight hard to have our people—Secretary of Agriculture, USTR, Secretary of Commerce—make progress in all these forums on international trade.

I hope that the political changes continue around the world, thus lessening tensions, so that we can put a lot more attention on the trade sector. I don't want to reply to that part of your question that I think that things are so good in terms of the change in Eastern Europe or changes with the Soviet Union that we can totally relax. I know they're not that good with China, for example.

China

Q. Edward Fike, San Diego Union. Mr. President, are you not concerned that your warming relationship with China may send the wrong signal to the Kremlin about future possible oppression of the unrest?

The President. No, I have no concern about that at all as long as we're positioned in favor of human rights and against totalitarian oppression. And I think we are properly positioned. China is a billion-plus people. They have a strategic position in the world that remains important to us. And I'd like to think that they will redress some of the grievances that continue to exist. And as long as the Soviet Union knows that we're not sending a signal of total normalization, I think there's no risk in your question, but I will be very careful that we don't send that signal. And I think, given the recent meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, I think there's very little likelihood of that misunderstanding cropping up.

Republican Party

Q. I'm Ed Grimsley, of the Richmond Times-Dispatch. As you know, we've just had a very close election in Virginia, and the Democratic candidate, we think, has won—we have to wait for a recount on that—by a very narrow margin. And some say that he won primarily because of the Republican candidate's rigid opposition to abortion.

Many Democrats are very gleeful over the fact also that as the Berlin Wall collapses, so will the Republican Party because anticommunism has been the fuel that kept the party moving all these years. My question to you as leader of the Republican Party: Are you losing any sleep these days over the future of your party?

The President. No. [*Laughter*] None at all. And I've read some of that balderdash out there. [*Laughter*] Democrats hold a gubernatorial seat, and they dance around the grave of what they hope is the Republican Party. And they're wrong, because the American people have not changed their fundamental views that had them support me over my opponent. And so, these elections come and go. The Virginia election was a Democrat holding the seat of another Democrat.

So, I don't see an enormous amount to rejoice in that, nor do I see a turning down of the Republican Party because a mayor in New York wins by two percentage points over a Republican. The story is—please write it down—[*laughter*]—that a Republican got 48 percent of the vote in New York City.

And so I don't accept all that, and I know there's a lively debate on some of these social issues. But I also know that we are getting credit as a party for handling, I hope properly, some of the changes that are taking place in the world and having a global vision and trying to do at home those things that the American people want. I cited some of my frustrations, but I also cited some steps that have gone reasonably well. But I think we have a sound agenda, a national agenda, and I think that will benefit the party in the future. So, for those who want to read something into Virginians holding on to the gubernatorial seat, that's their pleasure. But I hadn't lost a wink, really.

Congressional Relations

Q. Mr. President, Philip Terzian, the Providence Journal. In your Inaugural Address, you called for a higher level of cooperation between the executive and legislative branches. And I was wondering: In the past year I realize the House leadership had some unexpected turmoil, but have you been pleased, distressed, surprised by the character of White House-Capitol Hill relations?

The President. Well, being somewhat of a realist, I can't say I was surprised, but—and there have been some negative and highly partisan comments. I pride myself on the fact that I don't believe anybody can point to a personal observation on the negative side by me about any of the Democratic leaders, and I am going to continue that way.

And I try to debrief them when we came back from Malta. I try to give them a preview and ask for their advice before I go to Malta. We talked about these domestic issues in a very open way with the leaders, and I am going to continue that. And I think in some ways that's been good. I've taken some flak on board from some of our own party for doing that too much, for trying to work with the Democrats. But I was elected to make certain things happen, and I am going to continue to try to make certain things happen.

I cited an unfulfilled agenda here. But if I had to sum up my feelings at the end of the year, I'd say there are some frustrations, but I am determined when the Congress comes back to hold out the hand and try again. We have good relationships with the Speaker and the Senate side—reasonably good. And so we are going to keep working on that. But there have been some good moments, and there have been some enormous frustrations, I guess is the way to wrap it up.

El Salvador

Q. John Zakarian, from the Hartford Courant, Hartford, Connecticut. How likely is it for Jennifer Casolo to receive a fair trial in El Salvador, given the breakdown of law and order in that country and also given the initial remarks that came out of the White House when she was arrested?

The President. Well, I think it's essential that she receive a fair trial. And I have instructed our Ambassador and, indeed, talked to Cristiani [President of El Salvador] personally, to represent to the Salvadorans that it's essential that a fair trial be granted. And having said that, I'm satisfied so far that that will take place. But it is essential that it not only take place but have all the appearances of fairness. And I think that's what Mr. Cristiani is determined to do.

That one is very complex, but so far I have seen no indication that she will not receive a fair trial. I have expressed my own concern about the FMLN shooting up civilians and shooting up a—going after a democratically elected government that was elected in certifiably free elections. And I think when Oscar Arias calls and urges that the Soviets intervene to see that this kind of thing doesn't go on—it makes an impression on me. But we ought to separate these cases and just do everything we can to insist that whoever it is be granted a fair hearing and a fair trial. And I hope that will be the case in Jennifer Casolo.

Savings and Loan Crisis

Q. Byron White, Cincinnati Post. Cincinnati being the home of Marvin Warner and Charles Keating, we've had quite an interest in the S&L crisis. You mentioned in your remarks that you saw the fact that the S&L package guaranteed depositors their money as being a positive. However, some have suggested that the fact that that maximum level of insurance is so high is part of the problem. And I was just wondering what your thoughts were on that.

The President. On deposit insurance?

Q. The maximum level of insurance, $100,000 on depositors insurance as being part of the reason for some of the problems with Lincoln Savings and so forth.

The President. I don't want to dodge your question, but I don't know enough about the specifics in that case to give you an opinion as to whether the $100,000 limit on savings deposits affected it or not. All I do know is that we've got to clean it up and it's a whale of a mess. And we'll see where we go, but we had this one refinancing. I am now told that that might not be enough. And whether you can attribute it to your question or not, I am embarrassed to say I just don't have a good answer for you.

Urban Poverty

Q. David Boldt, of the Philadelphia Enquirer. It sometimes seems that missing from your agenda and from your comments today has been anything relating to the problems of American cities, particularly the problems of urban poverty. And it leads to an inclination to think that perhaps you don't think these problems are amenable to Federal initiative. Is that correct?

The President. No, that's incorrect. I thought child care had a lot to do with that. I thought the question of anticrime legislation has a lot to do with that because those areas are the most severely impacted. But I am glad you raised it because it is totally incorrect. I also mentioned the creation of jobs—that's very important to the inner cities.

Federal Budget

Q. Chris Colford—I'm from the Cleveland Plain Dealer. As we await your next budget for next year there is some anxiety that there may be another round of cuts in human and domestic services—for example, the Legal Services Corporation, where you recently offered a recess appointment for a new Chairman. Can you give us some assurances that the kinder, gentler administration will have adequate funding for human services?

The President. I think you'll be pleasantly surprised when you take the overall budget and its concerns for city affairs, human affairs—whatever.

Q. Legal services?

The President. Well, I can't. I don't know the exact levels on legal services. We're in the final processes of budget right now. I go from this meeting to another marvelous meeting with Dick Darman and a big thick notebook over there. So, I'm not ducking it; I just don't know the answer. But generally speaking, I think you are going to find that we are able to finance the initiatives that I talked about—some of which I mentioned here—that do affect the welfare of the American people, particularly those that are disadvantaged.

Panama

Q. Sterling Holmesly, San Antonio Express-News. Mr. President, could you tell us when a decision will be announced on the relocation of the Southern Command in Panama?

The President. No, sir, I don't know. I'm not ducking it; I just don't know the answer. Can anyone help with that? Bob [Robert Gates, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs]? I know people in San Antonio have a keen interest in this, and I can understand why, but I just don't know the answer to that one.

El Salvador

Q. Shelly Cohen, from the Boston Herald. There have been widely divergent accounts this morning of the credibility of a witness to the murder of those priests in El Salvador. Is it not time to go public with that investigation? If not now, when?

The President. Widely——

Q. We have a report——

The President. ——as to whether she's a credible witness or not?

Q. Yes. We have a report out of El Salvador that she had flunked lie detector tests. We have other reports from the clergy in El Salvador that she's being brainwashed. Could you respond to that?

The President. Yes, I can respond to the last part of it, because when I read that, I looked into that and am assured that is not the case. But I think you ask a good question, as to when all this will become public. It should be, and I'd like to see it as soon as possible.

But I think there are some concerns, and all I would say is that this—she was accompanied by a person from the U.S. Embassy. I believe the Justice Department has had the custodianship or taken a keen interest in all of this. And I have confidence that our Attorney General would not permit the kind of inquisition process that was alluded to in the papers today. And so, it is very important, just as in the Casolo case, that this be resolved fairly and to the satisfaction of the American people. And that is going to mean the disclosure that you're asking about. And so, I want to just assure you that this will take place. I think it's important that it's done in a way so there's no—not tampering with evidence but prejudicing the legal proceedings that are taking place. I think that's very important.

Q. Will you order the FBI to make this investigation public in the reasonably near future?

The President. Well, I'll do it within the confines of the legal proceedings. I don't want to order them to do something and then have them say the very fact you have done this is making it difficult to get a reasonable solution to the question everybody is asking—what happened? But I think, in fairness to her, I've already guaranteed to my satisfaction that she is not being mishandled. And I don't think that people would tell me something that's not true there, because there would be a price to pay for that. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. to a group of editorial page editors in Room 450 at the Old Executive Office Building. In his closing remarks, he referred to Lucia Barrera de Cerna, who was the housekeeper for the Jesuit priests murdered in El Salvador.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the International War on Drugs

December 11, 1989

A team of U.S. officials led by Assistant Secretary of State Bernard Aronson is visiting the three Andean countries this week to discuss with those governments the agenda for the planned February drug summit.

The President has focused his attention on both the domestic and international war against drugs and has made it a high priority of his administration. The struggle against drugs is not limited solely to the United States. The Andean countries, particularly President Barco in Colombia, have undertaken extraordinary measures. In this context, Bolivia today has apprehended and turned over to the United States Luis Arce Gomez, who has been a fugitive from U.S. justice since 1983. Gomez was wanted in the Southern District of Florida, where he has been charged with two counts of drug trafficking along with codefendant Anna de Tamayo Rodriguez, who was recently extradited from Colombia.

The arrest of Arce Gomez sends a message that the President will work with other governments to pursue vigorously individuals who traffic in drugs.

Statement on Signing the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Technology Competitiveness Act of 1989

December 11, 1989

I have today signed S. 488, the "Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Technology Competitiveness Act of 1989." This legislation is intended to enhance the commercialization and improve the competitiveness of energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies.

Renewable energy and energy efficiency will play an important role in our Nation's energy strategy particularly with regard to current concerns about global climatic change. The development of renewable energy resources and improvements in energy efficiency will provide many benefits to the United States, including a diversification of our fuel and technology mix and increased use of less polluting energy resources. The support the Act gives to research and development programs in these technologies is expected to bring closer the day when we have energy alternatives that meet the energy demands of a growing economy with minimal impact on the environment.

This Act, however, needs clarification. Specifically, section 6(b)(3) of the Act requires the Secretary of Energy to appoint an Advisory Committee made up of representatives from various government and private entities. I have signed S. 488 with the understanding that the Advisory Committee's functions are purely advisory and that its recommendations in no way constrain the Secretary of Energy in the performance of his statutory duties. Thus, for example, I understand section 6(d), which permits the Secretary of Energy to take certain actions "based on the recommendations" of the Committee, simply to contemplate that the Secretary should take account of any recommendations provided.

Consistent with the Congress' purpose in enacting S. 488 and my constitutional prerogative to recommend only such legislation as I judge necessary and expedient, I read section 6(e)(1) as calling for a good faith effort to identify additional joint ventures worthy of support. Similarly, I will read section 4(a)(4) and 4(c) in a manner that does not interfere with my duty to recommend such measures as I deem appropriate.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 11, 1989.

Note: S. 488, approved December 11, was assigned Public Law No. 101–218. The statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 12.

Statement on Signing the Bill Authorizing the Compact of Free Association Between the United States and Palau

December 12, 1989

I am pleased today to sign H.J. Res. 175, which authorizes the entry into force of the Compact of Free Association between the United States and Palau. This legislation is the result of 2 years of effort by the Congress, the executive branch, and the Government of Palau. It makes it possible for the people of Palau to now determine their future political status through their democratic processes. In this regard, I am pleased to note that President Ngiratkel Etpison has signed an executive order setting February 6, 1990, as the date for a plebiscite on the Compact of Free Association in Palau.

Palau is the last remaining trust territory in the world. Like my predecessors, I believe that it is time to change a relationship that is no longer appropriate, for either Palau or the United States, to one that provides a sound foundation for the future of Palau. I believe that this Compact provides just such a basis.

The United States looks forward to a continued strong relationship between the United States and a sovereign, democratic Palau that can take its place in the community of nations. We take seriously our obligations for the security of Palau and will support the efforts of a sovereign, self-governing Palau to attain its full economic potential.

At a time when fresh breezes of democracy are blowing around the world, the commitment of the people of Palau to the democratic system is most gratifying. I hope that Palau's voters will fully participate in the upcoming plebiscite and exercise their democratic right to set their own course for the future.

House Joint Resolution 175 directs the President to negotiate an agreement to facilitate implementation of an anti-drug plan for Palau. Under our Constitution, the power to conduct negotiations with foreign nations is vested in the President. In keeping with past practice, I will interpret this provision as advisory in nature. The intent of the proposed plan is in keeping with our own national anti-drug abuse strategy. The Administration is committed to facilitating the implementation of such a plan for Palau.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 12, 1989.

Note: H.J. Res. 175, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 101–219.

Statement on Signing the Steel Trade Liberalization Program Implementation Act

December 12, 1989

Today I sign H.R. 3275, the "Steel Trade Liberalization Program Implementation Act." This law underscores the bipartisan support in the Congress for the Steel Trade

Liberalization Program I announced on July 25, 1989. I am pleased that the initial phase of negotiations to implement my program has been successfully completed. These negotiations, conducted under the direction of Ambassador Carla Hills, produced agreements to:

—Extend the existing Voluntary Restraint Arrangements (VRAs) for 2½ years; and

—Eliminate trade-distorting practices in the steel sector.

I am particularly pleased with the bilateral consensus agreements to eliminate trade-distorting practices. For the first time countries have agreed to market-opening goals and to disciplines over trade-distorting subsidies. Our trading partners have pledged to work with us in the Uruguay Round, both to codify under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) the disciplines on subsidies and to eliminate tariff and nontariff barriers to steel trade. These bilateral agreements on steel are stepping-stones to a multilateral agreement in the Uruguay Round to provide comprehensive disciplines over trade-distorting practices.

H.R. 3275 also contains two other provisions that are important for our international trade policy:

—The superfund petroleum tax amendment brings the United States into conformity with an important GATT ruling. The enactment of this provision reinforces the commitment by the Administration and the Congress to full compliance with our GATT obligations; and

—The ethanol provision implements a time-sensitive portion of pending legislation to enhance the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). I look forward with enthusiasm to the enactment of Administration-supported CBI legislation early next year.

Section 2 of the bill, which amends the Steel Import Stabilization Act (19 U.S.C. 2253 note), adds a section 803(d) that requires the President to provide the Congress with an annual assessment of the progress of specified trade negotiations. I view this provision as duplicative of existing statutory provisions for keeping congressional trade advisors informed on trade negotiations and will implement it consistent with my constitutional authority to protect information relating to negotiations with foreign nations.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 12, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3275, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 101–221.

Statement on Signing the Anti-Terrorism and Arms Export Amendments Act of 1989
December 12, 1989

Today I am signing H.R. 91, the "Anti-Terrorism and Arms Export Amendments Act of 1989."

In signing this bill, I wish to reemphasize this Nation's strong determination to oppose international terrorists and the states that support them. Curbing state support to terrorists is essential in reducing the menace of international terrorism.

I am aware that, insofar as the new section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act applies to activities by U.S. persons (including subsidiaries of U.S. firms) in foreign countries, it has thus raised concerns among our Allies regarding the extraterritorial application of U.S. law. Moreover, section 40 makes it clear that all of the prohibitions dealing with foreign subsidiaries and munitions items are applicable to the extent specified in implementing regulations of the Department of State. I consequently direct the Secretary of State to ensure that the appropriate implementing amendments to the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) are consistent with applicable international law regarding the extraterritorial effect of U.S. law.

Two provisions of the bill warrant careful construction in order to avoid constitutional difficulties. The new section 40(a)(5) prohibits the United States Government from "facilitating the acquisition of any munitions item" by a country designated by the Secretary of State under section 40(d). The new section 40(b)(1)(D) contains a parallel prohibition on actions by any U.S. person to facilitate such an acquisition. I shall interpret these provisions as placing no limit on our negotiations and communications with foreign governments. This interpretation is supported by the House Committee Report and the colloquy on the floor of the House clarifying that these provisions are not intended to circumscribe my constitutional authority to articulate foreign policy or to discuss with foreign countries arms transfers that they may wish to make.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 12, 1989.

Note: H.R. 91, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 101–222.

Statement on Signing the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act Amendments of 1989

December 12, 1989

I have today approved H.R. 3614, the "Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act Amendments of 1989." I am pleased that this bill contains two of this Administration's major initiatives in the fight to rid our Nation's schools and students of illicit drugs and alcohol.

At the heart of the bill, as well as our 1989 National Drug Control Strategy, are provisions requiring institutions of higher education and local school districts receiving Federal financial assistance to certify that they have adopted and implemented programs to prevent the use of illicit drugs and the abuse of alcohol by students and employees. To ensure the effectiveness of these programs, H.R. 3614 requires that they meet Federal standards. The bill is, however, fully consistent with our history of, and continuing belief in, academic freedom and State and local responsibility for education. I believe these provisions will assist significantly our struggle to rid our Nation's schools of drug and alcohol abuse and educate our young to the legal, social, and health consequences of such abuse.

H.R. 3614 also includes authority, effective in Fiscal Year 1991, for a new program of emergency grants made by the Department of Education to local school districts that have the greatest need for additional resources to combat drug and alcohol abuse by students. This flexible new program is very similar to the one I proposed to the Congress last spring in my "Educational Excellence Act of 1989," and will allow the Department of Education to put significant sums where the need is greatest.

The bill is not perfect. It unfortunately contains a number of unnecessary changes to programs currently carried out under the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act. As a result, those programs will be made more complex, more burdensome, and less flexible. As I know from my discussions with Governors at the recent Education Summit Conference, we do not need such changes. What we do need is to let school administrators and State and local officials implement programs to prevent substance abuse with creativity, wisdom, and fairness. However, these defects in the bill are outweighed by the importance, and value to our Nation's schools and students, of the Administration's initiatives.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 12, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3614, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 101–226.

Statement on Signing the Bill Convening the Second Session of the One Hundred First Congress

December 12, 1989

Today I am signing House Joint Resolution 449, which sets the date on which the Congress shall assemble in 1990 pursuant to the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution. In accordance with this joint resolution, the second session of the One Hundred First Congress will convene at 12 o'clock meridian on Tuesday, January 23, 1990.

In signing the joint resolution, I note that the power to convene a session of the Congress other than on a given date set by law is vested in the President by Article II, Section 3 of the Constitution.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 12, 1989.

Note: H.J. Res. 449, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 101–228.

Nomination of Douglas Alan Brook To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Army

December 12, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Douglas Alan Brook, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army for Financial Management. He would succeed Ken Kramer.

Since 1982 Mr. Brook has served as the president of Brook Associates in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served with the Libbey-Owens-Ford Co. in Washington, DC, as vice president, 1979–1982, and director of public affairs, 1976–1979. He also served with the National Association of Manufacturers in several capacities, 1970–1976.

Mr. Brook graduated from the University of Michigan (B.A., 1965; M.A., 1967). He served as an officer in the U.S. Navy Supply Corps, 1968–1970. He was born January 15, 1944, in Chicago, IL. Mr. Brooks is married and currently resides in Vienna, VA.

Nomination of Gary C. Byrne To Be Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration

December 12, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gary C. Byrne to be Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, Department of Agriculture, for a term of 10 years. He would succeed Harold V. Hunter.

Since 1985 Dr. Byrne has been chairman of the Bank of Alex Brown in Sacramento, CA, and president and chief executive officer, 1987 to present. He has served as chairman, president, and chief executive officer of the Bank of Alex Brown Financial Group, 1985 to present. Prior to this he served as chairman and chief executive officer of Meridian Bancorp, 1983–1985. He was chairman of Harden and Co. Insurance Services, Inc., 1984–1985, and has served as chairman of Meridian National Bank in Concord, CA.

Dr. Byrne graduated from the University of Redlands (B.A., 1965), and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (Ph.D., 1969). He was born May 1, 1942, in Upland, CA. He is married, has two children, and resides in Sacramento, CA.

Nomination of Julie E. Carnes To Be a Member of the United States Sentencing Commission

December 12, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Julie E. Carnes to be a member of the United States Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 1995. She would succeed Paul H. Robinson.

Ms. Carnes is currently special counsel for the United States Sentencing Commission. Prior to this she served as Deputy Chief of the Criminal Division, 1987–1989. Ms. Carnes was the Assistant United States Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia, 1978–1989, and law clerk to the Honorable Lewis R. Morgan, U.S. Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, 1975–1977.

Ms. Carnes graduated from the University of Georgia (A.B., 1972; J.D., 1975). She was born October 31, 1950, in Atlanta, GA. Ms. Carnes has two children and currently resides in Atlanta, GA.

Remarks at the Catholic University of America Anniversary Dinner

December 12, 1989

Thank you very much. Please be seated. Your Eminences and reverend clergy, Chairman Bagley and Mrs. Connolly, ladies and gentlemen, Barbara and I are just delighted to be with you. And thank you, Father Byron, for introducing me and for inviting me to be with you tonight.

In particular, I am delighted to come to pay my respects to their Eminences and Excellencies from Egypt and Saudi Arabia who have traveled so far for this occasion.

Two years ago, as Father Byron said—reminded me out here, I had the honor of addressing the kickoff dinner of the 100th anniversary of the Catholic University of America. And here we are back again. Even though I know this isn't what you have in mind when you preach about the Second Coming—[*laughter*]—I am delighted to help conclude the centennial celebration and to salute these great men who embody this university—five cardinals who are diocesan bishops, and then the friend of everybody here, the former archbishop of Philadelphia, Cardinal Krol.

You know, this is quite a gathering, more than a thousand voices cascading around the Pension Building. For those of you in the back of the room, I'll try to speak up. Cardinal Hickey warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad. [*Laughter*]

And speaking of His Eminence, this is some gathering—six cardinals, each near the top of his field. Notice I said near, not at, after all—no, I'm reminded of the football player's response when he was traded from Phoenix to New Orleans. Religiously speaking, he said, is an advancement from a Cardinal to a Saint. [*Laughter*]

But in the spirit of the evening, I do want to make a confession. [*Laughter*] The real reason I'm here is to see if anybody has a couple of Orange Bowl tickets that they are not using. [*Laughter*] Let's hear it for Notre Dame down there! [*Applause*]

And let me also confess that, as I was looking forward to tonight, I got to thinking and wondering, thinking about how Pope John XXIII said, "Religion makes mankind special"—and wondering what is it about Catholic University and these six men of God which makes them, in their special way, so extraordinary. The first reason, I think, is fundamental faith, belief in the Almighty. For you accept the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. You believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. And you know that there is no state religion, nor should there ever be, but spiritual principles were rooted in our nation's origins, and always must be.

Next, service to others—and this, too, has helped the Church uphold Christ's special mission to mankind. Think of the Catholic charities who illumine what I love to call a Thousand Points of Light, and of individuals, heroes really—like your honoree, Helen Marino Connolly, this year's recipient of Catholic University's American Cardinals Encouragement Award—reflecting, as Catholics do from Villanova to the Vatican, the belief that we were placed on Earth to do God's work.

And the third special quality of the Catholic community—its devotion to higher learning. Two hundred years ago America's Catholic Church hierarchy was born. And in 1887, it founded a national Catholic University to teach all branches of science and literature. Historically, education has been the great equalizer, buoying the Catholic experience. And today, more than ever, as these cardinals show, it remains the great uplifter.

And finally, thinking of tonight, I thought of Catholics' fidelity to freedom. For it is freedom which brought Catholics in the 18th and 19th century to Boston and Baltimore and Chicago and New Orleans, and it is freedom which sustains you today in 1989. Catholics, for instance, believe in the most basic freedom, the right to life. And you believe, as I do, that we need to pursue public policies that preserve the sanctity of life.

And Catholics also want the freedom which allows parents, not the government, to choose the best child care for their children, be it with a grandparent, a neighbor, or yes, a local church. And so, we've sent legislation to Congress to make good on this pledge. I am determined to protect the right of every parent to send their children to the care center of their choice, and that includes, and must include, church-sponsored centers.

And yes, Catholics, too, want the freedom which allows their children to say a voluntary school prayer. And I share that belief, and I will continue to support a constitutional amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the faith of our fathers back in our schools.

And finally, last week I met with Chairman Gorbachev, as you all know, off of the coast of Malta where we talked of another freedom, the freedom to dismantle barriers between nations, and how principles based on conscience can move mountains or, as in East Berlin, even move a wall. And I know that many here tonight probably still have relatives in Prague or Budapest or Warsaw and Berlin. And I know that you want them to have the same freedoms with which God has blessed America, and the right to think and dream and worship as we please, and the right of free expression, the right to equal protection under the law, the right to choose our leaders and our destinies. And time and again, the church has reaffirmed such freedoms—in Eastern Europe, for example, where democracy is on the march, or the Philippines, where freedom-loving people struggle valiantly to preserve a hard-won democracy.

In this season, this wonderful season of peace on Earth, let us renew our commitment to the principle of liberty in other parts of the world—in El Salvador, where we condemn terrorism and murder, whatever the ideology, and we will do everything we can to bring to justice those who murdered those six Jesuit priests. And in Nicaragua, too, we cannot rest until liberty's victory is won. We want this to be the first hemisphere made up entirely of free democratic countries. And so, we have and will oppose the export of revolution, and have and will be resolute for freedom.

I told Mr. Gorbachev of a phone call that I received from President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica—Oscar Arias, Nobel Prize winner—asking me to raise with Mr. Gorbachev the concern of the Central American democracies and the South American democracies about Cuba's export of revolution. And I did this, and I hope it made an impression on Mr. Gorbachev. In this country, we speak different languages, attend different places of worship, but human dignity somehow eclipsed this nation, as does "love thy neighbor." For the Golden Rule remains the most ennobling rule for our future and the world.

So, let me close then by returning to last week's summit, for I met there with a man who will help inevitably shape that world. Our meeting revolved around the need for lasting peace. And as we spoke, I thought of how God does move in mysterious ways and of Chairman Gorbachev's meeting the day before with one of the great men of this or any age, His Holiness Pope John Paul II. And who could have imagined, even weeks ago, that this long-awaited meeting would occur or that we would hear these words from a Soviet leader: "Not only should no one interfere in matters of the individuals' conscience, we also say that the moral values that religion embodied for centuries can help in the work of renewal of our country, too"—Mr. Gorbachev talking about this historic visit. And then he added: "In fact, this renewal is already happening."

What a wonderful message for this Christmas season—a message of the renewal which springs from faith, hope, generosity, and freedom. What a wonderful legacy to leave our children—the knowledge that God can live without man, but man cannot live without God. For my own part, I know that this is true. For although I've been President now for even less than a year, I believe with all my heart that one cannot be America's President without a belief in God—and, I should add, without a belief in prayer. And every day I am blessed by a wonderful family that gives me strength. And strength, too, comes, as a great President observed, from time on one's knees. For although not yet tested, as Abraham Lincoln was when he talked about that, I know that faith can make all things possible for a nation and a people.

Through faith and, yes, family, we can help America serve all mankind. For today, the time's on the side of peace, because the world increasingly is on the side of God. And for that, I thank this college and these cardinals as our nation does, as our children will.

So, Barbara and I came over to say happy birthday to Catholic University, Merry Christmas to each one of you, and God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:36 p.m. at the Pension Building. In his remarks, he referred to Smith Bagley, dinner chairman and member of the university's board of regents; Helen Marino Connolly, president and executive director of Good Samaritan Hospice of Brighton, MA; Father William Byron, president of the university; James Cardinal Hickey, archbishop of Washington, DC; Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, archbishop of Chicago; John Cardinal O'Connor, archbishop of New York; Bernard Cardinal Law, archbishop of Boston; Edmund Cardinal Szoka, archbishop of Detroit; and John Cardinal Krol, retired archbishop of Philadelphia.

Statement on Signing the Everglades National Park Protection and Expansion Act of 1989

December 13, 1989

Today I am pleased to be signing into law H.R. 1727, the "Everglades National Park Protection and Expansion Act of 1989." This important legislation will allow the Federal Government, in cooperation with the State of Florida, to acquire over 100,000 acres of valuable resource lands and restore those lands to their once-natural wetlands state.

Twelve months ago, in January 1989, I promised my support to this critically important effort. Even in times of serious fiscal constraints, we can still meet our highest environmental priorities, and this is one of mine. I am very gratified to be signing this legislation just 1 short year later.

The expansion of the Everglades National Park has required the dedication of many individuals and organizations who are committed to preserving the unusual and varied plants and animals in the Everglades, including 13 endangered species. The woodstork, heron, ibis, egret, and roseate spoonbill have all declined dramatically over the years. The Florida panther, the alligator, and many species of fish are declining. The Northeast Shark River Slough, the river of grass through southern Florida, has been both too shallow and too deep; through this legislation that river of grass may now be restored to its natural flow of water.

The United States Congress first enacted legislation to enable the purchase of land to create Everglades National Park on December 6, 1944. On December 6, 1947, my distinguished predecessor, President Harry S. Truman, presided at the dedication ceremony for the park in Everglades City, Florida. He was joined at the ceremony by Senators, including the late Claude Pepper; the Governor; the Secretary of the Interior; the Director of the National Park Services; and other prominent individuals who had devoted their time and energy to the preservation of this wonder.

Once again, we are grateful to those individuals and organizations that have worked so diligently to assure protection for this special place. The Congress, especially the Senators and Representatives from Florida, have worked with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service, the State of Florida, Dade County, and local officials to create this legislation. In addition, the Land Acquisition Task Force of the Governor of Florida worked 2 years to complete the planning behind this bill. My deepest gratitude to all of you for what you have done to preserve the beauty of the Everglades for the people of this country and the world.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 13, 1989.

Note: H.R. 1727, approved December 13, was assigned Public Law No. 101–229.

Statement on Signing the International Narcotics Control Act of 1989

December 13, 1989

It is with great pleasure that I sign into law H.R. 3611, the "International Narcotics Control Act of 1989." This Act authorizes Fiscal Year 1990 appropriations of $115 million for international narcotics control assistance and an additional $125 million for military and law enforcement assistance to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. This assistance to the three Andean nations, where most of the world's cocaine is produced and which form the front lines of the struggle against the drug cartels, is designed to help reduce the flow of illegal drugs into our country. The disruption and dismantling of the criminal organizations that support the international production, processing, and trafficking of drugs are essential components of our national drug control strategy.

The violence directed against the government of Colombia following President Barco's courageous decision to wage a full-scale war against the Andean drug traffickers shows that they are entrenched and powerful. International cooperation is essential if they are to be defeated, and the United States, in particular, must be generous in providing assistance. We will consult with the governments of these three countries on how to put our assistance to most effective use, and I look forward to reviewing our progress with the leaders of the Andean nations.

I commend the Congress for this timely response to my request. However, in approving this legislation, I must take note of a problematic provision contained therein.

Section 3(g) of the bill states that section 502B(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall apply to the provision of assistance under section 3. Section 502B(c) requires the Secretary of State to submit certain reports upon the request of either House or of certain committees, and, if no report is forthcoming within 30 days, "no security assistance shall be delivered to such country except as may thereafter be specifically authorized by law from such country unless and until [the report] is transmitted." Section 502B(c) would therefore have the effect of allowing a single House of Congress (or even a single committee) to halt the provision of assistance. This section violates the constitutional principle, recognized by the Supreme Court in *INS* v. *Chadha*, that every legislative act of the Congress must be presented to the President in accordance with the requirements of Article I, section 7 of the Constitution. I shall treat the unconstitutional portions of section 502B(c) as severable from the rest of this legislation, and therefore they will not endanger the provision of necessary assistance in our war on drugs.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 13, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3611, approved December 13, was assigned Public Law No. 101–231.

Remarks on Signing the North American Wetlands Conservation Act

December 13, 1989

The President. Good afternoon and welcome to the White House. This distinguished audience is a testament to the importance of the bill that I am about to sign. I want to particularly welcome Senator Chafee and Congressmen Conte, Jones, and Studds. Secretary Lujan and Bill Reilly, Mike Deland—a very distinguished group.

I especially want to welcome our Canadian and Mexican guests. Like the United States, Canada and Mexico have recognized the need to protect waterfowl habitat in Northern America, and their willingness to work with the United States to promote conservation is much appreciated.

You know, last June, I addressed the Ducks Unlimited annual national waterfowl symposium. And at that time, as Harry Knight can confirm, I reiterated my pledge to work towards a national goal of no net loss of wetlands. And I shared with those present my hope of signing wetlands legislation this year. Well, Christmas comes early on this one. [*Laughter*]

S. 804, the North American Wetlands Conservation Act, is sound legislation. And this bill will provide a steady source of funds for the purchase of critical wetlands in the United States, Canada and Mexico. It also authorizes the Interior Department to match Federal funds and private funds for wetlands conservation projects throughout North America. And I am very pleased that the 101st Congress, as one of its first major environmental acts, ended its first session by passing this bill. This bill is an excellent first step in reaching our national goal of no net loss of wetlands.

Over the years, we've witnessed a steadily declining duck population and a pattern of wetland losses throughout North America. These disturbing trends have been exacerbated by drought in recent years. And this dwindling duck population is largely attributable to the steady loss of wetland areas that we've experienced. Currently, the United States is losing nearly 400,000 acres of wetlands annually. In response to these trends, the United States and Canada signed an accord in 1986 known as the North American Waterfowl Management Plan, and this historic agreement proposed an innovative international partnership in wildlife conservation. This bill that I'm signing here today will help us implement this cooperative plan and protect our waterfowl population.

This spirit of cooperation has been the hallmark of S. 804. It represents the worthy efforts of many committed individuals. And I particularly want to single out Senator Mitchell, who isn't with us today—Senator Chafee, who is—along with Congressmen Conte and Davis and Dingell, for their leadership. Chairman Jones in the House and Mr. Studds, as well as Senator Burdick and Baucus in the Senate, have all worked diligently to move this legislation through their respective committees. Manuel Lujan, our Secretary, and his staff did an outstanding job in helping to steer this bill through the legislative process. And finally, I appreciate the help from State fish and wildlife agencies and then private conservation groups, like Ducks Unlimited and the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation, in helping secure passage of this bill—that private sector initiative is very important.

This entire process has been a splendid example of great good that we can accomplish when we approach our problems in a genuine spirit of bipartisanship. I should add that today I've already signed H.R. 1727, the Everglades National Park Protection and Expansion Act of 1989, which will add 110,000 acres to the Everglades—Everglades National Park.

And now, on with the business at hand: It is my honor to sign S. 804, the North American Wetlands Conservation Act.

Note: The President spoke at 1:21 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to William Reilly, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; Michael R. Deland, Regional Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; and Harry Knight, president of Ducks Unlimited. S. 804, approved December 13, was assigned Public Law No. 101–233.

Statement on Signing the North American Wetlands Conservation Act

December 13, 1989

I am pleased today to sign into law S. 804, the "North American Wetlands Conservation Act." Early this summer, I asked the Congress for legislation that would implement the North American Waterfowl Management Plan. I am pleased that the 101st Congress ended its first session by passing this bill.

Over the years, we have witnessed a steadily declining duck population and a pattern of wetland losses throughout North America. These disturbing trends have been exacerbated by drought in recent years. In 1988, the fall flight of ducks was estimated at only 66 million, second only to the 1985 all-time low of 62 million. This dwindling duck population is largely attributable to the steady loss of wetland areas we have experienced. Currently, the United States is losing nearly 400,000 acres of wetlands annually.

In response to these disturbing trends, the United States and Canada signed an accord in 1986 known as the North American Waterfowl Management Plan. This historic agreement proposed an innovative international partnership in wildlife conservation. Through cooperative efforts between our two nations, along with local governments, private interest groups, and individual citizens, "joint ventures" have been created to reverse the disturbing trend underlying our diminishing waterfowl population.

We applaud the commitment, the dedication, and the goals expressed by the North American Plan. Today I am signing S. 804 to provide a guaranteed source of funding for the implementation of this important cooperative effort.

The Canadian government recently announced that it will invest $30 million over the next 5 years for waterfowl habitat conservation projects under the North American Plan. We applaud these efforts and Canada's willingness to join us in this critical conservation project.

Perhaps the best part of this whole enterprise is that the North American Plan does not depend on a massive influx of Federal funds or regulations, but rather taps the common commitment of concerned citizens at the local level. Many State and local governments, businesses, conservation organizations, and private citizens have already joined together to help restore the wetlands that sustain our waterfowl population. I encourage the continuation of these efforts.

The spirit of cooperation is not only the foundation of the North American Plan, it has also been the hallmark of S. 804. This bill represents the worthy efforts of many committed individuals. I commend Senators Mitchell and Chafee, along with Congressmen Conte, Davis, and Dingell, for their leadership on this legislation. Chairmen Jones and Studds in the House, as well as Chairmen Burdick and Baucus in the Senate, have all worked diligently to move this legislation through their respective committees. Finally, I appreciate the help from State fish and wildlife agencies and private conservation groups in securing passage of this bill. This entire process has been a splendid example of the great good we can accomplish when we approach our problems in a genuine spirit of bipartisanship.

I must mention, however, my concerns regarding sections 11 and 16 of S. 804. Section 11 directs the Secretary of the Interior to "undertake with the appropriate officials in Canada" to revise the North American Waterfowl Management Plan. Section 16 directs the Secretary to "undertake with the appropriate officials of nations in the Western Hemisphere to establish agreements . . . for the protection of migratory birds." I support the objectives of these sections and intend to act consistently with them. However, in light of the President's constitutional responsibility for international negotiations, I construe these sections as advisory.

In signing this legislation today, we continue the legacy begun during the first decade of this century by one of our greatest Presidents. It was Theodore Roosevelt who first took up the grand cause of conservation, who recognized man's obligation to preserve and protect our precious natural heritage. Today, on the threshold of this century's last decade, we can be proud that, with the approval of S. 804, we are renewing that noble commitment to improve environmental quality for all our people.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 13, 1989.

Note: S. 804, approved December 13, was assigned Public Law No. 101–233.

Statement by Deputy Press Secretary Popadiuk on Economic Assistance to Poland

December 13, 1989

The President announced today U.S. participation in a short-term bridge loan for Poland. The Department of the Treasury will be providing such financing as part of the multilateral arrangement now under discussion, which is expected to total up to $500 million. The U.S. share is expected to be up to $200 million.

United States participation in this arrangement reflects support for Poland's economic reform program designed to restore sustained growth. Provision of the short-term bridge financing would be contingent upon Poland's agreement to an International Monetary Fund program which would enable Poland to qualify for IMF financing. The bridge loan would be repaid from disbursements under this IMF program and under anticipated loans from the World Bank.

The short-term bridge loan is distinct from a $1 billion multilateral stabilization fund which is being established on behalf of Poland. This fund is to be established to support a new exchange rate policy which is part of Poland's overall economic reform program. The stabilization fund will also serve to complement the IMF program. The U.S. contribution to the stabilization fund would be $200 million, in the form of a grant. Efforts to secure participation of other countries are nearing completion, and preparatory work on the fund is underway.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater Announcing the Drug Summit in Cartagena, Colombia

December 13, 1989

The President has accepted an invitation from President Barco of Colombia to attend a drug summit meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, on February 15. President Garcia of Peru and President Paz Zamora of Bolivia will also attend.

The meeting, which is expected to last 1 day, will discuss a wide range of subjects and is currently being reviewed with each of the Presidents by Assistant Secretary of State Bernard Aronson on his trip to each of the three capitals. While details are still being developed, it is anticipated that the summit will cover the following subjects: programs to reduce the demand for narcotics, increased cooperation in the areas of military and law enforcement assistance, economic assistance and support, and improving cooperation among the four countries on specific issues such as the control of precursor chemicals and money laundering.

Nomination of Donald Robert Quartel To Be a Commissioner at the Federal Maritime Commission

December 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald Robert Quartel, Jr., to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner for the term expiring June 30, 1994. He would succeed Edward J. Philbin.

Since 1983 Mr. Quartel has served as

president of D.R. Quartel Jr., Inc. in Washington, DC, and Orlando, FL. In addition, he ran for the 11th Congressional District in Florida in 1984, and he served as deputy director for domestic policy during the 1980 Bush campaign.

Mr. Quartel graduated from Rice University (B.A., 1973) and Yale University School of Organization and Management (M.P.P.M., 1978). He was born April 19, 1950, in Richmond, VA. Mr. Quartel is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC, and Orlando, FL.

Appointment of Three Members of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States

December 14, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States for a term of 3 years:

Richard C. Breeden. He would succeed Daniel Oliver. Currently, Mr. Breeden is Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington, DC.

Harold R. DeMoss, Jr. He would succeed Curtis H. Barnette. Currently, Mr. DeMoss is a partner with the law firm of Bracewell and Patterson in Houston, TX.

Constance Berry Newman. She would succeed Mark Sullivan III. Currently, Ms. Newman is Director of the Office of Personnel Management in Washington, DC.

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree

December 14, 1989

Well, my special thanks to Santa Claus—that Santa mold will never be the same again. [*Laughter*] But to Loretta and—first, to Willard Scott, and then to Loretta and Peggy, Tommy Tune, Marilyn McCoo and Billy Davis, the great Air Force Band, and this marvelous team from Roanoke.

This is the Christmas that we've awaited for 50 years. And across Europe, East and West, 1989 is ending, bright with the prospect of a far better Christmastime than Europe has ever known—a far better future than the world dared to imagine. And 50 winters have come and gone since darkness closed over Europe in 1939—50 years. But last month, as Lech Walesa was coming to the White House, the wall in Berlin came tumbling down.

And another winter descended across Europe. Spring returned to Prague—an unconquerable people, unquenchable dreams. And today—there's a new sound at the wall. New sound rings out—not the hammer and sickle but the hammer and the chisel. The glad sound you hear is not only the bells of Christmas but also the bells of freedom. And in this new season of hope, the triumph looms. It's just like the joy of Christmas: not a triumph for one particular country or one particular religion but a triumph for all humankind. The holidays are—as we've seen here tonight—a time of laughter and children and counting our blessings, a time when songs fill the air and hope fills our hearts for peace on Earth, good will to men.

And we've worked hard this year, all of us, all of you, to help build a better America, help someone else, help make this a kinder and gentler nation. But there remains a world of need all around us. In this holiday season, reach out to someone right where you live. Because from now on in America, "There's no room at the inn"—that's simply not an acceptable answer.

From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. For Christmas is measured not by what's beneath your tree but by what's inside your heart. And so, this year, the spirit of the holidays is at long last matched by the spirit of the time. And it's the beginning of a new decade at the ending of an old century. And whatever your dream, whatever star you're following, the future is bright with possibility.

So, Barbara and I want to wish all of you a very Merry Christmas. And now, with simultaneous tree lightings from coast to coast, in Charleston and Santa Cruz, let's show our Thousand Points of Light—let's turn on the National Christmas Tree.

Note: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. on the Ellipse during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. In his remarks, he referred to television weatherman Willard Scott, who hosted the pageant dressed as Santa Claus. The entertainers included Loretta and Peggy Lynn, Tommy Tune, Marilyn McCoo, Billy Davis, Jr., and the Roanoke College Children's Choir.

Statement on Signing the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989

December 15, 1989

I am today approving H.R. 1, the "Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989." This legislation is intended to help eliminate the systemic flaws that have allowed a number of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) programs to be abused for political purposes or personal gain at the expense of those in need. H.R. 1 will improve program management and financial accountability at HUD and make that Department's programs less susceptible to waste, fraud, abuse, and political influence.

On October 31, 1989, only a few weeks ago, this Administration transmitted to the Congress a package of proposed HUD reforms to improve the practices, procedures, and penalties in existing housing and community development programs and to ensure ethical program management. We asked the Congress to consider these reforms on an emergency basis.

I appreciate the expeditious manner in which our proposed reforms were considered and approved. These reforms at HUD are a necessary part of this Administration's effort to ensure that the highest standards of integrity, efficiency, and fair play will apply throughout the Federal Government.

The speedy enactment of H.R. 1 is a tribute to the work of a great many people. First among them is Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp, who acted swiftly and forthrightly to end the abuses that have plagued HUD's programs. The majority of the ethics, management, and Federal Housing Administration reforms contained in H.R. 1 are the direct result of the rigorous review of HUD programs undertaken by the Department under Secretary Kemp's leadership.

A number of members of Congress also deserve recognition for their leadership and bipartisan cooperation both in the legislative process and in the process of bringing to light and correcting HUD's problems. In particular, I appreciate the efforts of the House Banking Committee under the leadership of its Chairman, Henry Gonzalez, its ranking member, Chalmers Wylie, and the ranking member of the Housing Subcommittee, Marge Roukema. I appreciate also the contributions of their Senate Banking Committee counterparts, Senators Don Riegle, Alan Cranston, Jake Garn, and Alfonse D'Amato. Their bipartisan cooperation was critical to the passage of H.R. 1 before the Congress adjourned this year.

We should also acknowledge the contribution of an oversight subcommittee, the House Government Operations Subcommittee on Employment and Housing, for adding to our understanding of the past problems at HUD. The bipartisan cooperation of subcommittee members like Chairman Tom Lantos, John Kyl, Chris Shays, and Barney Frank contributed to the development of an effective legislative package.

As passed by the Congress, H.R. 1 contains many of the ethics reforms we recommended in our October 31st legislative package. In particular, the bill requires the allocation of housing funds through an open process based either on "fair sharing" or competition as well as public notification of funding decisions. It places strict limitations on the use of discretionary funds by HUD. In addition, it gives HUD the authority to impose civil monetary penalties to better enforce program compliance.

H.R. 1 also makes many of the necessary program reforms that we recommended in our October 31st package. Among them, the bill establishes a Chief Financial Officer for HUD and a Comptroller for the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). It provides for expedited congressional review of HUD regulations, which will give the Department greater flexibility to institute necessary policy and statutory mandates and reforms. I am pleased that the bill also authorizes funds to improve program evaluation and monitoring, thus enabling HUD to use its resources more effectively and efficiently.

Federal Housing Administration insurance is the cornerstone of the Federal Government's efforts to meet the mortgage-financing needs of America's low- and moderate-income families. This Administration is committed to maintaining the FHA in a sound financial condition. H.R. 1 contains provisions to improve the financial soundness of FHA by terminating certain programs. These are Title X insurance for land development, which has experienced default rates of about 50 percent, and FHA insurance for private investors. The investor loan program in essence subsidizes private real estate speculation, rarely benefits first-time homebuyers, and has been the source of fraud and high default rates.

H.R. 1 contains a critical provision reaffirming the authority of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to use market comparability studies in setting rents for Section 8 projects. The practical effects of this provision are to limit HUD's retroactive liability under the *Rainier View* ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and to eliminate HUD's prospective liability to pay arbitrarily high rents that, in many cases, provide financial windfalls to project owners. This provision will avoid a potential loss of up to $2 billion in valuable subsidy funds.

I am disappointed that H.R. 1 fails to include a number of recommendations contained in the October 31st legislative package. In particular, the bill contains no provisions to improve the targeting of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds to low- and moderate-income individuals. At a time when Federal Government resources are scarce, we must do all we can to ensure that CDBG funds are used for the benefit of the people who need them most.

The bill also does not include a proposal to restrict the use of FHA insurance for vacation homes and second homes. Those programs, which provide little or no benefit to low- and moderate-income homebuyers and which expose the insurance fund to unnecessary risk, should be terminated.

H.R. 1 also fails to revise HUD's multifamily property disposition requirements. The Administration's proposal would have streamlined the procedure by which the FHA sells properties acquired in soft rental housing markets. This proposal would have removed the requirement for selling these projects with costly subsidies and permitted the Secretary to guarantee assistance to low-income families with housing vouchers. In soft rental markets, housing vouchers provide the most efficient and least costly form of rental assistance for low-income families.

The Congress should enact these Administration proposals in the coming session.

The bill as passed by the Congress contains a number of provisions that are not directly related to the issue of HUD reform. One such provision would extend until September 30, 1990, the moratorium on the prepayment of HUD-subsidized mortgages in order for the Administration and the Congress to work out a permanent solution to low-income housing preservation. I do not object to this temporary extension, which includes incentives for owners to remain in HUD programs and to maintain their properties for low-income use. However, a prepayment moratorium is no substitute for a permanent program for low-income housing preservation.

On November 10, 1989, I announced a series of housing and urban economic development initiatives called "Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE)." Among other things, HOPE includes a low-income housing preservation strategy that includes homeownership opportunities for low-income families. It is critical that in the long term the Congress address not only the needs of project owners but also the desire for homeownership of so many of those who live in assisted housing.

In their work, the commissions and other advisory bodies created by the bill would be authorized to require various agencies to supply certain information upon their request. I sign this bill with the understanding that these provisions do not in any way detract from my constitutional authority to protect the confidentiality of privileged information.

In conclusion, never again must we let the programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development—or any other agency—be abused for political purposes or personal gain. As passed by the Congress, H.R. 1 represents a bipartisan approach to correcting many of HUD's past problems and helping to ensure that in the future that Department will better serve those who depend on its programs.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 15, 1989.

Note: H.R. 1, approved December 15, was assigned Public Law No. 101–235.

Joint News Conference Following Discussions With French President Mitterrand in St. Martin, French West Indies

December 16, 1989

President Mitterrand. Ladies and gentlemen, we have just completed our political conversations, and we have spoken for several hours of those subjects which seem most important, given the turn of events in the world. You already have the lists, I can imagine, just in your own minds.

First of all: the evolution of Europe, and naturally Eastern Europe, and particularly Eastern Germany, without forgetting others. Our recent meetings with Mr. Gorbachev—the conclusions, or what we could infer from these conversations—enabled us to compare points of view and our impressions. And at the same time, we dealt with all the subjects connected to the ICSC Conference on various forms of disarmament and the forms of assistance, namely bank, vis-a-vis Eastern countries. And moving from this very major problem, we dealt with other matters, such as Lebanon, for instance.

And we considered the evolution of attitudes vis-a-vis the problems arising for peace and the various pressing statements of the Secretary of State, Mr. Baker—what we both thought about it and what could be done to take into account the rapid evolution of events and situations. It would be ridiculous to let themselves be superseded by events, and at the same time, one needs to assess them. Things move fast. They moved very fast during these past few weeks, and they might move very fast in the coming weeks. And let us seriously consider what is going on from day to day without losing sight of desirable perspective.

Well, this is a list. It's a pure description—what I'm doing here. I'd like to leave it up to you to stress those points you're most interested in.

But first of all, I would like to say how very pleased I was to be able to receive President George Bush. It is a very great pleasure and a very great honor for our country as we are here at home in French land and our neighbor and personal friend, as well, came to talk with us, to talk about the experience acquired during these difficult days, our feelings and our values. And I must say that from most points of view we reached a harmony of views and were able to develop a common policy not only amongst ourselves but with others. And therefore, I would like to repeat here how very pleased we were in St. Martin to be able to receive George Bush not only as the President but also because of the people he represents. And it occurred very informally, as you see—as it always does. I felt somewhat the same atmosphere we had in Kennebunkport in the home of George Bush, and it continues exactly in the same spirit. And I would very much like this to go on for a long time. Thank you.

President Bush. Thank you, Mr. President. Let me simply thank you for your hospitality—everyone else in St. Martin—and to say that, as with our earlier talks—not just in Maine but in Paris at the time of that glorious celebration, off in the corner at NATO—I learned a lot. I can say to this distinguished group that I feel that France and the United States, regarding these dynamic changes that are taking place, are very close together. And I would also add that I think it is very important that France and the United States be close together as we discuss the changes that are taking place.

So, sir, thank you very much for your warm hospitality. I have only one complaint—put it this way—one regret, and that is that we have to leave this beautiful paradise on such a short time schedule. But you were wonderful to come all this way. And from the American side, my sincerest thanks to you, sir.

President Mitterrand. So, it's rather difficult to settle in paradise, isn't it?

Well, a lot of people are asking for the floor. First of all, as we're in France here, American journalists. Therefore, obviously, I can't recognize you. Yes, sir?

Trade With Eastern-Bloc Countries

Q. I understand that one area of disagreement between the both of you was on the subject of export controls on highly sensitive goods shipped in Eastern Europe, the so-called COCOM regulations. President Bush, I wonder if, at this point, since you're making overtures in other areas, you feel it's time to relax these regulations? And also if President Mitterrand would respond, too, if you and the United States are in more agreement today on this than you were before the meeting?

President Bush. One, I did not have a discussion with the President of France on that subject. Two, we should, and will, review our participation in COCOM, our discussions in COCOM. There are certainly still legitimate national security interests that must be preserved, and I don't think we have one iota of difference with France on that. But I think it is timely that we take a new look at some of the commercial constraints.

Q. Could I follow that up, sir? When you were in Malta, you promised President Gorbachev certain economic concessions, including observer status in GATT. In the last couple of days, the Congress of Peoples Deputies has seemed to move away some of the *perestroika* reforms of President Gorbachev. Were the things that you promised contingent on certain things happening in the Soviet Union?

President Bush. Well, certain things happening in the world, certain things happening in terms of the necessary steps to be taken inside the Soviet Union—but I would not say that I've seen anything in the last couple of days that negates my hopes for doing business with the Soviet Union along the lines President Gorbachev and I talked about.

President Mitterrand. Well, I'll answer along the same lines. Yes, with the situation changing, it is normal for our regulations to become more flexible. To which extent, which rate, in which field—this is still something which has to be resolved by technical diplomatic discussion with ourselves.

Middle East

Q. ——[*inaudible*]—Wednesday in Paris—what achievements would you like to see out of this dialog? And if I may ask President Bush, are you hopeful for a dialog—Israeli-Palestinian?

President Mitterrand. Well, that was not at all the center of our conversations, although this is a very important subject. We couldn't talk about everything. And I must say that as we talked about the Near East, we dwelled on Lebanon. Obviously, we discussed Israel, but Israel vis-a-vis the Arab countries was not raised in a sufficient clear way for me to be able to give you anything new.

So, let's talk about Lebanon, if you like. For Lebanon, we recalled our positions, which I myself expressed—and French television—for the opinion of my country. And I said that we had supported the Taif agreements and we recognize the implementation of these agreements as from the moment the Lebanese parliamentarians accepted them and elected a President of the Republic—and then another one who appointed a government. So, it is a legitimate government, a legitimate situation, which can be justified only in seeking a dialog and civilian peace amongst Lebanese—which must, therefore, exclude any foreign intervention—but it is legitimate. And I expressed this view in writing at various times to General Aoun [Lebanese Christian leader].

We French feel very close to all Lebanese, and particularly to those who feel threatened. And it is not always the same at the same time. But we do think that the best guarantee for all is the law, the situation of legitimate constitutional order, and we believe that it would be wise for everybody to recognize this supreme law. In any case, such is the position of France. I discussed this with President Bush, and I don't think that we were in any disagreement on the subject.

President Bush. The question as directed to me—yes, that's what the Baker five points are about. And that's what Mr. Mubarak [President of Egypt] was attempting to do: to get dialog and discussion going on the West Bank which would include Palestinians. So, we are for that, and I'm hopeful that the meetings that Secretary Baker will be having after the first of the year with the Foreign Ministers will move that peace process forward. We are committed to it.

President Mitterrand. It would be easy for me to add my own opinion, very briefly: You can't solve the problem of Palestinians without the Palestinians.

Libya-U.S. Relations

Q. ——[*inaudible*]—because I think there is a certain problem between Libya and France, and also it is a problem between America and Libya. So, do you have a shared point of view of your relations with Libya?

President Mitterrand. Are you putting the question to me? Yes? Very well. Our relations with Libya have been fairly complicated. Well, first of all, there was the war in Chad. And we supported the forces of the legitimate Chadian leaders so as to reconquer their independence, their sovereignty, and the unity of their country—which meant that we countered the ambition of Libya, which indeed created a rather difficult atmosphere. But this war was won by the Chadians. This country has become what we expected of it: free and sovereign. And it regained its unity, and therefore, we consider that our action fulfilled its objective. But it took 5 years' patience and struggle, but it is done now. At the same time, a bone of contention was disappearing with Libya. And if, obviously, this country had feelings of revenge vis-a-vis Chad, they would find themselves in the exact same situation vis-a-vis us.

Other events have occurred which touched the United States of America more. I do not think that it's up to me to discuss this subject. One can only hope to see the countries of Maghreb and North Africa prefer the ways of peace, the refusal of terrorism, to the means of war or international disorder. And it is along these lines that our diplomacy continues to have a dialog, some with ups and downs, with the Libyan leaders. And I expressed the hope: Why shouldn't this come to an end, obviously, in respecting the rights of peoples?

President Bush. I'll simply say that we have not changed our view on Libya. I know that some countries are reaching out a little more today to Libya; we are not. We have not seen the hard evidence that we'd like to see to show a renunciation of international terror. And until we do, there will be no improved relations between the United States and Libya.

Europe's Future

Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction after the proposal suggestions of American Secretary of State Mr. Baker in Berlin as to the reform of NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] and as to the constriction of Europe—faster and more open?

President Mitterrand. Well, there are quite a few elements in this very important statement which obviously meet with my approval. It is very important to become aware of the future of the Community and of the necessary acceleration strengthening its structures. It's very important, as well, to be aware of the importance of the CSCE Conference on measures of security which must be decided by the European countries plus the United States and Canada. A whole series of these proposals go exactly along with our views. And we think the very future of Eastern Europe is conditioned by the way Eastern countries organize themselves, structure themselves, coordinate their efforts, and endow themselves with common authority.

I often made this comparison, including with President Bush: If the horses of the team don't move at the same speed, there will be an accident. And we have to deal with the German problem, in particular, and that of Eastern Europe at a pace which must be harmonious, must be in step with that of European construction.

And I must say that Mr. Baker's statement on the subject seemed to show great understanding of the needs of Europe. Afterwards, there was the part that had to do with evolution of the alliance and the content of NATO. Well, this is a subject to be discussed. We do not refuse—when a situation changes, the content of an alliance may change. And we belong to this alliance, although we have a special status within it. We are fully aware of our obligations as allies, as others must have as well in the same way.

Now, this is a subject under study. The ideas were launched before the world's public opinion, particularly of Europe, and I have not yet met with my European partners since this major statement. But I agree on one point: We cannot stay where we were before the collapse of all the walls that existed between the peoples of Europe. And likewise the concept of antagonists, of enemies, foes, or possible conflicts no longer rises in the same terms, or at least I hope. But we need—as President George Bush was saying before—we need to know and observe the evolution of the forthcoming months, which remains uncertain and which needs some time to rest, to enable us to see exactly what is going on. At the present time, we see the major trends. And one can plan various perspectives, but we need this move now to be completed before drawing any diplomatic and military consequences.

President Bush. May I just add one word, Mr. President? We spent a lot of time talking about Eastern Europe and the dynamic changes taking place there and inside the Soviet Union. And I would simply not go into detail on this answer except to say that I feel very close to President Mitterrand's views here. Secretary Baker had a chance to go over these matters with Roland Dumas [French Foreign Minister], and I think there may be some nuances of difference. But in terms of the big questions of Eastern Europe, I feel, I would say, simply reassured that President Mitterrand and I are viewing these the same way.

Mr. President, would it be all right to take under the policy of dual recognition the man that thought he had been recognized here?

Haiti

Q. Thank you. My question is to President Mitterrand, which is—correspondent of the Haitian Information Agency. So, during your visit to South America, President Pérez of Venezuela suggested holding an international conference on Haiti. And I would like to know whether you discussed this with President Bush? And if so, did he agree?

President Mitterrand. We did not at all discuss this, as you see. But this is an important subject which might come up in our next exchange of correspondence, and I'm sure we'll have many of those in 1990.

Terrorism and the War on Drugs

Q. Do you fear an increase of terrorist attacks, either blind or striking American interests in Europe? And did you evoke the reasons for better protecting ourselves against terrorism?

President Mitterrand. Well, quite a lot of information seems to show that there might be some reawakening of terrorist intents, particularly in some regions of the Near East. But from there to actually go on the act and even specify the intention—I mean, there may be a great distance, and I cannot prejudge this. I really don't know. The duty of states is to protect ourselves against terrorism. And nothing can be done which might weaken the moral, psychological, and practical defense of police and security against such danger. From this point of view, as many others, we have had relations of work and trust with the U.S., and we shall continue.

President Bush. I would simply add to that that the cooperation has been superb. And I was delighted yesterday—this was not discussed today—but delighted yesterday when the Colombian Government brought to bay, I think, the man who is ranked as the third most prominent narco terrorist in Colombia, Mr. Gacha. And that was a very courageous effort on the part of the Colombians. And we have all different kinds of terrorists, but this narco terrorism is simply outrageous and unacceptable. And when you see a President of an embattled country—and Colombia fits that description—doing its level-best to bring them to justice, I think we ought to all salute them.

German Reunification

Q. Do you have any specific prescriptions to keep the situation from running wild? Apparently it's quite different from what was going on in Poland and Hungary. Mr. President, perhaps some instant food aid as winter approaches? Is there some special way to treat the East German chaotic situation?

President Bush. I don't know if there's a special way, but we spelled out at NATO the four points that relate to German reunification. The Strasbourg declaration under the meeting headed by President Mitterrand addressed themselves to that question. Obviously, if there's emergency food aid required there—we have no requests for that—but if it's required, we would be very responsive, as I expect others in the alliance would be.

France-U.S. Relations

Q. President Bush, do you now have a special relationship with the French Government and President Mitterrand that rivals the supposed special relationship with the government of Mrs. Thatcher? And can you discuss that for us? [*Laughter*]

President Bush. Put it this way: There's not supposed to be any rivalry of this nature. We have a special relationship with the United Kingdom; I think everybody knows it. I like to think I have a very special relationship with President Mitterrand. And I can tell you that the ability to pick up the phone, no matter what the subject is—as I have done on occasions and he has done on occasions—and have honest exchanges of information has been extraordinarily helpful, I think, to both sides. I can speak for the U.S. So, I hope it is a special relationship, but perhaps I ought to let the President of the Republic speak to that. [*Laughter*]

President Mitterrand. Well, I mean, we—sometimes sentimental competition. [*Laughter*] I mean, there is room enough for several friendships in life. I don't see why without necessarily moving to excess—I mean, you know the poet who wrote of the innumerable heart—well, not innumerable, but one may have one's heart open to several friendships. [*Laughter*] And then to classify isn't easy. There is also a French novel, very interesting, that's called the "Map of Love." Well, to you journalists, the map of love and friendship—for you to decide for this map; it's not mine. But what I do certainly hope is that we keep a very close friendship with the United States of America, as we shall have with the United Kingdom.

Q. Would you have given that answer before January 20th, 1989?

President Mitterrand. Before the 20th of January? What happened on the 20th of January? [*Laughter*] You seem to remember my own feelings more than I do myself. I would have said this—you mean before Mr. Bush's election. Is that what you mean? I mean, from what I was able to deduce—because you need a triple translation to get to your meaning. [*Laughter*] I got along very well with Mr. Reagan. And now that he's no longer President of the United States of America—and I would not want to say anything that might seem slightly restrictive; that's the way history was. And now with Mr. Bush, we are working together and, I think, in a very good, close understanding. But as to say more on what you're interested in, sir, that is just kind of sentimental press. I'm certainly not going to say any more.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. President Bush, General Noriega of Panama, who has long been a thorn in the side of the United States, has just this week declared war on the United States. How do you respond to this last outrage of General Noriega?

President Bush. Well, I don't respond to it. I noticed that he was made supreme leader or something of that nature. It has not changed our view of him at all: he is an indicted narcotics dealer, and he ought to get out. And the minute he got out, the relations between Panama and the United States would improve dramatically. And not only is he an indicted narcotics dealer but he singlehandedly aborted the free will of the Panamanian people, the will being expressed in open and free elections. And Mr. Noriega singlehandedly sent out his "dignity battalions" to beat up the elected Vice President and to keep the will of the people from being fulfilled. And that is unacceptable as we see the world, particularly in these times when we see the world moving more and more towards democratic change.

China

Q. President Mitterrand, I'd like to ask you if you discussed in any way China and what you think of President Bush's decision to send his envoys to China recently? And if I could follow on that, Mr. Bush, if perhaps you've have second thoughts about the nature in which this was done, in the secretive fashion and in the toasting of the Chinese while your envoys were there?

President Mitterrand. Thank you for this question. Well, I should have said in my presentation, indeed, we did talk about China, and this was at the initiative of President Bush, who himself expressed the wish of being able to give us his views on this subject and the reason for what was done. So, I think now you might hear this.

President Bush. I have no second thoughts at all. And being somewhat familiar with China, I've learned you listen to everything that's said in a toast; you look at every word and analyze it. And I am strongly supportive of this mission by General Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs] and Larry Eagleburger [Deputy Secretary of State]. I've said that I initiated it, and I'm not going to go further, except to say that I hope that it will have positive results. And you've already seen a couple of indications of that, but I think—knowing China, again—I think time is required. But this is a billion-plus people, and I do not want to hurt the billion-plus people further. And I think we've made the right step, and only time will tell how this leadership in China views the mission.

German Reunification

Q. President Bush, is there any agreement between France and the U.S. to slow down Mr. Kohl in his drive to reunification?

President Bush. No. [*Laughter*]

President Mitterrand. May I have your question? Is there an agreement or an informative use to slow down Mr. Kohl? Yes, there's a great conformity of view in the United States, particularly, considering slowing down Mr. Kohl. That's a specific matter. But we think that everything, as was said in Strasbourg, is to be done in the respect of treaties and the principles of Helsinki; and that at present, there are two states. And if the evolution seems to strengthen and hasten, it would be a good thing for the German authorities to contribute, at the same time, to develop the parallel construction which is indispensible for the new European political order—Community, CSCE, et cetera.

Chancellor Kohl was telling me this yesterday, as we were together in Switzerland, and he says it constantly. And there's no reason to doubt this—he said: "I did not set any timetable to the aspiration which is that of all Germans, and particular mine, towards reunification. Therefore, I am not precipitating events, even though I do hope for this." This is what Mr. Kohl said.

In any case, he is to conform with the treaties and agreements which preside today to the European balance. And therefore, I don't have any particular complaints. Chancellor Kohl is German. He's a German patriot, and he obviously has reflexes which are not mine. But the main thing: When we are together and when we speak as responsible for our own countries, we sketch out an outline on which we can agree. And in any case, I shall be meeting with Chancellor Kohl on the 4th of January next year. He shall be coming to see me in France.

Sanctions Against China

Q. On China, do you believe that other countries that follow the United States lead on sanctions should now relieve those sanctions to lighten them? And how would you feel if they did that against your wishes?

President Bush. I think each country has got to make its own determination. But I think, basically, if I had to answer yes or no, I'd say no. I think they've got to wait and see how matters evolve. That's what we're doing. And I think it's prudent. And for those who suggested that I had normalized relations with this power because of one visit—they simply are wrong, off the reservation on that. So, I think that's a matter for other countries to determine.

President Mitterrand. Yes, over there. Yes, I didn't give the floor—to that end of the room. Yes, which paper?

Romania

Q. RFO, Mr. President.

President Mitterrand. Yes. I can't really see you. I'm terribly sorry. You're standing in the shadows. But you are able to move out of the shadows nonetheless, so I give you the floor.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. May I continue to say, thank you, Mr. President. Well, obviously, the question of evolution of the East was the major question today. But the question of nonevolution in the East is also a major question—the question of Romania, in particular. Is the common position or common action been decided, or will be decided?

President Mitterrand. Well, common position is very easy to determine: This is a regime which we condemn. These are behaviors which aren't acceptable—and intolerable, in fact. And this is in Romania, nonetheless, which is a sovereign state.

I mean, we deplore the situation that the Romanian people have to live in, and we do hope that the wind of freedom which has been blowing through the other countries of Europe will also come to Romania. So, our feelings cannot be misunderstood. And for the rest, I personally have nothing to add.

Q. Excuse me. May I have your answer on the problem of Romania after what President Mitterrand has just said?

President Bush. My response is: ditto, the same. We view Romania as way behind the power curve in terms of change, and it's too bad that they are ebbing as they are, but let's hope they'll get the word, too.

Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, my question is addressed to you on Lebanon. If General Aoun refuses to leave, do you approve of a military operation against him? And did you discuss the situation with President Mitterrand?

President Bush. We did discuss the Lebanese situation. Both of us want to see a bloodbath avoided there. It is the position of the United States that Mr. Hraoui [President of Lebanon] is the head of government there, and recognized as such. In our view, things would be much benefited if Mr. Aoun left. But I will let President Mitterrand, obviously, address himself on that point. But we are together in working as best we can to avoid bloodshed. And we have supported the tripartite agreement. And again, I'd like to salute them here, because without that, I don't think this process would be anywhere along. And so, let's just hope they can resolve this matter without the loss of a lot of innocent life in Lebanon. It plagues me, particularly at this joyous time of the year, that Lebanon is having this terrible, terrible grief.

President Mitterrand. I've already stated my views on this.

Arms Control

Q. Mr. President—differences on accepting President Gorbachev's offer to move the CSCE talks from 1992 up to 1990. Considering your affection for each other, were you able to sway each other's opinion on this? And if not, could you explain your different opinions?

President Mitterrand. Well, I have already stated, in Kiev, in particular, that I agreed for this meeting to be held as from next year, because I think that the events, at the pace they're moving, should be followed closely. But I haven't tried to proselytize vis-a-vis President Bush. I mean, he can see matters for himself.

President Bush. He expresses it very well, indeed. And when I talked to Mr. Gorbachev, we talked about trying to complete the conventional force agreement so we would have a CFE summit. I also expressed—and openminded about the CSCE, but we want to know a little bit more about that. So, we had a very good discussion with the President of France to understand it better. That matter, incidentally, was not raised to me by President Gorbachev, as you may remember. So, this was an interesting discussion, and I think I understand the hopes of President Mitterrand as a result of the discussion.

Eastern European Reforms

Q. Do the two of you feel that CSCE or NATO should be the proper forum and within the alliance for discussing the changes in Eastern Europe?

President Mitterrand. Well, these are two meeting places which are equally important. For the time being, the advantage of CSCE is that it groups all European countries, all of them, which is not the case of NATO, which is the expression of an alliance. And this is why it had been proposed that we give another content to NATO, but that's not the way it is now. But we have to deal with today's reality, and today's reality is that all Europeans can debate within CSCE, which is desirable and is not at all in contradiction with any new behavior or any new evolution in NATO. But we have not advanced sufficiently in this field for me to be able to say more.

President Bush. I would simply say there are many forums. You've got CSCE; you've got the EC; you've got NATO; you've got the G–7. You have a wide array of groups that are interested in the peaceful, democratic change in Europe. And so, it isn't a question of one or the other. And I think I would simply say the President of France expressed it very well there.

NATO

Q. Sir, may I follow up on that?

President Mitterrand. You've already spoken. Haven't you spoken already? [*Laughter*]

Q. May I simply ask, sir, do you feel that as the need for the American nuclear shield recedes that American political leadership of NATO will recede as well?

President Mitterrand. Well, all this is something we will discuss amongst ourselves. We cannot prejudge any result to a situation which is evolving constantly, obviously. If the risk of conflict and antagonism between the two blocs recedes, obviously the military content of the alliance has to change. But there is nothing else I can add to this.

Worldwide Political and Economic Reform

Q. Mr. President, do you think that the rapid changes occurring in Eastern Europe will have a spillover effect in other areas of the world, particularly in South Africa and probably here in the Caribbean and Cuba?

President Mitterrand. Who is the question addressed to? It's a difficult question; it's practically impossible. It's true that the failure of the Eastern European systems will obviously have a spillover effect on other regions of the world where that system was imitated—it's likely. You take a country such as Benin, which has just officially stated that it renounced its definition criterion of Marxism-Leninism. But as I say, I cannot prejudge the reactions of those countries you have mentioned.

Soviet Chairman Gorbachev

Q. A question to you and to President

Bush. You met with Mr. Gorbachev for a very long time recently. I imagine he discussed the difficulties he has within his country. Do you have the feeling that he will outlast the winter?

President Mitterrand. Yes, and probably beyond that as well. And I hope I am not wrong.

U.S. Role in Europe

Q. My question is to the President of the United States. Mr. President, Mikhail Gorbachev quite often mentions his idea of a common European house. Is there any room for you Americans in this common house? What kind of house would you like it to be? What model house? What layout? Could you tell us about the kind of house that you would like to see?

President Bush. Yes, I think that even Mr. Gorbachev recognizes a role for the United States in this common European home. We talk about a Europe whole and free. He talks about a common European home. He talked to us about wanting to see the United States remain involved. And so, I don't find any countries suggesting that the United States should decouple from Europe, even the bloc countries. I know that the countries in Eastern Europe to whose leaders I've talked—Poland and Hungary—certainly feel that way. So, I don't think you're going to see out of all this dynamic change a tendency to try to push the United States out of Europe.

You might see some isolationistic pressures develop in our country, but I will fight because I don't want to see us decoupled from Europe, I don't want to see us pull out of Europe, if you will. I want to see us work with the EC, as I talked about and Secretary Baker elaborated on. So, I don't think there's any pressure to see us disengage, you might say.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. My question is to President Bush. Going back to the question of Panama. Noriega—obviously, you intend to try and get rid of him. But it's known that when you were responsible for the CIA—he also collaborated with the CIA. Don't you think that your margin for maneuver here is a very narrow one, indeed?

President Bush. Yes, but I think it has nothing to do with the Central Intelligence Agency. But I think it's a narrow margin for maneuver. It's a good way of putting it, but that doesn't lessen our determination to see the Panamanian people get what they want, and that is a democratic form of government. And it doesn't lessen my determination to see this indicted drug dealer be brought to trial.

U.S. Defense Spending

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us that as you approach the next budget year in the United States—can you confirm for us that you are considering real dollar cuts in the U.S. defense budget? And considering the meeting like this one, can you let us in on some of your thinking: When you think about those budget cuts, are they driven by the legal necessity in the United States to reduce the budget or rather by events in Eastern Europe?

President Bush. I think events in Eastern Europe are driving some to suggest that we can dramatically slash our defense budget. I will resist that. I can't give you a final figure. The budget will be put to bed from the administration standpoint early this coming week, but I would not look, in dollar terms, for cuts. There are places we can save, and we are looking for them, but I will resist these euphoric views that we no longer need a very strong defense. We do need it, and I think our European friends understand that.

I would like to move forward in the arms control agendas that we've got before us. I'm talking about START, chemical weapons, and conventional forces. And that should not be the end; we should move beyond those. And as you know, we've instructed the Pentagon to do some very serious analyses in terms of looking at what kind of force will be needed into the future, estimating as best they can what the threat will be. So, we're in the process of doing that right now, Wyatt [Wyatt Andrews, CBS News], but I would not look for the administration to send up dramatically reduced levels of spending in defense. I hope someday that we can have a far different force, and deployed far differently; but we are not going to unilaterally pull away from our friends in NATO without serious consultation, and we're not going to pull away from our obligations elsewhere. But we are reviewing the whole defense budget, given the changes that have taken place.

President Mitterrand. It is impossible to prolong this press conference. No, sir, you already spoke. I'm sorry. No, you've already spoken. No, no. Sit down. You've already asked a question. Many others might complain that they weren't able to do so.

Yes, one last question from you, sir.

European Development Bank

Q. I would like to ask President Mitterrand if you extended on behalf of the EC an invitation to the United States to join this bank for European reconstruction development. And I would like to ask President Bush what the U.S. position is in terms of joining that bank?

President Mitterrand. I told President Bush that I had precisely signed in Paris just before I left—I signed a letter in which I invited the United States of America to participate in the creation of capital and of this bank. My letter I sent to many other directions, because it's not a bank of the community. It is a bank which goes far beyond this. It's to all those who wish and who are able to—including two Eastern European countries, and particularly the Soviet Union, if they were to accept—to make the necessary effort. Mr. Gorbachev has already given me his agreement.

Thank you very much. We have to leave you now. Thank you, President Bush, once more. He will answer you, yes, but afterwards, we leave.

President Bush. We discussed it—expressed keen interest in it and decided that we would talk about it further. But the United States is very interested in that proposal. Would be interested in being a part of it, but at this juncture, we need to know a little bit more about the details of it. But we gave a positive indication of American interest to President Mitterrand.

President Mitterrand. I have already planned a meeting to start the work on the 15th of January next, and in the meantime will, no doubt, have the necessary answers.

Thank you, and thank you particularly to President Bush who proved his friendship coming here to St. Martin. And I wish him now Godspeed.

Note: President Bush's 30th news conference began at 3:29 p.m. in the Amiral Room at the Hotel L'Habitation de Lonvilliers. President Mitterrand spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. President Bush arrived at Juliana International Airport late in the morning. Following the welcoming ceremony, he met with President Mitterrand and U.S. and French officials and participated in a working luncheon at the hotel. Following the news conference, President Bush returned to Washington, DC.

Message on the Observance of Hanukkah

December 18, 1989

I am pleased to send my warmest greetings to the members of the Jewish community as you celebrate Hanukkah.

The Festival of Lights is based on a historic event that reveals both the power of prayer and the great faith and determination of the Jewish people. According to Jewish tradition, when the Maccabees overcame the Seleucid Empire and prepared to rededicate their Holy Temple in Jerusalem, they could find only enough purified oil to light the sacred Menorah for one night. When the small cruse of oil lasted for eight nights, the Jewish people knew the Almighty had rewarded their faithfulness with a miracle.

Today, we draw a valuable lesson from this chapter in Jewish history. Just as one cruse of oil was able to lift the darkness for eight nights, so, too, can one act of kindness brighten the lives of others. Hanukkah poignantly reminds us that, with commitment to a spiritual ideal, our highest goals can be realized.

In remembering the "miracle of the lights," we celebrate not only the triumph of faith but also the undeniable strength of man's yearning for liberty and justice. Hanukkah recalls the great victory won by the Maccabees in their struggle to worship freely in their own way. This year, as Jews around the world pause to observe this festival, all of us can share in the joy of those peoples who are just beginning to enjoy success in their own struggle for freedom and self-determination.

Barbara and the entire Bush family join with me in wishing the Jewish community a joyous Hanukkah.

GEORGE BUSH

Message on the Observance of Christmas
December 18, 1989

During the beautiful and holy season of Christmas, our hearts are filled with the same wonder, gratitude, and joy that led the psalmist of old to ask, "When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which Thou hast ordained; What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? And the son of man, that Thou visitest him?" At Christmas, we, too, rejoice in the mystery of God's love for us—love revealed through the gift of Christ's birth.

Born into a family of a young carpenter and his wife, in a stable shared by beasts of the field, our Savior came to live among ordinary men. Yet, in time, the miraculous nature of this simple event became clear. Christ's birth changed the course of history, bringing the light of hope to a world dwelling in the darkness of sin and death.

Today, nearly 2,000 years later, the shining promise of that first Christmas continues to give our lives a sense of peace and purpose. Our words and deeds, when guided by the example of Christ's life, can help others share in the joy of man's Redemption. During Christmas, we may symbolize this spirit of giving through the exchange of presents, but it is daily acts of goodness and generosity—performed time and time again throughout the year—that hold the true meaning of this holy season. Every kind and selfless deed we perform for others can rekindle in our hearts and in our communities the light of that first Christmas.

As we gather with family and friends this season, let us recall what our Savior's life means to the world. Let us also rededicate ourselves to sharing the love that gives greater meaning and joy to Christmas and to every moment of life.

Merry Christmas, and God bless you.

GEORGE BUSH

Statement on Signing the Veterans' Benefits Amendments of 1989
December 18, 1989

I am pleased today to sign into law H.R. 901, the "Veterans' Benefits Amendments of 1989." This bill will increase certain benefits paid to veterans and make other improvements in veterans' programs.

Our Nation provides compensation and other monetary benefits to service-disabled veterans and dependency and indemnity compensation (DIC) benefits to the survivors of those who died as a result of military service to our country. My administration is committed to ensuring that these payments keep pace with changes in the cost of living.

H.R. 901 provides a 4.7 percent increase in compensation and DIC benefits, effective

December 1, 1989. Nearly 2.2 million veterans and their dependents and about 312,000 surviving spouses and children will benefit from this increase. They will receive the same cost-of-living adjustment that social security beneficiaries and veteran pensioners are receiving this month.

This legislation also revises the veterans' housing loan guaranty program. This program has provided home financing for over 13 million veterans since the end of World War II. The provisions of H.R. 901 are designed to ensure continued solvency of the funding for this most important benefit. The bill requires a modest increase in the user fee for veterans obtaining home loan guarantees, but actually reduces the fee for veterans who make a small down payment. In most cases, veterans who obtain VA home loans in the future will be indemnified against liability following a foreclosure. The bill also makes a number of other improvements in the housing program.

I am further pleased to endorse the extension in H.R. 901 of several valuable veteran health-care programs. In particular, the bill continues two programs in which the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) works in partnership with the States and the private sector to provide care to veterans. It extends the "State Home" program, under which VA provides partial funding for construction of State-operated facilities for the care of veterans. It also extends a program under which VA contracts with halfway houses for the care of homeless, chronically mentally ill veterans.

This measure also makes numerous improvements affecting the educational benefits and employment of veterans, the vocational rehabilitation of service-disabled veterans, and the educational assistance provided to the survivors and dependents of persons who died or were permanently and totally disabled in the service of our country. The bill includes a 7.5 percent increase in the allowances payable to both service-disabled veterans participating in vocational rehabilitation and survivors and dependents in education programs. This increase will benefit over 70,000 veterans and dependents.

For these reasons, I am gratified to approve this bill.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 18, 1989.

Note: H.R. 901, approved December 18, was assigned Public Law No. 101–237.

Appointment of Paul F. Oreffice as a Member of the Advisory Committee for Trade and Policy Negotiations

December 18, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Paul F. Oreffice as a member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment.

Mr. Oreffice serves as president and chief executive officer of the Dow Chemical Co. in Midland, MI. Mr. Oreffice graduated from Purdue University (B.S., 1949). He was born November 29, 1927, in Venice, Italy. Mr. Oreffice is married, has two children, and resides in Midland, MI.

Appointment of Edward C. Aldridge, Jr., as a Member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee

December 18, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Edward C. Aldridge, Jr., as a member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed John F. McDonnell.

Mr. Aldridge is currently president of McDonald Douglas Electronic Systems Co. in McLean, VA. Prior to this, he was Secretary of the Air Force, 1986–1988. Mr. Aldridge was the Under Secretary of the Air Force, 1981–1986; vice president of the national policy and strategic systems group for the System Planning Corp. in Arlington, VA, 1977–1981; and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategic Programs, 1974–1976.

Mr. Aldridge graduated from Texas A&M University (B.S., 1960) and the Georgia Institute of Technology (M.S., 1961). He was born August 18, 1938, in Houston, TX. Mr. Aldridge is married, has four children, and currently resides in Vienna, VA.

Statement on Signing the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989

December 19, 1989

I am today signing into law H.R. 3299, the "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989." This bill contains significant deficit-reduction measures for fiscal year 1990. These measures accomplish substantial savings in mandatory spending programs, increase receipts in a manner consistent with my pledge not to raise new taxes, and retain part of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings across-the-board spending cut, or sequester, that was ordered on October 16, 1989.

The reconciliation legislation this year had a long gestation, stretching back to my budget proposals in February. In April the bipartisan congressional leadership agreed with the Administration on deficit-reduction goals for a budget resolution and a reconciliation bill. The resulting Bipartisan Budget Agreement called for $14 billion in reconciled deficit-reduction measures. The budget resolution passed in May, but the House and Senate failed to reach agreement on a bill prior to the sequester deadline. As a result, a sequester of fiscal year 1990 budget authority was ordered on October 16, in accordance with requirements of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act. The across-the-board cuts imposed would have disrupted some important Federal activities had they remained in effect all year.

Accordingly, on November 2, I challenged the Congress to "pass a truly clean reconciliation bill that produces real deficit reduction—without new taxes, without spending measures that increase the deficit in the future, and without scoring gimmicks." I said that "any such reconciliation bill should achieve at least the $14 billion in reconciled deficit reduction agreed to in the Bipartisan Budget Agreement." The bill I am approving today is the Congress's response to my challenge.

The reduced sequester and the other budget savings and receipts enhancements in this reconciliation legislation satisfy the conditions I set for an acceptable bill. The bill reaches the $14 billion deficit-reduction target, and it excludes the objectionable extraneous provisions that encumbered earlier versions. Further, the bill contained some technical ambiguities, particularly with regard to the payment of overvalued Medicare physician services. I appreciate the efforts of the conferees to clarify the intent of the legislation in a joint letter that was sent to Secretary Sullivan, and I sign the bill based on the understandings provided in the conferees' letter.

I must note, however, that several provisions of this reconciliation bill raise constitutional concerns.

One section of the bill could be interpreted to require the Secretary of Education to agree with certain representatives of interest groups prior to formulating a National Student Loan Data System. Such a mechanism would raise serious constitutional questions by circumventing the appointment procedures established by the Constitution. To avoid raising this troubling constitutional question, this provision must be interpreted as mandating that the Secretary conduct full and detailed consultation with representatives of interested and expert private groups, but leaving the final decision—as the Constitution requires—in the Secretary's hands.

Other troublesome provisions of the bill purport to make certain decisions of subordinate officials in the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) unreviewable, thus depriving the Secretary of HHS, and, through him, the President, of his constitutional authority to supervise their actions. One such provision, for example, concerns a new board within HHS to review geographical classifications of certain hospitals for Medicare purposes. Provisions of this type raise serious constitutional questions. Accordingly, the Attorney General and the Secretary will consider and propose next year such corrective legislation as is necessary to accomplish the Congress' legitimate objectives in a manner consistent with the Constitution.

Provisions of the bill amending the National Vaccine Injury Compensation Program also raise concerns. These provisions would provide for initial adjudications of vaccine injury claims by a group of special masters appointed and removable by the United States Claims Court. Although I understand and strongly sympathize with the desire of the Congress to ensure speedy and equitable settlement of meritorious claims, such dispute resolution must take place within the structure of responsible Government established by our Constitution.

The bill's imposition of an "arbitrary and capricious" standard for review of special master decisions by Claims Court judges could raise constitutional questions by vesting significant authority pursuant to the laws of the United States in persons whose appointment and removal are inconsistent with the requirements of Article II of the Constitution, and by circumscribing the ability of Article I and Article III judges to review the decisions of these persons. Accordingly, to place this issue beyond doubt, the Attorney General and the Secretary of HHS will work together to submit legislation that would ensure *de novo* review of decisions rendered by the special masters.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 19, 1989.

Note: H.R. 3299, approved December 19, was assigned Public Law No. 101–239.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Romania's Suppression of Political Demonstrations

December 19, 1989

The United States condemns the brutal use of police force by the Romanian Government against protesters in Timisoara and other cities. According to various reports, dozens and perhaps hundreds were killed by Romanian security forces. The Romanian Government has sealed Romania's borders and imposed a blackout of news and information.

The demonstrations in Timisoara and elsewhere were a result of the systematic denial of human rights to the people of Romania, particularly to members of the Hungarian minority. The repressive measures undertaken by the Romanian Government are totally unjustified and stand in stark contrast to the positive changes taking place elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

The United States calls upon the Government of Romania to cease this brutal repression, open its borders, and respect the human rights commitments of the Helsinki Final Act. We further call on Romania to permit international observers to visit Timisoara and other cities where violence has been reported.

Note: Press Secretary Fitzwater read the statement at 11:04 a.m. during his daily press briefing.

Appointment of Katharine D. Dukakis as a Member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council

December 19, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Katharine D. Dukakis to be a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council for the remainder of the term expiring January 15, 1991. She would succeed Milton Himmelfarb.

Mrs. Dukakis has served on the President's Commission on the Holocaust; on the board of directors of the Refugee Policy Group in Washington, DC; and as a member of the Task Force on Cambodian Children.

Mrs. Dukakis graduated from Lesley College (B.A., 1963) and Boston University School of Communication (M.A., 1982). She was born December 26, 1936, in Cambridge, MA. Mrs. Dukakis is married to Gov. Michael Dukakis, has three children, and resides in Brookline, MA.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate on the Licensing of Communications Satellites for China

December 19, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 610 of the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990 (P.L. 101-162) ("the Act"), and as President of the United States, I hereby report that it is in the national interest of the United States to lift the prohibition on reinstatement and approval of export licenses for the three United States-built AUSSAT and AsiaSat satellites for launch on Chinese-built launch vehicles.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Licensing of Communications Satellites for China

December 19, 1989

The President today reported to the Congress that it is in the national interest of the United States to authorize licensing for three U.S.-built AUSSAT and AsiaSat satellites for launch on Chinese-built launch vehicles.

The Prime Minister of Australia has urged the President to take this action, emphasizing both the importance for Australia of the AUSSAT program to develop telecommunications and broadcasting services in Australia on a national basis and its consistency with Australia's own measures regarding China. Australia is a good friend and an important ally of the United States, and the timing of the licenses is critical to the success of the program. AsiaSat is to provide similar and badly needed telecommunications services to several friendly countries in Asia.

The sale of the three satellites represents approximately $300 million worth of business for U.S. firms. The satellites are civilian communications satellites, to be controlled after launch by companies based in Australia and Hong Kong. This action is therefore consistent with the President's expressed determination, in imposing sanctions last June, to maintain commercial relations with China.

Statement on Signing the International Development and Finance Act of 1989

December 19, 1989

I have today signed H.R. 2494, the "International Development and Finance Act of 1989." Although I am glad that the Act will provide necessary funding to meet important international needs, I believe that several provisions warrant careful construction to avoid constitutional concerns. For example, several sections could be read to restrict executive authority to determine the position of the United States at various multilateral development banks. Other sections also need to be carefully construed to avoid constraints on my ability to supervise my subordinates and communicate with international organizations.

In addition, section 201 of the Act requires that the Secretary of the Treasury certify that the Comptroller General has access to documents of the Inter-American Development Bank under the same terms and under the same conditions as such documents are made available to the United States Executive Director of the Bank. I understand that the provision does not apply to executive branch documents, including documents produced by the United States Executive Director. I intend, of course, to construe any constitutionally doubtful provisions in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 19, 1989.

Note: H.R. 2494, signed December 19, was assigned Public Law No. 101–240.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate on Trade With China

December 19, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by subsection 103(c)(2) of the International Development and Finance Act of 1989 ("the Act"), and as President of the United States, I hereby report that it is in the national interest of the United States to terminate the suspensions under subsection 103(a) of the Act of programs of the Export-Import Bank of the United States for the People's Republic of China. I am thereby waiving the prohibitions on the Export-Import Bank's financing any trade with, and on extending any loan, credit, credit guarantee, insurance or reinsurance to the People's Republic of China as provided in subsection 103(a).

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Trade With China

December 19, 1989

Today, in signing the International Development and Finance Act of 1989, H.R. 2494, the President decided to exercise provisions provided for in the bill which would waive prohibitions on the Export-Import Bank's financing of U.S. business activities with the People's Republic of China.

The President waived the prohibitions on the grounds of national interest. This does not return the Export-Import Bank's activity to business as usual with China. Since June, Ex-Im has limited itself to providing preliminary financing commitments where project decisions are imminent. This reduced level of activity closely approximates that of our competitors. The waiver, by maintaining the status quo, preserves a level playing field for U.S. business. Additional business activity with China will be considered on a case-by-case basis as part of a continuing review process.

Note: H.R. 2494, signed December 19, was assigned Public Law No. 101–240.

Address to the Nation Announcing United States Military Action in Panama

December 20, 1989

My fellow citizens, last night I ordered U.S. military forces to Panama. No President takes such action lightly. This morning I want to tell you what I did and why I did it.

For nearly 2 years, the United States, nations of Latin America and the Caribbean have worked together to resolve the crisis in Panama. The goals of the United States have been to safeguard the lives of Americans, to defend democracy in Panama, to combat drug trafficking, and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal treaty. Many attempts have been made to resolve this crisis through diplomacy and negotiations. All were rejected by the dictator of

Panama, General Manuel Noriega, an indicted drug trafficker.

Last Friday, Noriega declared his military dictatorship to be in a state of war with the United States and publicly threatened the lives of Americans in Panama. The very next day, forces under his command shot and killed an unarmed American serviceman; wounded another; arrested and brutally beat a third American serviceman; and then brutally interrogated his wife, threatening her with sexual abuse. That was enough.

General Noriega's reckless threats and attacks upon Americans in Panama created an imminent danger to the 35,000 American citizens in Panama. As President, I have no higher obligation than to safeguard the lives of American citizens. And that is why I directed our Armed Forces to protect the lives of American citizens in Panama and to bring General Noriega to justice in the United States. I contacted the bipartisan leadership of Congress last night and informed them of this decision, and after taking this action, I also talked with leaders in Latin America, the Caribbean, and those of other U.S. allies.

At this moment, U.S. forces, including forces deployed from the United States last night, are engaged in action in Panama. The United States intends to withdraw the forces newly deployed to Panama as quickly as possible. Our forces have conducted themselves courageously and selflessly. And as Commander in Chief, I salute every one of them and thank them on behalf of our country.

Tragically, some Americans have lost their lives in defense of their fellow citizens, in defense of democracy. And my heart goes out to their families. We also regret and mourn the loss of innocent Panamanians.

The brave Panamanians elected by the people of Panama in the elections last May, President Guillermo Endara and Vice Presidents Calderon and Ford, have assumed the rightful leadership of their country. You remember those horrible pictures of newly elected Vice President Ford, covered head to toe with blood, beaten mercilessly by so-called "dignity battalions." Well, the United States today recognizes the democratically elected government of President Endara. I will send our Ambassador back to Panama immediately.

Key military objectives have been achieved. Most organized resistance has been eliminated, but the operation is not over yet: General Noriega is in hiding. And nevertheless, yesterday a dictator ruled Panama, and today constitutionally elected leaders govern.

I have today directed the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State to lift the economic sanctions with respect to the democratically elected government of Panama and, in cooperation with that government, to take steps to effect an orderly unblocking of Panamanian Government assets in the United States. I'm fully committed to implement the Panama Canal treaties and turn over the Canal to Panama in the year 2000. The actions we have taken and the cooperation of a new, democratic government in Panama will permit us to honor these commitments. As soon as the new government recommends a qualified candidate—Panamanian—to be Administrator of the Canal, as called for in the treaties, I will submit this nominee to the Senate for expedited consideration.

I am committed to strengthening our relationship with the democratic nations in this hemisphere. I will continue to seek solutions to the problems of this region through dialog and multilateral diplomacy. I took this action only after reaching the conclusion that every other avenue was closed and the lives of American citizens were in grave danger. I hope that the people of Panama will put this dark chapter of dictatorship behind them and move forward together as citizens of a democratic Panama with this government that they themselves have elected.

The United States is eager to work with the Panamanian people in partnership and friendship to rebuild their economy. The Panamanian people want democracy, peace, and the chance for a better life in dignity and freedom. The people of the United States seek only to support them in pursuit of these noble goals. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 7:20 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Military Action in Panama

December 20, 1989

President Bush met with the Vice President and his NSC advisers this afternoon from 3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m. to receive an operational update on the situation in Panama. All operational details will be made public by the Pentagon in the course of their briefings.

The President is pleased with the military progress so far. Major military objectives have been met. The operations have been smooth. Communications at all levels of the command structure have been very effective. The operation is moving according to plan. The Endara government is beginning to take shape. All aspects of the operation are ongoing.

The President is saddened by the casualties. The Department of Defense will release specific casualty numbers. The President will continue to monitor the situation from the Oval Office.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Military Action in Panama

December 20, 1989

President Bush met with his national security advisers Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p.m. in the Residence to consider the situation in Panama. They met for approximately 90 minutes. President Bush asked for options and an action plan to achieve four objectives: protect American lives, support democracy, bring the fugitive Manuel Noriega to justice, and protect the integrity of the Panama Canal treaties.

On Monday, the President maintained his normal schedule of activities. Plans were being made at all levels of the command structure for the operation scheduled to commence at 1 o'clock Wednesday morning.

On Tuesday afternoon, President Bush met with the Vice President and his national security advisers in the Oval Office at about 3 o'clock to discuss final plans for the military operation in Panama. The President was briefed on the readiness of all aspects of the plan. General Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, laid out an hour-by-hour plan for the rest of the day and evening prior to the time of launch. That plan included activities of all the Departments and Agencies and all White House staff in the carrying out of this complex arrangement. The President was satisfied the planning was comprehensive.

The President continued to conduct his normal schedule, including attending the White House Christmas Party Tuesday evening. The President received updates on the status of preparations throughout the evening. General Scowcroft and Governor Sununu [Chief of Staff to the President] visited with the President at several points. Early evening, the President called the congressional leadership to discuss the action with them.

The Deputies Committee of the National Security Council was convened at midnight to begin monitoring the operational aspects of the Panama action. They were convened by National Security Council Deputy Director Robert Gates and continued to meet throughout the night and most of the day Wednesday. The Press Office staff was alerted to prepare for an early morning briefing shortly after 1 a.m., and the White House press corps was notified accordingly. In addition, the Pentagon pool had been activated earlier in the evening to accompany U.S. forces to Panama.

President Bush arrived in the Oval Office shortly before 1 a.m. to monitor the progress throughout the night. He was wearing a dark blue sweater over his shirt and tie. The mood was businesslike, as various members of the President's security team moved in and out of the Oval Office with reports of progress.

As we outlined in Wednesday morning's briefing, the President spent most of the night calling American leaders and Members of Congress. Vice President Quayle, Secretary Baker, Governor Sununu, and national security adviser Scowcroft spent most of the evening with the President in his private study, occasionally stepping out to make phone calls to various leaders around the world. Secretary Cheney, General Powell, Director Webster, Attorney General Thornburgh, and others carried out their respective functions at their appropriate control center.

The President was somber throughout the night, worried about the possibility of casualties and anxious for any word of specific military progress. He watched the White House announcement of the military action on the television in his study. He made notes on 5 by 7 blue Presidential notepads as he talked to various leaders. He reported to aides that the phone calls were going well, mostly supportive. Everyone the President called was appreciative of his making the effort on this early notification.

The President retired to the Residence at approximately 4 o'clock in the morning, when it was decided that he would address the American people at 7 a.m. The President returned to the Oval Office at approximately 6:30 a.m. to review his remarks and make editorial changes. Because of the time involved, the President was not able to use the teleprompter normally associated with the Presidential statement. The President read from the typewritten print, making notations in the margin only minutes before air time.

After delivering his address to the Nation, the President remained in the Oval Office for the rest of the day, meeting with diplomatic representatives. All other events previously scheduled for the day were canceled, with the exception of the presentation of diplomatic credentials, so that the President could concentrate on the action in Panama. He continues to receive military updates from General Scowcroft, General Powell, Secretary Cheney, and others. Vice President Quayle spent a good deal of time with the President during the day discussing the progress of the operation. The President received a series of reports on the success of the military in securing various objectives of the preplanned mission.

At approximately 3 p.m., the President met with his national security advisers to receive an operational update, which we commented upon in a previous press statement. The President's operational briefing was similar to the one given to the press at 5 o'clock this afternoon by General Kelly [Director of Operations, Joint Chiefs of Staff] in the Pentagon.

This evening the President will again attend the Christmas Party and then retire to the Residence. He is pleased by the military precision and smoothness of the operation. The President has been told by military leaders that this has been one of the most effective and efficiently conducted operations in some time. The President will continue to receive monitored reports throughout the evening on the status of the Panamanian situation.

The President's national security advisers who met with him at various times during the last 3 days included Vice President Quayle; Secretary of State Baker; Secretary of Defense Cheney; Director of Central Intelligence Bill Webster; General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; General Brent Scowcroft, the President's National Security Council adviser; Robert Gates, deputy national security adviser; and Richard Thornburgh, Attorney General of the United States.

Memorandum on the Arrest of General Manuel Noriega in Panama
December 20, 1989

Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense

Subject: Panama

In the course of carrying out the military operation in Panama which I have directed, I hereby direct and authorize the units and members of the Armed Forces of the United States to apprehend General Manuel Noriega and any other persons in Panama currently under indictment in the United States for drug-related offenses. I further direct that any persons apprehended pursuant to this directive are to be turned over to civil law enforcement officials of the United States as soon as practicable. I also authorize and direct members of the Armed Forces of the United States to detain and arrest any persons apprehended pursuant to this directive if, in their judgment, such action is necessary.

George Bush

Memorandum Terminating Economic Sanctions Against Panama
December 20, 1989

Memorandum for the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury

Subject: Panama

The democratically elected government is now in place in Panama. With respect to that government, I hereby direct you to lift the economic sanctions imposed by Executive Order No. 12635. Therefore, payments from the United States and payments by U.S. persons in Panama to that government are not prohibited. You are directed to take steps to ensure that the prohibitions will not be applied to that government of Panama and in cooperation with that government to effect an orderly unblocking of Panamanian government assets in the United States.

George Bush

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Military Action in Panama
December 21, 1989

Good progress continues to be made on the ground in Panama. Three major objectives were achieved last night by U.S. forces: the Marriott was secured with minimal resistance, Radio Nacional was taken off the air, and the legislative building was secured. General Noriega remains at large and U.S. military operations are targeted at locating him.

Latest casualty figures show 18 U.S. military killed in action, 117 wounded, and 1 missing. One U.S. civilian dependent was also killed. Over 100 of the U.S. servicemen who were wounded have been returned to the United States for treatment at Kelly Air Force Base in San Antonio, TX.

Ambassador Davis, the U.S. Ambassador, has returned to Panama last night. There are reports of scattered weapons firing around the vicinity of the U.S. Embassy, but the Embassy has sustained no new damage beyond that which was reported yesterday. All U.S. Embassy personnel are reported safe.

As we said yesterday, organized resistance to U.S. forces appears to have ended.

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There continue to be roving bands of individuals conducting looting. We are endeavoring to help bring the situation under control. General Powell announced yesterday that 2,500 military police are arriving in Panama to help with police activities. We have received reports of a number of Americans held against their will, but those reports are unclear. Needless to say, we are following up with our military on all such reports.

The freely elected government of Panama, under President Endara and Vice Presidents Calderon and Ford, is moving to establish itself. They have named their Ambassadors to the U.N. and the OAS. They are Lawrence Chewning Fabrega to the OAS and Eduardo Vallarino to the United Nations. I'm told that there may be a press conference this morning by President Endara, but I'd ask you to double-check that.

The Endara government is in the process of setting up operations which will enable them to utilize the $400 million in funds available under the lifting of the sanctions. President Bush is pleased by the effective conduct of the military operation and, most significantly, by the efforts of the new democratically elected government to begin taking charge of the country.

President Bush spoke with President Endara yesterday to encourage his efforts and to offer our support. President Endara had called the President to thank him for prompt recognition of his government. He reported that the former opposition parties were united behind his Presidency. President Endara discussed some preliminary plans to return to full freedoms, such as restoration of a free press. President Endara spoke of the need for medical supplies, and President Bush agreed to provide supplies just as soon as specific needs can be identified.

Vice President Quayle called Vice President Calderon and Vice President Ford yesterday to reemphasize United States support. Vice President Quayle said he looked forward to seeing a free and independent Panama.

Note: Press Secretary Fitzwater read the statement at 10:04 a.m. during his daily press briefing.

Remarks on the Observance of Hanukkah

December 21, 1989

The President. Thank you very much, all of you. I particularly want to single out Rabbi Zaiman. From now on in the White House, we'll be thinking in terms of a thousand and nine points of light over here. I'm sorry Barbara is not here. She started to walk over here, and then there was this catastrophic ice skating accident in which one of our grandchildren bit the dust and is now getting a stitch in his lip. So, life goes on, and she is very sorry not to be here.

We're grateful to Rabbi Zaiman and the Synagogue Council of America for the gift of this menorah. And Dan Quayle and I talked about it, and I assure you that it will stand proudly here, as it stands around the world, as a powerful symbol of faith and freedom. This menorah, this ancient vessel of light, is an eloquent statement of the Jewish people's struggle in history's first recorded battle for religious freedom. It shines with courage and with constancy, with conscience and with strength in the centuries-long struggle for religious tolerance.

Hanukkah, I've learned, has always been an observance of optimism, a holiday of hope and steadfastness. And it comes in the darkest time of year as a hopeful beacon in a long and moonless night. Just as each new candle adds to the menorah's light, each year brings new meaning in Hanukkah's observance. And just as Masada symbolizes resistance against great odds, and strength in adversity, it is faith that provides mankind's most enduring refuge. Tomorrow, as can-

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dles are lit around the world, their light will affirm that faith. And this year, the Feast of Light may shine more brightly than ever before. In the midst of great and wondrous changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, we can see new hopes, new opportunities for freedom, and new reason to have hope worldwide.

As you know, I met recently with Chairman Gorbachev, and I presented him with the names of 20 refuseniks that deserve freedom. The first one on that list was Vladimir Raiz. His wife, Karmella—somewhere with us today. Karmella, will you stand up? [*Applause*] Let me assure you, we'll do all in our power to free your husband and those like him. And if I ever slip, if I ever look like I don't remember fully, the man sitting next to you, [Secretary of Housing and Urban Development] Jack Kemp, who has been in the forefront of the fight for Soviet Jewry and the fight to release refuseniks—he'll be all over our case. So, we'll get the job done.

For the sake of the children who are with us today, from countries that still deny freedom of faith, we will strive for the religious freedom their parents have never known. Even kids who grow up here in America face problems because of faith—their own faith, but here those problems have answers.

When a local temple here was desecrated by two high school students, ministers and the surrounding community came together in support of the congregation and their rabbi, Laszlo Berkowits, who's with us today, too. Where is Laszlo? Right there. Welcome, sir. And kids at the high school—all faiths, all faiths—banded together, planting a dogwood tree at the temple to symbolize growth, renewal, and friendship.

And when Rabbi Berkowits went to the school and powerfully described his experiences in concentration camps, including Auschwitz, all eyes were upon him. Some—we all know that feeling—some filled with tears, but no heart was untouched. The rabbi's survival of the Holocaust had only affirmed and strengthened his commitment to religious tolerance, religious freedom, and respect for diversity.

Just as the Temple of Jerusalem was rededicated on Hanukkah, so are we rededicated to freedom of faith around the world. We will keep the light of hope burning, always before our eyes. And so, "The light of a candle," wrote Bahya Ben Asher, "is useful when it precedes you. It is useless when it trails behind." And so, we must look forward to a day when no nation interferes with the faith of any of its people.

Thank you all very much for coming to the White House today, and allow me to wish you all a very Happy Hanukkah and a great and prosperous 1990. Isn't it exciting as we look down the road into the 1990's at the end of this year of change, 1989! Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:29 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building to members of the Jewish community. In his opening remarks, he referred to Rabbi Joel Zaiman, president of the Synagogue Council of America.

The President's News Conference
December 21, 1989

The President. I have a brief statement to be followed by a brief press conference—because I have a pain in the neck—seriously. [*Laughter*]

Q. Why?

The President. Is that your first question?

Q. No. [*Laughter*]

The President. Our efforts to support the democratic processes in Panama and to ensure continued safety of American citizens is now moving into its second day. I'm gratified by the precision and the effectiveness of the military forces in achieving their objectives. I'm pleased that the Endara government is taking charge, and they've made several appointments today—starting to govern the country.

The young men and women involved in the exercise have demonstrated the highest standards of courage and excellence in defending America's interests and protecting American life. They have been outstanding.

In carrying out the mission of our nation, there has been, and they have sustained, a tragic loss of life. Military casualties are a burden which a nation must endure and all Presidents have to face up to, but which we can never accept. Maybe it's just this time of year, but I don't think so. But it's this way. Particularly at this time of year, my heart goes out to the families of those who have died in Panama, those who have been wounded.

This operation is not over, but it's pretty well wrapped up. We've moved aggressively to neutralize the PDF [Panamanian Defense Forces], to provide a stable environment for the freely elected Endara government. And I mentioned that it helps to ensure the integrity of the Panama Canal and to create an environment that is safe for American citizens.

General Noriega is no longer in power. He no longer commands the instruments of government or the forces of repression that he's used for so long to brutalize the Panamanian people. And we're continuing the efforts to apprehend him, see that he's brought to justice.

I appreciate the support that we've received—strong support—from the United States Congress, from our Latin American neighbors, from our allies, from the American people. And it's always difficult to order forces into battle, but that difficulty is mitigated by the moral and personal support that is granted by our friends and allies.

You've received detailed briefings from the Pentagon on the logistical aspects, and I might say that I think [Secretary of Defense] Dick Cheney and [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] Colin Powell—and ably assisted by others—have done an outstanding job of keeping the American people informed.

I wanted you to know that as we move into the days ahead we will continue to support the Endara government to help establish stability in the country, to allow those desires for freedom and democracy to flourish.

And I'll be glad to take some questions.

U.S. Military Action in Panama

Q. Mr. President, one of your major objectives was to get Noriega. Are you frustrated that he got away? How long will you keep on chasing him? And are you confident that you'll get him?

The President. I've been frustrated that he's been in power this long—extraordinarily frustrated. The good news is he's out of power. The bad news is he has not yet been brought to justice. So, I'd have to say, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], there is a certain level of frustration on that account. The good news, though, is that the government's beginning to function. And the man controls no forces and he's out, but yes, I won't be satisfied until we see him come to justice.

Q. How long will you keep up this full-scale pursuit?

The President. As long as it takes.

Q. Mr. President, you did mention the casualties. Did you expect them to be so high on both sides? I mean——

The President. We had some very——

Q. ——and also, is it really worth it to send people to their death for this, to get Noriega?

The President. We had some estimates, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], on the casualties ahead of time, but not in numbers. I mean, it was more general. Look, Mr. President, no way can you do an operation this large and not have American casualties. So, the Defense Department was very up front with us about that, and every human life is precious. And yet I have to answer: Yes, it has been worth it.

Q. Mr. President, a few months ago you said your complaint was not with the PDF, not with the Panamanian people, but with Noriega only. You also said only a month ago that you didn't think it would be prudent to launch a large-scale military operation. What changed your mind? And particularly, why did you opt for the maximum use of force in this situation?

The President. I think what changed my mind was the events that I cited in briefing the American people on this yesterday: the death of the marine; the brutalizing, really obscene torture of the Navy lieutenant; and the threat of sexual abuse and the terror inflicted on that Navy lieutenant's wife; the declaration of war by Noriega; the fact that our people down there felt that they didn't know where this was going—they weren't sure what all that meant and whether that meant we could guarantee the safety of Americans there. And so, I made a decision to move and to move with enough force—this was a recommendation of the Pentagon—to be sure that we minimize the loss of life on both sides and that we took out the PDF—which we did—took it out promptly.

And so, I would like to think that what I said some time ago still stands. I'm not sure what's left on the ground in terms of people. But what David Hoffman [Washington Post] is referring to is that I said our argument was not with the PDF but with Noriega. And if they would get rid of him and recognize a democratically elected government, we could go back to more normalized relations. We've done that, but we have to see who emerges in the PDF. But I would like to repeat here that we have no continuing axe to grind with the institution of the PDF. Endara's going to need loyal troops who recognize the constitution and the fairness and the legitimacy of his election.

Q. Mr. President, in light of what you've said about the Endara government getting started—the need for stability, the need for some kind of police action down there—we really are in a kind of open-ended military occupation there, aren't we, sir?

The President. Well, I wouldn't say it's open-ended, except it's open-ended as far as going after Noriega; open-ended in terms of the restoration of order in Panama, cleaning up a few ragtag elements of this so-called "dignity battalion." You ever talk about a misnomer, that's it: "dignity battalion"—going after them. PDF units have been rolled up, but we will keep the number of forces as necessary there until our military are satisfied and recommend to the President that they be withdrawn. I want them out of there as soon as possible.

Q. Mr. President, just to follow up, if I could, sir. In the planning of this operation, surely you must have recognized that these actions would be needed and some force would have to be on the ground there for a while. What estimate did you have as you undertook this operation as to how long it would take?

The President. Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], no number-of-day estimate was given to me. I think everyone recognized some of that would depend on when Noriega was brought to justice, some of that depended on how a restructured PDF behaved.

Q. Mr. President, what do you know about Americans held against their will? And what are you doing now to free them?

The President. I'm looking for help on that because we don't have a count. And if there are a lot of them, we don't know about it, but I just had a briefing—I don't know whether Cheney is still here.

Q. The Pentagon said, sir, there were 12 open cases.

The President. Well, I'll tell you, that included, probably, those Smithsonian people who have now been released. And I think there may have been 9 or 10 of those, but I just have to get Marlin to get back to you.

Q. Well, does that indicate that that's not a priority in the reporting to you that people are held against their will?

The President. No, it indicates to me that it's very hard to know what's going on when there's a firefight and a battle because we heard all kinds of rumors. We had calls from your network, your chairman of the board, urging us to go in and take the—[*laughter*]. No, he did, and I understand it. He had a producer that he felt was held. We've gone there, that place is secure, I'm told, but I don't know that we can tell him this minute about the life of that individual. But we will keep on going until we can tell him about the life of that individual. There's been an awful lot of interest in the Marriott Hotel, but I'm very pleased to say that it's secure. And we've had heads of corporations, we've had news organizations other than his, concerned about their people. And we must be as responsive as we can.

Q. We're hearing that American troops

have surrounded the Cuban and Nicaraguan Embassies in Panama City and that in Managua the Nicaraguans have retaliated by surrounding our Embassy there with their own tanks. Are you hearing the same thing? And what message——

The President. We were told that is not true.

Q. That is not true?

The President. Yeah. As of the briefing I just had.

Q. Mr. President, you've referred to the elected government of Mr. Endara. As you know, there was never an accurate final count that confirmed that, even though most polls suggested he had probably won by a 3-to-1 margin. In talking with him, or in the future, have you encouraged or would you encourage him to seek again elections that would verify that he, indeed, or whoever, would be a legally elected President?

The President. I would encourage as much as their constitution calls for. But the election of Endara was, as you point out, so overwhelming, the vote count so high, that I don't think anybody can suggest somebody else might well have won that election.

Q. But, Mr. President, what I pointed out was that it was never final and it was never verified. It was stolen, as you point out.

The President. Well, because it was aborted by this dictator Noriega—Maximum Leader, so decreed 3 days ago, but he was acting like Maximum Leader before that—thwarting, frustrating the will of the Panamanian people. So, I think the international community that oversaw those elections, including a former President of the United States, felt that it went pretty well.

Q. If I could go back to the question of hostages, aides say that you anticipated Noriega might escape the initial assault, and so, there were plans to go after him. Where are your priorities, sir? In getting Manuel Noriega or in dealing with the Americans who might be held? Because if you get Noriega, the Americans may still be held.

The President. And if we get Noriega—pretty much likelihood they'll be released unless somebody wants to use a held American as a ticket to get out of town. So, we're doing both. We are concentrating every way we possibly can to find Noriega. And that is not drawing down—here's my answer—it is not drawing down on the assets that we have available to safeguard the lives of Americans. They're not mutually exclusive.

Q. Sir, why is it that tens of thousands of American fighting men, and with all of our intelligence, were still unable to snatch one bad guy from Panama?

The President. Because intelligence is imperfect. Ellen [Ellen Warren, Knight-Ridder].

Q. And, sir, did we make an effort——

The President. It's good. Sometimes it's counting numbers—very sure. The intention of a person to be someplace or move—very difficult, but it's still sophisticated. I'm convinced we've got the best, but that's why it is imperfect.

Q. A followup, sir. Have you made an effort prior to the invasion to go down and capture General Noriega?

The President. Have I? No, I've been right here on the job. And I—[*laughter*]——

Q. Has the administration, sir? Had Americans made an effort to do so?

The President. Was there some operation, you mean? Not that I know of.

Q. What led you to approve of the decision to have a bounty on Noriega? And is this the type of thing that we will be doing in the future?

The President. His picture will be in every post office in town. That's the way it works. He's a fugitive drug dealer, and we want to see him brought to justice. And if that helps, if there's some incentive for some Panamanian to turn him in, that's a million bucks that I would be very happy to sign the check for.

Q. I was going to ask you about Panama and the Panamanians who have suffered mightily as a result of all this, not only because of the sanctions that we've imposed for a long time but the military actions, the homes destroyed, the lives lost, and so forth. Are you willing to make, now, a major commitment in terms of aid to Panama to help rebuild what has been destroyed down there?

The President. Yes, I'm willing to help the Panamanian people. We've already ordered the lifting of sanctions. I'm convinced that as we open up economic channels they'll do much better. The standard of living will increase for all as we go forward with investment. We have permitted now the reflagging—or put it this way, don't have to unflag—there are Panamanian vessels, and there are other things that we can do. We've released escrowed funds, but we are trying to help Mr. Endara already with operating funds to pay the workers and the people. And beyond that, though, I think we will feel obligated to try to help in every way possible.

Q. Mr. President, what can you tell us about civilian casualties, specifically Panamanian civilian casualties down there? And was there any estimate given in the preplanning of this invasion of civilian casualties?

The President. Our numbers are almost nonexistent. And I heard some reports from a hospital—and we've not been able to confirm those numbers—that some civilians were killed. And I just asked that of our defense chief who had the latest information when he came over here. And so, I just can't help you on the total numbers.

Q. The other question was—the second part—was there an estimate in the preplanning of this invasion?

The President. I don't think an estimate of numbers, but a great concern about that. And one of the reasons we went in with the force we did to take down the PDF and do it as quickly was to minimize civilian casualties. And the way we went after some of these targets was to minimize civilian casualties.

A lot of kids risked their lives going in at night. Parachuting in someplace at night is not a piece of cake. And some of that was to stay away from the fact that civilians would be out and about in the morning.

Q. Mr. President, how do you rate the chances now that Noriega might——

The President. Come on, Marlin [Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President], a little help here. [*Laughter*]

Q. ——that Noriega might be able to mount some kind of a hit-and-run guerrilla operation from hiding? What are the chances of that?

The President. I don't think so. The military doesn't seem to think that he has the communications or a PDF continued loyalty that would make him go into the woods. I like the way Colin Powell put it: He hasn't been in a jungle in a long time. And it's tough living. And he's been living high off the hog off the Panamanian people. And so, we don't expect kind of a Sierra Madre approach to this.

Sarah [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News Service], you've been very good and kind all year long. This is my last press conference here.

Mr. Fitzwater. How about a final question.

The President. And this is the second-to-last question. I hope it's a gentle one.

Q. Your last press conference? What do you mean, your last press conference here, sir?

The President. Is that your question? [*Laughter*] Well, here's the thing. How many have we had this year?

Mr. Fitzwater. Thirty.

The President. We've had 30 press conferences this year, Helen. And some in your midst here have come to me and said, Please, Sarah, lighten up, don't do this quite so much. Thank you very much.

Q. Who said that?

Q. Actually, this is a very mild question. Are you sending a letter today to the Senate to coordinate with the War Powers Act? They understood——

The President. I don't know whether it goes today, but we will do what——

Q. You will do that?

The President. Well, in fact, there's certain technical language on this that—but notification of the Congress will be done in accordance with our policy.

Q. Tell us about your——

The President. This is the last one.

Q. Romania.

Q. The Soviets have criticized very sharply the decision of yours to the point of saying they're going forwards and the United States is going backwards. What is your reaction to this?

The President. My reaction is: I need to get on a wire there—in a telegram or something—explain this to Mr. Gorbachev. It's not altogether surprising that he doesn't understand some of the special arrangements that the United States has in Panama. It's not surprising that he doesn't fully understand that this freely elected man had been deprived of the democracy.

And I also need to let him know: Look, if they kill an American marine, that's real bad. And if they threaten and brutalize the wife of an American citizen, sexually threatening the lieutenant's wife while kicking him in the groin over and over again, then, Mr. Gorbachev, please understand this President is going to do something about it. So, we'll have to explain it very—last one, Maureen [Maureen Dowd, New York Times], and then I really do have to go.

Q. Are you going to bring any troops home by Christmas?

Covert Diplomacy

Q. Mr. President, we now find out that last summer, when we thought that your policy was no contacts with the Chinese Government, that you've sent a high-level delegation there to talk to them. Don't you feel that American people deserve to know that when you say something's not happening, it's really not happening?

The President. Yes, I do think they do. But I didn't say that. I said no high-level exchanges. So, please look at it carefully.

Q. But you didn't tell us that this was happening. Don't people——

The President. No, I feel no obligation to do that. I feel an obligation to keep you informed, but I have an obligation as President to conduct the foreign policy of this country the way I see fit, reporting under the law to the United States Congress. You could say, How come you didn't tell me that you were going to send in those troops down into Panama? Because I didn't want to take a chance the information would get out. That is the responsibility of a President. And I will continue to exercise it while having 37 press conferences next year.

Q. Romania, sir?

The President. She's got a followup.

Q. Does that mean there are all kinds of other secret diplomatic missions going on around that we have no idea of?

The President. Maybe not of that magnitude. But there's a lot going on that in the conduct of the foreign policy or a debate within the U.S. Government has to be sorted out without the spotlight of the news. There has to be that way. The whole opening to China never would have happened if Kissinger hadn't undertaken that mission. It would have fallen apart. So, you have to use your own judgment. And you've got your job, and that is to find out absolutely everything you can, careful—I'm sure most of you are—about legitimate national security concerns. But I have mine, and that is to conduct the foreign policy of this country the way I think best.

If the American people don't like it, I expect they'll get somebody else to take my job, but I'm going to keep doing it. And we've had a very open administration—very—but once in a while, if I go to try to set up a meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, we've got people here screaming, saying, You should have told us that the day you wrote the letter to him. I don't agree with that. And I was elected, so I'm going to keep on trying to do this with an openness—I hope a new openness—but also the right of a President to conduct his business—in this case of Panama, to safeguard the lives of American kids and the other one, to go and see what happens—I know how China works—see what we can do, make a representation of how strongly we feel against the human rights abuse, but see what it's going to take to go forward.

Q. Mr. President, Romania, sir?

Q. One question on Romania, sir?

The President. You already had one.

Q. What about Romania?

The President. I'd like the spokesman to tell you about it.

Q. What about Romania, sir?

Mr. Fitzwater. The President's in excellent health. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, what about the violence in Romania?

The President. The longer you stay under the lights, the worse it gets.

Mr. Fitzwater. We have a brief interlude here. But we have Christmas presents from the President for each of you, and we'll bring those in in a moment if you want to pick those up as you leave. [*Laughter*] We will bribe and try anything possible. [*Laughter*] We know no shame at all.

Note: The President's 31st news conference began at 2:58 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate on United States Military Action in Panama

December 21, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

On December 15, 1989, at the instigation of Manuel Noriega, the illegitimate Panamanian National Assembly declared that a state of war existed between the Republic of Panama and the United States. At the same time, Noriega gave a highly inflammatory anti-American speech. A series of vicious and brutal acts directed at U.S. personnel and dependents followed these events.

On December 16, 1989, a U.S. Marine officer was killed without justification by Panama Defense Forces (PDF) personnel. Other elements of the PDF beat a U.S. Naval officer and unlawfully detained, physically abused, and threatened the officer's wife. These acts of violence are directly attributable to Noriega's dictatorship, which created a climate of aggression that places American lives and interests in peril.

These and other events over the past two years have made it clear that the lives and welfare of American citizens in Panama were increasingly at risk, and that the continued safe operation of the Panama Canal and the integrity of the Canal Treaties would be in serious jeopardy if such lawlessness were allowed to continue.

Under these circumstances, I ordered the deployment of approximately 11,000 additional U.S. Forces to Panama. In conjunction with the 13,000 U.S. Forces already present, military operations were initiated on December 20, 1989, to protect American lives, to defend democracy in Panama, to apprehend Noriega and bring him to trial on the drug-related charges for which he was indicted in 1988, and to ensure the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaties.

In the early morning of December 20, 1989, the democratically elected Panamanian leadership announced formation of a government, assumed power in a formal swearing-in ceremony, and welcomed the assistance of U.S. Armed Forces in removing the illegitimate Noriega regime.

The deployment of U.S. Forces is an exercise of the right of self-defense recognized in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and was necessary to protect American lives in imminent danger and to fulfill our responsibilities under the Panama Canal Treaties. It was welcomed by the democratically elected government of Panama. The military operations were ordered pursuant to my constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander in Chief.

In accordance with my desire that Congress be fully informed on this matter, and consistent with the War Powers Resolution, I am providing this report on the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Panama.

Although most organized opposition has ceased, it is not possible at this time to predict the precise scope and duration of the military operations or how long the temporary increase of U.S. Forces in Panama will be required. Nevertheless, our objectives are clear and largely have been accomplished. Our additional Forces will remain in Panama only so long as their presence is required.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate. The letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 22.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Situation in Romania

December 22, 1989

Today, December 22, a terrible burden appears to have been lifted from Romania: the burden of dictatorial rule. The United States shares the rejoicing of the Romanian people and joins them in their hopes for a peaceful transition toward democracy. We regret the tragic and senseless loss of life over the past week and urge that further violence be avoided.

The United States salutes the decision by representatives of the Romanian Government to order a cessation of the brutal police repression and to bring a merciful end to the Ceauşescu dictatorship. We hope the Romanian Government will now move quickly to respond to the demands of its people for democratic change and that it will commit itself to a peaceful transition.

The tragedy of Timisoara will never be forgotten. It will serve as a permanent reminder that the aspiration for fundamental human rights cannot be extinguished by force of arms. The United States is ready, as it has always been, for better relations with Romania. If Romania moves along a path of genuine democratic reform, the United States pledges its strong support and assistance.

We hope that Romania will soon join the other countries of central and eastern Europe which have ushered in a new era of cooperation between East and West.

Note: Press Secretary Fitzwater read the statement at 9:21 a.m. during his daily press briefing.

Appointment of Timothy E. Deal as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

December 22, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Timothy E. Deal as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for International Economic Affairs on the National Security Council staff.

A career Foreign Service officer, Mr. Deal has served as Director for International Economic Affairs since March 1989. Prior to this, he served as Deputy U.S. Representative to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, 1985–1988, and Counselor for Economic Affairs in the U.S. Embassy in London, 1982–1985. In addition, he has served in a variety of overseas and domestic assignments, including Poland and Honduras.

Mr. Deal graduated from the University of California at Berkeley. He is married to the former Jill Brady and has two sons.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Report of the Presidential Economic Delegation to Poland

December 22, 1989

Dear __________:

I am transmitting herewith the final report of the Presidential Economic Delegation that I sent to Poland at the end of November. I think that you will find the conclusions of Secretaries Yeutter, Mosbacher, and Dole and CEA Chairman Boskin, and of the 20 distinguished private sector participants in the Mission, well worth reading.

This report will help to ensure that the assistance provided by the "Support for Eastern European Democracy Act of 1989" will be used to maximum effect.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Richard A. Gephardt and Robert H. Michel, majority and minority leaders of the House of Representatives, respectively; and George J. Mitchell and Robert Dole, majority and minority leaders of the Senate, respectively.

Nomination of Paul C. Lambert To Be United States Ambassador to Ecuador

December 22, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Paul C. Lambert to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Ecuador. He would succeed Richard Newton Holwill.

Since 1966 Mr. Lambert has served as a partner with the law firm of Breed, Abbott and Morgan in New York. Prior to this he served as a lawyer with the law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy in New York City, 1955–1965.

Mr. Lambert graduated from Yale University (A.B., 1950) and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1953). He was born March 14, 1928, in New York City. Mr. Lambert served in the U.S. Army, 1953–1955. He is married, has three children, and resides in New York.

Remarks to the AIDS Research Staff at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland

December 22, 1989

Thank you all very much. I'm so very proud to be accompanied here and introduced here by Lou Sullivan. Barbara is, too. A little historical Trivial Pursuit: Bar used to be on the Morehouse School of Medicine Board, working for a slave driver named Lou Sullivan. [*Laughter*] And so, it's fitting that they be sitting side by side.

To Under Secretary Horner, if she is here, and Dr. Mason and Dr. Raub, Dr. Fauci, Dr. Broder and Dr. Decker and Dr. Rall and Dr. Bick and Dr. Goodwin—[*laughter*]—Dr. Lenfant, Dr. Alexander, and whoever is left out, all the rest of you: I am delighted, I mean it, really pleased, and so is Barbara, to be here.

This morning, let me just say a word about another area before I just make a few comments on your work, your wonderful work. I am sure that your hearts and minds are with our kids, our brave soldiers in Panama, so let me just say a quick word about that. As I said yesterday, all human life is precious. We're all children of a loving God, and we sorrow at the casualties in Panama. But we know that nothing is more crucial to peace on Earth than freedom and democracy. And that's what our American soldiers are achieving: freedom and human liberty for those who have endured brutal tyranny and brutal oppression.

And this weekend, Americans will begin our traditional holiday celebration. And it is a time of rest and reflection and, most of all, of family. And while America stops to catch its breath from the dramatic events of

1989, I assure you that through these holidays we will not forget our brave soldiers down there and their families. We will continue to do what is necessary to help the people of Panama achieve the democratic society that they voted for and that they so rightfully deserve.

In these last days before Christmas, I did want to stop by here and salute what you are doing in biomedical research—the best, the very finest, all of you. For here, too, in your way, you are standing for decency. You're helping to improve the health of millions of Americans. And even more, like those soldiers in Panama, those heroes, you're giving the greatest gift imaginable: the gift of life. And nowhere is this gift more evident than in your work to combat AIDS. And it's that which I'd briefly like to talk about today. For only together can we wage all-out war against this terrible killer.

Two years ago in this very building, I met a person with AIDS who spoke of his prolonged suffering. And I've just come from two more meetings—one with a patients' support group and the other, a family support group—and both reminded me of the need for compassion and understanding. And by that, I mean the compassion that moves us to care for all those infected with the HIV, men and women, adults and children. And we must help them. And you, you above all, are doing just exactly that. And I want you to know, I am with you and extraordinarily grateful for what you are doing. And by understanding, I mean educating, educating Americans who don't want to help, don't want to become involved because of a misplaced fear. They're afraid of holding an AIDS patient because they're frightened of getting AIDS. Barbara and I want to say—and we hope we can continue to demonstrate this: They are wrong. They're simply uninformed. They are wrong about that.

A few minutes ago, we were in a room full of kids with AIDS, and you could just feel the courage and character of the doctors and the nurses and the parents and the counselors. And being with them, I thought of how there is no reason to fear for your health, just their health. And I want to thank those who are not afraid, especially foster parents who have opened their homes and their hearts, and those of you here today who do so much for so many.

And my good friend, Dr. Lou Sullivan, our Secretary—it's appropriate that he be here with us today. He knows about compassion and understanding. And so do other great men and women of science and medicine. I think of our Assistant Secretary, Dr. James Mason, or Dr. William Raub, the Acting Director of NIH, who greeted us here; Doctor Fauci, who is still embarrassed, I think, that I singled him out in the last year as a hero, but he is; and Dr. Sam Broder and Robert Gallo, Dr. Antonia Novello, the Surgeon-General-designate. Each of these dedicated scientists preaches compassion and understanding, as do others involved in treatment and research activities on AIDS at the NIH Clinical Center, from doctors and nurses to chaplains and social workers, from teachers to dietitians. For example, the clinical pathology staff, the diagnostic radiology staff, the nuclear medicine staff—you are attacking the scourge of AIDS, and so are the laboratory scientists engaged primarily in AIDS-related basic research—all of the dedicated employees throughout all the institutions here.

You know, there is a lot of talk about AIDS today. And I hear those who say we have far to go. And, yes, they're right, but I would also add: Look how far we've come. And look at the advances in vaccine development and early therapeutic intervention. Look at the recently reported success of a vaccine in animals or clinical studies which show how AZT can retard the disease in infected individuals. Look at the treatment to prevent the onset of PCP, the pneumonia that infects large numbers of AIDS patients and often, regrettably, leads to death. Where did these advances stem from? They're rooted in the biomedical research conducted and supported by NIH. And they show the value of your commitment, and I commend that commitment. They stem from your work which makes America proud.

Too often, we speak of compassion and understanding only in this time of year, the Christmas season. You embody it, and you live it all year round. And too often we forget the true message of this time of year.

It's that justice and kindness can indeed foster good will toward all.

You know that message. You live that message. And for that, I thank you. And I want to wish you and your families a warm and happy holiday season. God bless you and those you are working so hard to save. And God bless the United States of America. And Merry Christmas to all. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:34 p.m. in the Clinical Center. Prior to his remarks, the President attended an AIDS family support group meeting. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Camp David, MD, for the Christmas holidays.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Situation in Panama

December 26, 1989

President Bush received his morning intelligence briefing at Camp David, which included an extensive update on the situations in Panama and Romania. General Brent Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs], Gen. Colin Powell [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff], and Secretary of Defense Cheney will join the President for lunch at Camp David today and provide him with personal briefings on these issues.

Secretary Cheney reports from his trip to Panama yesterday that morale among U.S. soldiers is high, a degree of normalcy is returning to Panama City, and the PDF [Panamanian Defense Forces] continues to surrender or otherwise report themselves to U.S. forces.

The American military continues to find tens of thousands of weapons in warehouses at various locations. These include grenade launchers, rocket-propelled grenades, heavy machineguns, and other military weapons. We continue to see encouraging signs of support for the Endara Government, including the widespread showing of white flags, the traditional symbol of the opposition parties.

The Endara Government is making significant steps in the process of reconstruction. Their cabinet has met. Plans are being made to meet food and housing needs. A special economic group from the Endara Government will meet with the administration's Economic Reconstruction Task Force this afternoon. This task force includes State and Treasury Department representatives who are assessing the needs of the Panamanian people. The exact time and location of the meeting is yet to be determined.

The United States continues to operate refugee centers, help with restoring law and order in the streets of the city, and the providing of medical assistance. The military is airlifting some 1,200 tons of food and medical supplies into Panama this week. Our training of the security forces is going well, with nearly 1,000 former PDF members now joining the U.S. military on street patrols. More than 5,000 U.S. troops are on patrol.

The United States continues its efforts to bring General Noriega to the United States for justice. We are having discussions through established diplomatic channels with all parties involved, including the Endara Government and the Papal Nuncio. We will not comment on the nature of those discussions or any specific reactions. The only other member of the PDF indicted by U.S. courts besides Noriega, Col. Luis del Cid, has been apprehended and returned to the United States. He is currently in the custody of U.S. marshals and will be arraigned today in the Federal court in Miami.

The Panama Canal is now open 24 hours per day. The two major airports in Panama City, Torrijos and Tocumen, are now open for operation during limited hours. The Treasury Department has expedited the return of escrow funds to Panama. That money is now going to the Endara Government to help with the reconstruction process. There is roughly $371 million in total Panamanian Government assets blocked in the United States. Our Ambassador has allocated $25,000 in emergency/disaster relief funds immediately for food and medicine for refugees.

President Bush is pleased with the progress that has been made in helping the Panamanian people resume a new life under freedom and democracy. He is monitoring the progress of U.S. economic assistance. He commends the U.S. military for the impressive job it has done in carrying out all phases of this operation.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Corpus Christi, Texas

December 27, 1989

The President. I want to thank the mayor, Her Honor, for coming out to greet me. It's great to be back at Corpus Christi Naval Air Station, where I learned to fly airplanes in 1943.

But in any event, I'm very pleased with the turn of events in Panama. Noriega turning himself in was about as good a Christmas present as our soldiers and marines, airmen and the American people could want.

We are sending a reconstruction task force down there next week to help with some financial planning. And indeed, they've had a couple of their top people in Washington, I think, yesterday—maybe today. I know one team went to see Secretary Brady at his home in New Jersey.

Things on the ground, I'm told, checking just before we got here, are quiet—certainly far quieter than they've been. And there is no evidence of people going to the hills to fight on. There seem to be stories to that effect, but we have no hard evidence of that at all. The latest estimate was something like 40,000 weapons taken. That's quite a bit for a force that's about 20 percent that size in terms of numbers of people—maybe less—I don't know the exact numbers. They estimate now that there was something like $5 million in cash taken from Noriega's home, which will, of course, be turned over to the Endara Government.

In conclusion, I'd simply say that the military, and the country team as well, did a first-class job. And for those who are unfamiliar with the complexity of an operation of this nature, you ought to study it and learn from it because it was an amazingly well coordinated, superbly executed operation.

Now, inasmuch as this is a vacation, I thought I'd take a question or two to get the year ending up in reasonably good fashion, but not too many.

Wait a minute! We've got the wires who have to be on my protocol? All right, let's follow protocol.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. We have charges against Noriega in this country, but Panama wants to bring him to justice as well. Would we continue to press our demands for extradition if the government of President Endara wants to bring Noriega to justice in their country?

The President. I think that would require a lot of consultation, because we don't want to do anything that implies undermining the sovereign power of Panama or the fact that this government is operating with the trust of the people. So, we'd have to have some real serious negotiations if it comes to that. That's not the way it appears to be leaning, but I wouldn't want to go against the will of the Endara Government.

Here we go. UP [United Press International], and then we'll get a couple of others.

Q. Could you tell us the status of the efforts to break the impasse on getting——

The President. Just ongoing talks, and I think the Nuncio is awaiting instructions from the Vatican. We've made clear our preference, and that is to bring the man to trial and subsequently to justice because of this indictment that's against him.

Q. Mr. President, a lot of people think the Vatican is wrongheaded in these doing—is the Vatican being wrongheaded in not turning him over immediately? What do you think the legal issues are here?

The President. How would you like it if people were negotiating and talking and then somebody jumped up and said they were wrongheaded, especially at this time of the year, especially since it's the Vatican?

Q. But are they? [*Laughter*] What are the legal issues?

The President. We're not posturing ourselves, calling people to task at this point at all. We're trying to solve a difficult problem here, and we're totally engaged. The Secretary of State and I will be talking about it in just a few minutes more. But I'm not going to start name-calling at a time when we're trying to solve a very important problem for the United States system of justice.

Q. You just said, when asked about Panama taking him—you said that's not the way it's leaning, as if it's leaning in some direction. Where is it leaning?

The President. Well, I can't help you on——

Q. And secondly, if the Vatican decides that it will be a third country, will we do something to stop that?

The President. Well, it's too hypothetical. And where it's leaning? I hope it's leaning for his being returned to the United States. But again, I think that the question that was asked about officials in Panama has to very much be on our mind. And we will obviously want to see him extradited to the United States, and that may determine where he ends up. But look, at this point, we're still going down the road of trying to get him sent here.

Q. Mr. President, do you fear that Mr. Noriega might disclose any CIA information that could embarrass you or the Government?

The President. No.

Q. Nothing whatsoever?

The President. I don't think so. I think that's history. And I think that the main thing is that he should be tried and brought to justice. And we are pursuing that course with no fear of that. You may get into some release of certain confidential documents that he may try to blindside the whole justice process. But the system works, so I wouldn't worry about that.

Q. Would you open up any documents that he might request so that there would be no question, as there has been in other cases?

The President. There would be enough to see that he is given a totally fair trial, certainly. But nobody is going to—well, totally to see that he gets a fair trial.

Q. How are you going to handle concerns by Latin American countries that the United States shouldn't have even gone in?

The President. Well, I think that's going to require a lot of diplomatic effort, and a lot of it on my part. And I've talked to many of the leaders in this hemisphere already. But I think as they see this government that was democratically elected, they see it functioning, they see Noriega brought to justice, they see that he's out of the picture—none of them supported him at all, they found him outrageous—then I think you'll begin to see the problem that might have been caused by a prolonged conflict down there laid totally to rest.

Q. Have you picked up the phone and called either the Papal Nuncio in Panama or Pope John Paul? And if not, why not? Are you personally involved in the negotiations?

The President. I'm personally involved, but I haven't done either of those two things.

Q. Can you tell us what you have done?

The President. Next question.

Andean Drug Summit

Q. Peru says that it won't attend a drug summit as a form of protest. What is your response to that? Are you concerned that it might compromise the effectiveness of a summit in February?

The President. Well, I would hope that [President] García would change his mind.

Q. But will it compromise the effectiveness of the drug summit?

The President. Well, inasmuch as Peru is an Andean country and this is an Andean summit with the United States participating, trying to help them, I would think it would be less inclusive, obviously. But I think that there are ways to continue to try to help Peru in this fight.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. Have you put any time limit on how long this stalemate can go on?

The President. No, no time limit. Just like we didn't have a time set on when Noriega would no longer be in the field fighting.

Romania

Q. Mr. Bush, your reactions to events on Romania, the execution of [President] Ceausescu. Are you concerned that there is a kind of retaliational frenzy going on there as opposed to getting on a path to democracy?

The President. Well, I'm just amazed and respectful of the change that has taken place. We did say that we were concerned that the trial of Ceausescu should have been more open, but that's their matter. They went forward, and I think now is to bring the remaining holdout security forces to bay. The army seems to be doing that. And my concern is for tranquillity and freedom in Romania. And you know what touched me was hearing this guy singing a Christmas carol. It was reported that it was the first time in public airwaves in some 40 years that a Christmas carol was allowed to be heard on TV. It made a dramatic statement for me.

Worldwide Democratic Change

Q. ——the State of the Union seemed awfully impressive when you said that the day of the dictator is over, but I'm assuming that even you didn't anticipate these events taking place in the course of this year. What are your expectations and hopes for 1990 as far as——

The President. I think democracy and freedom is on the move around the world. So, no, you're right; I didn't predict the rapidity of this change. I don't think anybody in the world did, but we rejoice in it.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. Mr. President, apparently the Vatican said this morning they could not turn Mr. Noriega over to the United States or a third country. And you say it doesn't seem to be leaning towards him going to the Panamanians. I mean, doesn't that statement settle it, or is there something going on that you're not telling us?

The President. What was the statement, Michael [Michael Gelb, Reuters]?

Q. The Vatican, apparently, perhaps while you were in the air, said that they could not turn Noriega over to the United States or, I believe, any third country. Wouldn't that settle it?

The President. That complicates things if they said that. But I've learned not to make comment until I know exactly what was said and in what context it was placed. But we will continue to negotiate.

We've got time for two more. Right over there—make that three.

U.S. Military Action in Panama

Q. Mr. President, are you concerned that you're not sending the proper signal by going on vacation while the fighting continues in Panama?

The President. No, I'm not concerned about that at all. Why should I be? Things have done well. It's winding down. I am in very close touch by telephone, by secure links. And the Secretary of State is here, and we have some important things to go over. So, it never occurred to me. Now, if the matter were still going and there was a lot of fighting and Noriega was not in custody, it would have been different.

Look, I don't make any cover. I'm going to be enjoying myself, and I think the American people understand that. And I think I've worked pretty hard all year long. So, I'll keep on this path, and I hope it's correct.

General Noriega of Panama

Q. Do you believe that Noriega could still be a threat to regaining power so long as he remains in Panama?

The President. That would concern me, yes, unless he were in total custody and sentenced to the prison sentence he deserves.

Last one.

Q. Do you believe, though, that he could get a fair trial in Panama?

The President. It is with regret that I tell you I can't hear you.

Last one.

Q. You're the Commander in Chief. It's your helicopter.

The President. Last one.

Panamanian Elections

Q. Will the Endara Government hold new elections any time soon, or do you think they don't have to have new elections?

The President. I don't know. I haven't heard the discussion of when that will be. They've just finished an election not many months ago. I believe it will be certified by the electoral commission. And I think they should have time to govern now.

Thank you all. I hope you all have a marvelous time, and that you, too, don't have to work every minute. I hope there's some R&R out there for you and relaxation.

Note: The President spoke at 10:08 a.m. upon his arrival at the naval air station. Following his remarks, the President visited friends on San Jose Island, TX.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Situation in Romania

December 27, 1989

The President has sent a message of congratulations to Romania's new head of state, President Ion Iliescu. The President expressed his sympathy over the tragic bloodshed over the past 2 weeks and his hope that Romania will now move along a peaceful path of democratic change.

To assist in the humanitarian relief efforts in Romania, the United States Government, through the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, has donated $500,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross. On December 28, the United States will airlift an additional $250,000 in relief assistance, consisting mainly of emergency medical supplies. A five-member U.S. assessment team will depart for Romania this week to assist the new Romanian Government in determining its emergency relief needs and to coordinate U.S. assistance measures.

In his message to President Iliescu, the President expressed the hope that the new Romanian Government will move quickly to implement democratic reforms based on the rule of law. He pledged U.S. support and assistance as Romania meets these challenges during the difficult transition ahead.

Remarks at a Barbecue in Beeville, Texas

December 27, 1989

Thank you all very much. Thank you, Dan, and thank all of you. We had a little receiving line a minute ago for a handful of people who did an awful lot of work on this marvelous get-together. And several of them said to me "Thank you for being here." And my inclination was to say—not just to them, but is to say to all of you: Thank you for doing this for me and for Jim. We're just delighted to be back here.

And I've been coming here—I see my friend Will Farish, who has been my host here for a long time. And I don't know, I think it's almost 20-some years straight, and we haven't missed. And I don't intend to miss. And I'm just delighted to be back and have this really warm homecoming. Dan, thank you, sir, for your work on this, and Gary and so many others that pitched in and made it work.

Fernando, your prayer was lovely, and it says something about our country. And maybe it's an appropriate time of year to count our blessings. But I can tell you that you don't get into the job I'm in if you don't have a certain modicum of faith. If you don't believe that we are one nation under God, you cannot, in my view, be President unless you understand that fundamental conviction that Fernando Aleman spoke so well a few minutes ago. And I really feel it, and Barbara feels it. And we are blessed by family, and we are blessed by our faith. And it couldn't be otherwise in this particular job.

I might also say that we are lifted up by friends. And I get teased for picking up the phone and calling people and being a somewhat frenetic kind of a President. But I enjoy staying in touch with friends, and I hope I never will forget how I got to be President of the United States. A lot of it came through dedicated, loyal friendship, and a lot of it came from the political process, of course. But I wanted here to express my appreciation for the support that came out of this area. This is not a partisan political event, but I would be remiss if I didn't say I've not gotten immune to reading election returns. And I'm very pleased with the way things have worked. And so, thank you for this homecoming. Thank you for this warm reception.

I'm very sorry that Barbara Bush is not here. She is doing a superb job as First Lady, and she is in good health. I get asked that all the time. You know, there's a magazine, that I'm sure nobody here is too familiar with, called the National Enquirer. [*Laughter*] But apparently, they printed a story about her on the front page, and we have had more crazy letters and inquiries about her state of play. But since some of you were nice enough earlier on at this little receiving line that Dan worked out, that I would tell you she's in very good health. She feels just great, and she's kind of winding down her responsibilities as a grandparent. We have our Dallas twins charging around the White House, having been up there at Camp David with us. And she will meet me in Houston, which is no consolation to her because she wanted very much to come back here. But she did ask me to extend her warm best wishes. And I'll tell you—but I've only been married for close to 45 years; in January, it'll be 45—I think Bar's doing a fantastic job for our country.

It is a pleasure to be, obviously, with Jim Baker. One of the great joys of my job is having people in our Cabinet—he is the most senior, in the sense of protocol, the number one Cabinet official. And I can tell you this, for those civics teachers out here: I think it's very comforting, and I think it's very important for a President, to have people who will tell it to you exactly the way they see it, who will share any experience with the President, who will go the extra mile after the decision is made to support what the President decides. And in Jim Baker, we have somebody who is that kind of Secretary of State, and the respect for him all over the world knows no bounds. And I'm delighted he's here, and I'm delighted he's at my side every single day in Washington.

You know, he has a ranch over here just down the road called Rockpile. Believe me, it is. [*Laughter*] But once in a while, we can get him over here to Bee County, Goliad County, with Will. And so, Jim, I'm delighted you're with us today.

This, Dan told me, is to be an informal occasion. And what I really want to do is shake as many hands as possible while you get to chow down out there. And I won't reminisce much more, except to say that when I flew into Corpus Christi Naval Air Station today it was just about—let's see, it was in the winter of 1943 that I first showed up there as an 18-year-old naval aviation cadet. And it was there that I got my wings. It was there that I got my first taste of Texas. And possibly, it was there that I made my determination to come back to Texas. The people over there in Nueces County treated me and the other kids over there just with a fantastic sense of hospitality. And so, I hope you'll forgive my feeling a certain sense of nostalgia. When I flew in there, and also as we flew past Chase coming over here in this magnificent helicopter, it did feel like coming home.

Just a couple of words: It is the end of the year, and in the Bush family, anyway, it's a time when we count our blessings. And I think we had a marvelous Christmas present when we got the word that Noriega, the drug trafficker, was in the Nuncio. And I am determined to bring him to justice. And we have to work with our friends in the Vatican, and we have to certainly work with respect with the new Endara Government in Panama. But I want to see this man who is under indictment brought to justice for poisoning the children of the United States of America and people around the world.

And I'll tell you something: That military operation was a superb effort in coordination. It worked far better than many would have thought possible: young kids dropping in at night and 2 o'clock in the morning in parachutes, and targets unknown, the darnedest coordination you've ever seen between helicopter gunships and little—we call them Little Bird helicopters—in the air all at the same time. A magnificent effort by the U.S. military. And when I hear people saying, well, things have changed so dramatically in the world today that that can make these hellacious cuts in our defense—let me tell you, I don't think that's right. And I will not have that, because I believe we should keep a ready force that is able to defend American interests and American lives around the world.

But I was very pleased with the operation. Barbara and I are going over to the hospital in San Antonio on Sunday to pay our respects to those kids that are lying over there wounded. And I should say here and now: Of course we grieve at the loss of young American life. And frankly, I grieve at the loss of innocent Panamanian life, caught up in this battle. But at times, you have to make a decision: What is in the national interest? What is right? What is the right signal to send to the world?

And this one, in my view, worked out well. And now we will help. We will reach out to the people of Panama. We will do everything we can to lift them up, but most of all, to give them a shot at the democracy that some of us take for granted every single day in our lives. They are entitled now to freedom and democracy. And so, let's all pitch in and try to make it work.

These are fascinating times. Jim made brief reference to our meeting over there in Malta with Mr. Gorbachev. It was a good meeting. And the seas weren't particularly calm, but the meeting was very calm. And I see some great common interests that we have now with the Soviet Union. I don't believe we got a prognosticator in Bee County who could have predicted with any degree of accuracy the rapidity of the change in Eastern Europe. These are fantastic times of change. They are fantastic times of opportunity for individual liberties, for democracy and freedom in Europe.

And what Jim Baker and I are trying to do is to conduct the affairs of the United States in such a way so as to foster change and to foster freedom, but to do it in a prudent way so we do not invite some unforeseen action by some unpredictable party. And I believe it's working, and I'm most encouraged. And we will stand ready, as we have already, to help the people of Poland achieve their aspirations for democracy. Hungary is coming along in very good shape. And now we see the rapidity of change in East Germany and in Romania and in Czechoslovakia, and it's mind-boggling. But the point is—the point that we Americans should remember—is it's coming towards freedom and democracy and openness and respect for human rights. And it is these things that I think should give us particular joy at Christmastime. We have a lot to be grateful for.

On the domestic side, if I'm giving you a bit of a year-end report, I'd have to say there are certain frustrations. We've made some progress on the Federal deficit, and I'm determined to make more progress next year, this coming year, on the Federal deficit. I want to see the Congress move on an anticrime package because I want to see us support our police officers, whether it's the sheriff's department in Bee County or the police chief whom I just met or whether it's the big urban police force in drug-embattled New York or wherever. We ought to support them. And that means that the Congress ought to move forward with the anticrime legislation that this President proposed some 6 months ago. So, if you have any influence with your Congressman, tell him to get with it. Get moving; don't sit; no more excuses. Let's move that crime package through the Congress and support those men and women on the streets that are supporting us.

We're making some progress on the environment. You know, just coming from red fishing and fishing for trout outside of Corpus, it makes one appreciate the environment very much. And we've made some good, sound proposals that are not going to keep America from growing, not going to keep everything at a standstill, but will protect the wetlands. I have a new policy of no net loss of wetlands, and we have a policy of trying to clean up the air and to protect the environment for the generations to come.

And so, again, I would invite your support for these initiatives. They are bipartisan, I might add. We're getting strong support on both sides of the aisle. And so, I think we can move more forward on that.

The antidrug fight is on everybody's minds. And I know that this county—Dan was telling me early on about the fight that Bee County is making, helping encourage young people to stay off of this substance abuse. And it's happening all over the country. I feel a certain frustration at times that it's not happening quicker. But I can tell you there are some very encouraging signs about the diminishing use of cocaine or some of these terrible narcotics.

And so, I will continue to fight in the calendar year 1990 for the total enactment of our national drug strategy. I think you'll find when the new budget comes out that it has rather adequate levels of funding to support the Federal effort. But I must say that it's not going to be solved at the Federal level alone, that a lot of it's going to be done right here at the county level, right here at the city level, or right here at the State level. And so, we are working hard with State and local officials and try to give the proper support in the antinarcotics field.

There are many, many other problems out there, but at this end of the year, I must say I'm finishing with a bit of a glow because I see the changes that are taking place. And it comes right back to that invocation that we heard here by Dr. Aleman. It comes back to the fact that we are the United States of America; we are one nation under God, we are tolerant, we are kind, we are trying to help others who have it less fortunate than we do. But there is no question when you go to Europe and talk to the leaders: It is the United States that stands as a beacon. When you go to South America—we've got our difficulties; they may approve this or disapprove that—but they know that we are the freest, the fairest, the most decent nation on the face of the Earth.

So, when we see this magnificent move towards democracy and freedom, I think all of us can count our blessings and say: God bless America. God bless the United States. And may I simply add, God bless all of you, and thank you for this welcome home. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 5:25 p.m. in the Bee County Coliseum. In his remarks, he referred to Dan Ouellette, former county Republican Party chairman; and Gary Roberts, president of the First National Bank of Beeville. Following his remarks, the President went to Will Farish's ranch, where he remained overnight.

Final Order for Emergency Deficit Control Measures for Fiscal Year 1990

December 27, 1989

By the authority vested in me as President by the statutes of the United States of America, including section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Public Law 99–177), as amended by the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100–119) (hereafter referred to as "the Act"), and section 11002 of the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1989 (Public Law 101–239) ("OBRA"), I hereby order that the following actions be taken to implement the sequestrations and reductions determined by the Director of the

Office of Management and Budget as set forth in his report dated December 27, 1989, under section 251 of the Act and section 11002 of the OBRA:

(1) Each automatic spending increase that would, but for the provisions of the Act, take effect during fiscal year 1990 is permanently sequestered or reduced as provided in section 252 of the Act and section 11002 of OBRA.

(2) The following are sequestered as provided in section 252 of the Act and section 11002 of OBRA: new budget authority; unobligated balances; new loan guarantee commitments or limitations; new direct loan obligations, commitments, or limitations; spending authority as defined in section 401(c)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended; and obligation limitations.

(3) For accounts making payments otherwise required by substantive law, the head of each department or agency is directed to modify the calculation of each such payment to the extent necessary to reduce the estimate of total required payments for the fiscal year by the amount specified by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in his report of December 27, 1989.

(4) For accounts making commitments for guaranteed loans or obligations for direct loans as authorized by substantive law, the head of each department or agency is directed to reduce the level of such commitments or obligations to the extent necessary to conform to the limitations established by the Act and by OBRA and specified by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in his report of December 27, 1989.

All reductions and sequestrations shall be made in strict accordance with the specifications of the December 27th report of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the requirements of section 252(b) of the Act and section 11002 of OBRA.

This order shall be deemed to have become effective on October 16, 1989, as provided in section 11002 of OBRA.

This order shall be published [in the] *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
December 27, 1989.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:14 p.m., December 27, 1989]

Message on the Observance of New Year's Day
December 27, 1989

I am delighted to send my warmest greetings to all Americans during the celebration of the New Year.

As we celebrate the promise of the new year, it is most fitting that we pause to reflect on all we have achieved as a nation during the past 12 months. Our economy has remained strong and it has continued to grow, creating new jobs and greater opportunities for millions of American families. The global triumph of democratic ideals, especially in Eastern Europe, and improvements in our relations with the Soviet Union have brightened the prospects for lasting world peace. We have also forged the partnerships that will serve as a strong foundation for our efforts to improve American education and to end the scourge of substance abuse.

This New Year also marks the beginning of a new decade. The 1990s hold many challenges and opportunities, both for the United States and for mankind. We are witnessing a global flowering of freedom. Along with this expansion of liberty has come renewed appreciation for the responsibilities it entails. Abroad, we vow continuing solidarity with our fellow democracies to ensure peace and security. We make this pledge with deep gratitude to the courageous men and women of our armed forces who selflessly sacrifice to defend freedom's cause. At home, more Americans are accepting the challenge to get involved in volunteer projects to assist the needy or in other ways to make a difference for good in their communities. They are also joining millions of people throughout the world in efforts to end poverty, violence, and hunger.

A year ago, President Reagan expressed his belief that the world was safer than it had been just 12 months before. He added, "I pray it will be safer still a year from now." Well, I believe it is. Today, we join in that same prayer and add our heartfelt hopes for a future marked by peace and prosperity for all mankind.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to the people of the United States for a happy New Year. May God bless you, and may God bless America.

GEORGE BUSH

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Federal Chancellor Scholarship for Future American Leaders

December 27, 1989

The President and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany have agreed to assume joint patronage of a Federal Chancellor Scholarship for Future American Leaders, to commence in 1990.

This scholarship program is the result of a proposal made by the Chancellor while hosting American university representatives in July 1988, with a view to intensifying German-American academic cooperation. The Chancellor's purpose in launching this initiative was to make people of both countries, especially the younger generations, more acutely aware of the fundamental importance of the strong ties and close friendship between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The President and Chancellor Kohl are agreed that this year, which marks the 40th anniversary of the Federal Republic, is a particularly important time for launching such a program. They share the view that it is in the vital interest of both countries to broaden the foundations of their common future in the academic sphere and among the new generation of political leaders.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Election of Vaclav Havel as President of Czechoslovakia

December 29, 1989

The President has sent a warm message of congratulations to Vaclav Havel upon his election as President of Czechoslovakia. The President noted the strong links between American and Czechoslovak democracy, going back to the creation of the Czechoslovak state in 1918, and pledged his commitment to the renewal and strengthening of political, economic, and cultural ties between Czechoslovakia and the United States.

President Havel's election marks a fitting end to a year of astonishing change in Eastern Europe. A distinguished playwright and founding member of the human rights group Chapter 77, Vaclav Havel was barred from publishing his works and often imprisoned for his activities in defense of democratic freedoms. His election, as the President noted in his message, is living proof of what Mr. Havel has called the "power of the powerless" to bring about peaceful democratic change.

This event also symbolizes a new beginning for all of Eastern Europe. Last spring, Poland and Hungary led the way toward peaceful democratic change. In the fall, popular pressures in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria led to rapid movement toward democratic reform. And in December, protests in Romania led to the overthrow of dictatorial rule and the advent of a new leadership committed to a democratic agenda, including the holding of free elections.

These changes, unimaginable only a few months ago, offer fresh hope for the peoples of Eastern Europe and for ending the artificial division of Europe, toward a Europe whole and free. As the heady changes of 1989 give way to the challenges of 1990, the United States reaffirms its strong support for the processes of economic recovery and democratic change in Eastern Europe.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Situation in Panama

December 29, 1989

The President continues hunting at the Lazy F Ranch. His planned departure for Houston is 5 p.m. There are no changes in the schedule as released yesterday, December 28.

The situation in Panama today remains calm. President Endara continues to assume control of his government. Their payroll is being met. Airports are open to commercial traffic. Food distribution is continuing at 18 humanitarian assistance distribution points.

Our discussions with Vatican officials continue in a positive vein. We appreciate the Papal Nuncio's efforts to resolve the current situation. We remain hopeful for a resolution of the problem, and there are no fixed deadlines to be met.

A high-level economic delegation will go to Panama next Wednesday, January 3, to confer with Panamanian officials on their economic needs. The delegation will be headed by Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John Robson. They will be accompanied by economic experts from several Federal agencies.

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Houston, Texas, on the Situation in Panama

December 30, 1989

Q. What about Ortega, Mr. President?

The President. Well, actually, the colonel down there expressed regrets, in spite of the fact that they found AK–47's and rocket launchers and automatic machineguns. That shouldn't have happened, and that has been explained to the Nicaraguans. And it's a screwup. And they have expressed their regrets that it took place. But negotiations continue, and I am satisfied that—working closely with the Vatican. Marlin made an appropriate statement yesterday, and I stand by that. General Scowcroft has been working this problem all week, and we're in very close touch with the Vatican officials. So, don't be misled by a spokesman's comment here and there. The problem is being worked, and I am satisfied that our determination to see this man brought to justice will prevail.

Q. What are you going to do about those U.S. diplomats?

The President. Well, that's the problem when you have a mistake like this, but life goes on. I don't know what we're going to do about that, but when you find those kinds of weapons caches—even though, I think in retrospect, shouldn't have gone in there—it makes you wonder exactly what our young men are up against down there.

I don't know what they need rocket launchers for in a man's house. But nevertheless, I've said we shouldn't have gone into that Nicaraguan mission, and they have expressed their regrets. And so, it's the way it is. And I would like to know what the man's doing with rocket launchers and grenades and uzis and automatic weapons up to his eyeballs in his house. Having said that, we should not have gone into the diplomatic premises—but it's a little tense there still. We can handle that.

Q. Are you leaning on the Vatican too hard, Mr. President? Is there a chance——

The President. No. We're in good, close communication with the Vatican. So, Tom [Thomas Raum, Associated Press], don't be misled by a spokesman from the Vatican, there's a little polarization there. We have good relations with the Vatican, and if need be, I'll get on the phone to the Holy Father. I don't think that it'll come to that because we're satisfied that they understand the severity of the problem. They are trying to work it out. They have a history of giving asylum to people who are fleeing, even thugs like Noriega. But they don't want troubled relations with us, and we don't want troubled relations with them. So, give us a little time. The matter will resolve itself. And the man at least is off the streets, not threatening the lives of American kids down there, no longer into some of the horrible things he was in before. So, we need a little time to resolve this in a diplomatic way, and all the wheels of diplomacy are turning right now.

Q. Mr. President, this spring you indicated that you would accept Noriega going to a third country where he could be free of prosecution. What has changed now that that's no longer acceptable?

The President. The death of one marine, the brutalization of a wife of a lieutenant, the death of a lot of our kids—that's what's changed. And that's why I feel very strongly that we're not back to square one. We're not back to the premilitary action phase. And we're not going to go back to it, either. We want this man brought to justice. There is a good indictment against him. And so, we're going to pursue every avenue to bring him to justice, and I'm satisfied that it will happen. In the meantime, we've got very delicate diplomacy there. We don't want to undermine the duly elected regime in Panama. Part of what we wanted to do was see the restoration of democracy. So we're not going to go in there and run roughshod over the Panamanians, either.

They're working hard. They're restoring order; they're bringing tranquillity. We're sending a high-level economic mission down there this week to help restore the Panamanian economy. And so, we want to respect that sovereign right that they have and their democratic process. So, we have a complicated, three-way conundrum at this point, but I am satisfied that we will solve it.

Q. Any idea when some of the troops are going to be coming home?

The President. Very soon, I would think, for some of them. And the sooner that all of them are out, the better, as far as we're concerned. But we don't want to act too precipitously. As we all know, they did a superb job. The matter has been a restored peace and tranquillity, for the most part, to Panama, and that's good. I would like to, at year-end here, salute them once again for what they've done, and I will have an opportunity to shake hands with some of those kids that were wounded down there over in San Antonio tomorrow. But I think the sooner we can have our troops that went down there out, the better it will be.

And of course, we have a large force in SOUTHCOM. They will remain, but we will go forward. I have said to Latin America, and I've said to the Panamanians, this clears the way for the orderly implementation of the Panama Canal treaty. I would expect that the democratically elected government would send up a name that would be ratified by the United States Senate. And all of that is positive. So, when we have these, what I would call momentary glitches, let's not get too concerned. We've got to work the problem, but I don't want to overreact. And I certainly don't want to be juxtaposed against the Vatican because I understand their position. And I am satisfied that they understand mine—or ours—the position of the United States. So, when I get questions, Are they doing this or that?, I try to not respond to them because we've worked closely with them in the past, and we'll continue to work closely.

So, I think it's time to cool it on both sides and let the diplomatic process bring this matter to a happy resolution. And I'm confident that it will; I really am. I'm not trying to mislead you at all. I really believe this matter will be resolved, in one way or another, to the satisfaction of the United States. And I have the responsibility as President for worrying about those families who lost loved ones. And it would not be fair, and it would not be proper, to make some kind of a deal that stops short of seeing this man brought to justice—Noriega.

Q. How about bombarding the Vatican Embassy with rock 'n' roll music? Didn't that aggravate the situation?

The President. I think it aggravated the people inside, and it stopped, I understand. [*Laughter*] It would have aggravated me, I'll tell you. I'm not into rock n' roll—country music, maybe, that's different. [*Laughter*]

Q. Any decision on where the Presidential Library is going to go?

The President. No decision.

Note: The exchange took place at 1 p.m. at the Houstonian Country Club. In his remarks, President Bush referred to Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President; and Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. A reporter referred to President Daniel Ortega Saavedra's objection to the search of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Panama City by U.S. forces. In the morning, President Bush traveled to San Antonio, TX.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in San Antonio, Texas, on United States Military Action in Panama

December 31, 1989

The President. Barbara and I are very pleased to be here to see these heroic men and glad to be addressing the family there in the Panhandle of Texas. Hope you're not freezing to death up there, but good luck to you. And I'll tell you one thing we found is the Army is sure taking good care of these guys, as well they should. But every place I've been, every room, they've been telling me about the wonderful treatment from the doctors and the nurses. So, I want to assure the family that they're looking after this guy. The best of luck for a New Year. Click. [*Laughter*]

All right. We'll see you. Good luck.

Well, having spoken and given a little home video, I might simply say in the midst of this tour that I am extremely grateful to the men and women of the hospitals we've visited for the tender loving care that they're giving our heroic troops and to the soldiers and the SEAL's and the marines that I've met. We tried to tell them how grateful we are.

Q. When will the troops be flying home, Mr. President?

The President. The sooner, the better. The sooner, the better.

Q. Impressed, Mr. President? Impressed with these——

The President. Very moving. Very moving.

Q. Mr. President, is there a lot of movement to get Noriega? There seems to be a lot of talk in Panama today that you're close.

The President. I told you to stay tuned, that we're working the problem. If we have something to announce, well, we'll announce it. But we're——

Q. It sounds like you're pretty close.

Q. ——tell these young men anything about Noriega today, though, can you?

The President. Well, we can tell them that he's not out threatening the lives of Americans, and that's a good message for them. I wish all of you could have heard the spirit of these kids when they were talking. You get the feel of their patriotism and their courage. I'll tell you, it was very, very moving for me and for Barbara.

Q. Was it rough, also, sir? You seem——

The President. I'm not too good at that kind of thing. But, yes, because you identify with these families. This little girl there, I mean——

Mrs. Bush. Tell them about the boy with the flag.

The President. You tell them.

Mrs. Bush. No, I can't.

Q. Tell us, sir

Q. The Attorney General of Panama says if you would like the Vatican to release Noriega to them, and they will file charges——

The President. Well, as I told you yesterday, there's a lot going on and discussions about what'll take place. It doesn't help you all for me just to speculate on this. But we want him brought to justice. It's only fair and right for these kids lying here that that happens, and I'm determined to see that that happens. So, we'll keep working the problem. But I can't help you, because it's just a lot of diplomatic effort going on.

But I'm here, year-end, to salute these courageous men and to tell them, as best I could, how proud we are of them and to say that, in a military sense, everything I've heard is that the operation, though some were desperately hurt and some regrettably killed, was a superb operation. And there should be no second-guessing. And the beautiful thing about this visit is I get strength from them about no second-guessing. They're gutsy, courageous young men, and I just wish you could have heard every single conversation.

Q. Anything about the boy with the flag?

The President. Thank you all. Happy New Year to all of you. Barbara can tell you.

Q. Mrs. Bush, could you?

Mrs. Bush. Let me just tell you. He thanked George and gave him a little American flag. And he said, "This is from all the men in Panama, and I want you to have this from them. And we thank you for sending us." He's a paraplegic.

Q. From this incident?

Mrs. Bush. Right there. He's so sweet. But I mean, he met him. He wasn't—you can't fake that.

Q. Thank you, Mrs. Bush.

The President. You have a Happy New Year!

Note: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. in the Beach Pavilion at Brooke Army Medical Center at Fort Sam Houston following a visit with U.S. troops wounded in Panama. In his opening remarks, he participated in the filming of a home video for Pvt. Scott Tout's family. Later, he referred to 8-year-old Noella Almeida, who was visiting her father at the hospital. Prior to visiting the medical center, the President attended church services at the Kelly Air Force Base chapel and visited the wounded at Wilford Hall Hospital at Lackland Air Force Base.

Appendix A—Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this book.

July 5

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from Walker's Point, their home in Kennebunkport, ME.

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

July 6

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a reception in the East Room for members of the Vote America Foundation, an organization that promotes voter registration among young adults.

The President transmitted to the Congress a package of fiscal year 1990 budget amendments. These proposals included the following:

—$4.4 million for the Executive Office of the President to provide additional resources for the White House Office, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Office of Science and Technology Policy;

—$66 million reduction for funds appropriated to the President. This reduction reflects a decision to restrict investment in management improvement initiatives to high priority projects;

—appropriations language for the Department of Agriculture that would avoid any possibility of an end of year funding shortfall in the Food Stamp Program by providing indefinite spending authority. Similar language has been proposed for fiscal year 1989;

—appropriations language that removes the cap on spending funds for fish and wildlife management and restoration that are derived from certain user fees and excise taxes;

—$58.5 million for the Department of the Treasury to enable the Internal Revenue Service to increase tax collections by $150 million, as specified in the Bipartisan Budget Agreement. This proposal also includes changes in the appropriations language for the United States Mint and the Secret Service;

—$0.3 million appropriations request to provide funding at the authorized level for the Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Commission;

—appropriations language to enable the U.S. Information Agency to reprogram $16 million to provide for the testing and first year of operations for television broadcasting to Cuba (TV Marti).

July 7

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the morning, the President attended a swearing-in ceremony in the Oval Office for Adm. Richard H. Truly as Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

July 9

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush left the White House for a 9-day tour of Europe.

July 10

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush participated in wreath-laying ceremonies at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at Umschlagplatz. Following the ceremonies, the President and Mrs. Bush greeted Jewish leaders and survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto.

In the afternoon, the President met with Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski at the Council of Ministers Building.

July 11

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush flew to Gdansk Airport in Poland, where they were met by local officials. They then went to the Oliwa Cathedral, where they met with Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski and toured the sanctuary.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended wreath-laying ceremonies at the Westerplatte Monument. The President then went to Green Gate in Old Gdansk, where he was welcomed by local officials.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush flew to Ferihegy Airport in Budapest, Hungary, where they were greeted by Hungarian and American officials. Later, President Bush met with President Bruno Straub at the National Parliament Building.

July 12

In the morning, the President met with Károly Grósz and Rezsö Nyers, General Secretary and Chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, respectively. He also met with Prime Minister Miklós Németh and Speaker of the Parliament Matyas Szuros.

In the afternoon, the President met at the U.S. Ambassador's residence with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a reception at the U.S. Ambassador's residence for members of the Hungarian community.

July 13

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush greeted members of the American Embassy community at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. They then flew to Orly Airport in Paris, where they were greeted by French and American officials. Later, they attended a ceremony at the Place du Trocadero celebrating the bicentennial of the French Revolution.

In the afternoon, President Bush attended a luncheon at the Palais de l'Elysee hosted by President François Mitterrand. Following the luncheon, he went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence for a presummit briefing with administration officials. Later, President Bush returned to the Palais de l'Elysee for a meeting with President Mitterrand and French and American officials. Following the meeting, President Bush participated in a Bastille key ceremony and then returned to the U.S. Ambassador's residence.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the opening of the Bastille Opera and then went to the Musée d'Orsay for a dinner hosted by President and Mrs. Mitterrand. Following the dinner, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the U.S. Ambassador's residence.

July 14

In the morning, the President met with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at the U.S. Ambassador's residence for breakfast. The President and Mrs. Bush then attended a Bastille Day parade at the Place de la Concorde.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a garden party hosted by President and Mrs. Mitterrand at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They then went to the Hotel de Lassay for a luncheon celebrating the French bicentennial. Following the luncheon, they returned to the U.S. Ambassador's residence, where President Bush met with President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Prime Minister Sosuke Uno of Japan. President Bush then went to the Pyramide du Louvre, where he attended the opening session of the 15th economic summit of industrialized nations.

In the evening, the President attended a working dinner for summit leaders at the Hotel de la Marine. Following the dinner, he was joined by Mrs. Bush, and they watched a bicentennial parade from the hotel balcony. They then returned to the U.S. Ambassador's residence.

July 15

During the first full day of the economic summit, the President participated in morning and afternoon plenary sessions and attended a working luncheon at the Arche de la Defense.

In the evening, President Bush participated in a summit working session at the Louvre. He then toured a medieval fortress and attended a dinner for summit leaders hosted by President Mitterrand.

July 16

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a church service at the American Cathedral of Paris. The President then participated in morning and afternoon plenary sessions and attended a working luncheon at the Arche de la Defense.

July 17

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush flew to Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, where they were met by Dutch and American officials. Following an arrival ceremony at the airport, they went to Noordeinde Palace, The Hague, where they had tea with Queen Beatrix. The President then met with Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers at Binnenhof, the parliamentary building complex.

In the afternoon, the President attended a working luncheon with Prime Minister Lubbers at Catshuis, the Prime Minister's official residence. Later, the President and Mrs. Bush toured the Pilgrim Fathers Exhibition and attended a reception hosted by local officials in Leiden.

July 18

In the morning, the President met with opposition leader Wim Kok at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. He then had breakfast with Dutch parliamentary leaders and Foreign Affairs Committee members. Following a departure ceremony at Schiphol Airport, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC.

The President declared that major disasters existed in areas of Texas as a result of damage caused by tropical storm Allison that occurred June 25–July 7, and in Connecticut as a result of severe storms, high winds, and tornadoes that struck the western part of the State on July 10. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

July 19

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—members of the congressional leadership, to discuss his recent trip to Europe and economic assistance for Poland and Hungary;
—members of the Cabinet;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual report on developments in the field of automotive products occurring in 1985.

July 20

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—President France Albert René of Seychelles;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

July 21

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—a group of Republican Representatives;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

July 23

The President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

July 24

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—North Korean Foreign Minister Choi Ho Joong, to discuss the stationing of U.S. troops in the Republic of Korea;
—Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago;
—Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President had lunch on Capitol Hill with members of the House Ways and Means Committee.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the House Ways and Means Committee bicentennial dinner on Capitol Hill.

July 25

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Republican congressional leadership;
—Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan and Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr., for lunch;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, in an Oval Office ceremony, the President signed S.J. Res. 137, designating National Law Enforcement Training Week.

July 26

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Senate leadership, to discuss the Japan-U.S. produced FS–X jet fighter;
—Asian-American leaders;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President attended the House Gymnasium dinner on Capitol Hill.

July 27

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—"Say Yes to Education" students;
—the Vice President, for lunch;

—Prince Salman bin 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

July 28

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

The President announced the award of the Presidential Citizens Medal to Ezra Taft Benson.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

July 30

The President returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

July 31

In the evening, the President met at the White House with congressional leaders to discuss the hostage situation in Lebanon.

August 1

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—senior advisers, to discuss the hostage situation in Lebanon;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The White House announced that at the invitation of President Bush, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González Márquez will make an official working visit to Washington in October. Prime Minister González is scheduled to meet with the President on October 19. The President will host a luncheon that same day in honor of the Spanish Prime Minister.

The White House announced that the President called His Holiness Pope John Paul II this afternoon to urge the Holy Father's intercession to have the body of Lt. Col. William R. Higgins returned as a humanitarian gesture, although there was still no direct confirmation of his death.

The President and the Holy Father also discussed the situation in Lebanon, the escalation of the fighting, the shelling, and the difficulty of the Arab League's peace efforts.

August 2

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—senior advisers, to discuss the hostage situation in Lebanon;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—Gov. Bob Martinez of Florida;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President transmitted to the Congress the first biennial revision (1990–91) to the U.S. Arctic Research Plan.

August 3

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—William J. Bennett, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In a ceremony on the State Floor of the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Margaret M. Taylor (New Guinea), Peter Dyvig (Denmark), Anders Thunborg (Sweden), Michael Sherifis (Cyprus), Zulfiqar Ali Khan (Pakistan), and Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nuhayyan (United Arab Emirates).

The President announced the members of the U.S. delegation to the inaugural ceremonies for Jaime Paz Zamora as President of Bolivia, August 4–7:

Delegation Chairman

Lauro F. Cavazos, Secretary of Education

Delegates

B.B. Anderson, of Kansas
Jeanie R. Austin, of Florida
Prescott S. Bush, Jr., of Connecticut
Oscar Padilla, of California

August 4

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Senator George J. Mitchell, to discuss the status of Presidential appointments being considered by the Congress;
—Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;

—the Nicaraguan Resistance Political Military Commission, to discuss the situation in Nicaragua;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President signed H.R. 968, the Noise Reduction Reimbursement Act of 1989.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a baseball game at Memorial Stadium in Baltimore. Following the game, they left for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

August 6

In the evening, the President returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

August 7

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President participated in a swearing-in ceremony in the Oval Office for Michael R. Deland as Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

In the evening, the President telephoned Representative E. Clay Shaw, Jr., who was cohosting a town meeting in Fort Lauderdale, FL, to discuss the rising drug problem in the area.

August 8

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Egyptian Defense Minister Youssef Sabry Abu Taleb;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

August 9

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the morning, the President toured the Saudi cultural exhibition at the Washington Convention Center.

The President sent a message to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan, congratulating him on his election to office.

In the evening, the President telephoned Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel to discuss the hostage situation in the Middle East.

August 10

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—James E. Burke, president of the Media Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a performance of the musical "Gypsy" at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

August 11

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—representatives of the handicapped, to discuss proposed civil rights legislation;
—business community leaders, to discuss proposed civil rights legislation;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

August 13

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

In the evening, the President dined at the Vice President's Residence.

August 14

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In a ceremony in the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Miguel Angel Salaverria (El Salvador), Nuzhet Kandemir (Turkey), Karan Singh (India), and Siosaia Ma'Ulupekotofa Tuita (Tonga).

In the afternoon, the President hosted a reception in the Residence for the George Bush for

President committee and the Victory '88 finance committee.

August 15

The President met at the White House with:
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —members of the Domestic Policy Council;
- —Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning and afternoon, the President attended drug policy discussions in the Roosevelt Room.

August 16

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

August 17

The President met at Walker's Point, his home in Kennebunkport, ME, with Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs.

August 24

The President met with Danish Prime Minister Poul Schlüter at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, ME.

August 28

The President granted an appeal by the State of Maryland for a major disaster declaration to assist in the recovery from damages caused by severe storms and high winds that struck the State on June 14–15. The President's action followed a review of detailed actual cost data compiled by the State and affected local governments, which showed costs of $4.9 million incurred by Montgomery County and several independent local communities.

The President determined that damages to public property in the District of Columbia caused by severe storms and high winds on June 14–15 were severe enough to grant an appeal of an earlier request for a major disaster declaration. The President took the action after reviewing the results of damage survey reassessments conducted by the Federal Emergency Management Agency in the District's Northwest quadrant. These surveys indicated that cleanup costs greatly exceeded original estimates and a severe health and safety problem persisted in the community.

August 30

In the afternoon, the President addressed the Kennebunk-Kennebunkport Chamber of Commerce in Kennebunkport, ME.

Later, the President met with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada for a private working visit at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, ME.

August 31

The President announced that the following individuals will represent him at ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II in Warsaw, Poland, August 31–September 1, 1989:

The President's Personal Representative:

Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward J. Derwinski

Representative:

John R. Davis, Jr., U.S. Ambassador to Poland

September 4

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from their vacation in Kennebunkport, ME.

September 5

The President met at the White House with:
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —the congressional leadership, to discuss the national drug control strategy;
- —enforcement, rehabilitation, and education experts, to discuss the national drug control strategy;
- —drug control working groups, to discuss the national drug control strategy.

In the afternoon, the President held an intergovernmental briefing in the Cabinet Room at the White House to discuss the national drug control strategy.

The President announced his decision to appoint the following individuals as members of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation:

Paul Bateman, Deputy Assistant to the President for Management and Director of the Office of Administration. He would succeed Gordon Grant Riggle.

Jack Kemp, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. He would succeed Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.

Samuel K. Skinner, Secretary of Transportation. He would succeed James H. Burnley IV.

September 6

The President met at the White House with:
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President transmitted to the Congress the 20th annual report of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships and the National Housing Partnership for the fiscal year ending February 28, 1989.

September 7

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of the Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida;
—the Republican congressional leadership;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

September 8

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

September 10

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

September 11

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—British Foreign Secretary John Major, to discuss Prime Minister Thatcher's upcoming visit to Washington and the political situations in Poland, Hungary, and Lebanon;
—Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in Vermont because of severe storms and flooding that occurred August 4–5. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

September 12

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Republican congressional leadership;
—space shuttle *Columbia* crewmembers;
—Indiana Republican Party donors;
—Crown Prince Hassan bin-Talal of Jordan;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

September 13

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—leaders of the national education associations;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

September 14

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be delegates of the United States of America to the 33d Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

James D. Watkins, of California, to be the Representative. Currently, Admiral Watkins serves as the Secretary of Energy.

Kenneth M. Carr, of Connecticut, to be an Alternate Representative. Since 1986, Mr. Carr has served as Commissioner of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in Rockville, MD. Prior to this, Mr. Carr served as Deputy and Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Command and the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet.

Richard T. Kennedy, of the District of Columbia, to be an Alternate Representative. Ambassador Kennedy has served as an Ambassador-at-Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy and Nuclear Energy Affairs at the Department of State, 1982–1988.

Michael H. Newlin, of Maryland, to be an Alternate Representative. Ambassador Newlin currently serves as United States Representative to the Vienna Office of the United Nations and Deputy Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency. Prior to this, he served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs.

In the evening, the President attended a performance of the musical "Three Penny Opera" at the National Theatre.

September 15

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—State legislators and local elected officials;
—President Julio María Sanguinetti of Uruguay;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

September 20

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Republican congressional leadership;
—Gov. Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin;
—education leaders;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—Prime Minister Lloyd Erskine Sandiford of Barbados;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the Virgin Islands as a result of Hurricane Hugo, which struck September 17–18. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to support State and local recovery efforts.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Representatives and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Pearl Bailey, of Arizona, to be a Representative. Mrs. Bailey is an entertainer and author.

Sam Gejdenson, of Connecticut, to be a Representative. Mr. Gejdenson is a U.S. Representative from the State of Connecticut.

Thomas R. Pickering, of New Jersey, to be a Representative. Ambassador Pickering is U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Christopher H. Smith, of New Jersey, to be a Representative. Mr. Smith is a U.S. Representative from the State of New Jersey.

Alexander F. Watson, of Massachusetts, to be a Representative. Currently he serves as the Ambassador to Peru.

Barbara H. Franklin, of Pennsylvania, to be an Alternate Representative. Ms. Franklin serves as president and chief executive officer of Franklin Associates in Washington, DC.

Gary E. MacDougal, of Illinois, to be an Alternate Representative. He has served as chairman, chief executive officer, and chairman of the board for Mark Controls Corp. in Skokie, IL.

Jonathan Moore, of Massachusetts, to be an Alternate Representative. Currently Mr. Moore serves as Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations.

Milton J. Wilkinson, of New Hampshire, to be an Alternate Representative. Currently Mr. Wilkinson serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to appoint Samuel K. Skinner to be a member of the Advisory Commission on Conferences in Ocean Shipping. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Skinner serves as the Secretary of Transportation.

September 21

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—former President Jimmy Carter, to discuss the upcoming Nicaraguan national elections;
—William J. Bennett, Reggie Walton, and Herbert Kleber, Director, Associate Director, and Deputy Director of National Drug Control Policy, respectively, to discuss drug control strategy;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President transmitted to the Congress the Commodity Credit Corporation report for fiscal year 1986 and the report on U.S. Government involvement in the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

September 22

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—His Holiness Pope Shenouda III of the Coptic Christian Church, to demonstrate support for pluralism and interfaith relations in the Middle East;
—Linda Evans, honorary chairman of the Take Pride in America program.

In the morning, the President attended a ceremony marking the bicentennial of the Office of the Attorney General at the Departmental Auditorium in Washington, DC. He then addressed members of the farming community in a radio broadcast from the Department of Agriculture.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in South Carolina as a result of Hurricane Hugo, which struck September 21–22. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to support State and local recovery efforts.

September 25

In the morning, the President traveled from Kennebunkport, ME, to New York, NY.

In the afternoon, the President met with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra. Following the meeting, the President traveled to the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, where he hosted a luncheon in the Conrad Room for North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies.

Following the luncheon, President Bush participated in bilateral meetings with: President José Sarney Costa of Brazil, Vice Prime Minister and Finance Minister Shimon Peres of Israel, President Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo of Guatemala, President Jaime Paz Zamora of Bolivia, and President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela. Later President Bush met with Foreign Minister Moshe Arens of Israel.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a diplomatic reception and dinner at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Following the dinner, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC.

The President declared a major disaster existed in the State of North Carolina and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Hugo on September 22. The President's action affected individuals and local governments in Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, and Union Counties.

September 26

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—West German Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg and CSU Party chairman Dr. Theo Waigel;

—nuclear arms control negotiators;

—the congressional leadership;

—the Business Roundtable Education Task Force.

In the late afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a reception in the Residence for the Finance Ministers of the Group of Seven industrialized nations and commercial bankers.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the American Film Institute 25th anniversary dinner at the National Building Museum.

September 27

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—Greg LeMond, winner of the Tour de France;

—Brent Royer, Boys Club of America National Youth of the Year.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush left the White House to attend the education summit in Charlottesville, VA.

The President designated the following individuals to serve as members of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation:

Charles H. Dallara, an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Michael Philip Skarzynski, an Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

September 28

Throughout the day, the President and Mrs. Bush participated in working group sessions with Governors and Cabinet members at the education summit in Charlottesville, VA.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following-named persons to be members of the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism (new positions):

Member and Chairman:

Ann Dore McLaughlin, of the District of Columbia, currently a visiting fellow at the Urban Institute in Washington, DC, and former Secretary of Labor.

Members:

Edward Hidalgo, of Virginia, currently an attorney in private practice.

Gen. Thomas C. Richards, of Texas, currently the Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command, Stuttgart-Vaigingen, West Germany.

Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, of New York.

Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, of New Jersey.

Representative John Paul Hammerschmidt, of Arkansas.

Representative James L. Oberstar, of Minnesota.

September 29

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—Crown Prince Felipe of Spain;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President signed the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1990, in an Oval Office ceremony.

The President also signed the National Quality Month proclamation in an Oval Office ceremony.

The President appointed the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for a term of 2 years:

Debra Rae Anderson, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House. She would succeed Karen Spencer.

Arthur J. Holland, Mayor of Trenton, NJ. He would succeed Henry W. Maier.

Mary Ellen Joyce, of Virginia. She serves as a State government relations representative. She would succeed James S. Dwight, Jr.

Samuel Knox Skinner, Secretary of Transportation. He would succeed Ann Dore McLaughlin.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

October 1

In the evening, the President returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

October 2

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak of Egypt;
—Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Associate Directors of the Office of Science and Technology Policy:

J. Thomas Ratchford, of Virginia. He would succeed John P. McTague. Currently Dr. Ratchford serves as associate executive officer for the American Association for Advancement of Science in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as a science consultant for the Committee on Science and Technology of the United States House of Representatives, 1970–1977; and as a research scholar at the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Laxenburg, Austria, 1976.

James B. Wyngaarden, of North Carolina. He would succeed Thomas P. Rona. Since 1982 Dr. Wyngaarden has served as Director of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, MD. Prior to this, he served as Frederic M. Hanes professor and chairman of the department of medicine at Duke University, 1967–1982.

October 3

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff;
—Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

October 4

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President attended a fundraising dinner for Republican gubernatorial candidate J. Marshall Coleman in Chantilly, VA. He then attended the Challenger Center for Space Education gala dinner at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel in Washington, DC.

October 5

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—prospective State legislative candidates;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—members of the Commission on Workforce Quality and Labor Market Efficiency;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President attended a memorial service for Bishop John Walker at National Cathedral.

October 6

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

The President directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to increase Federal disaster relief assistance to South Carolina.

October 8

In the afternoon, the President addressed the National Federation of Republican Women at the Convention Center in Baltimore, MD. Following his remarks, he returned to Camp David, MD.

October 9

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House.

October 10

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—members of the Cabinet;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to increase Federal disaster relief assistance to Puerto Rico for the restoration of property damaged by Hurricane Hugo.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the world premiere of the President's Ballet, performed by the Joffrey Ballet at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

October 11

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President announced his intention to appoint John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

October 12

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

The President directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to increase Federal disaster relief assistance to the U.S. Virgin Islands for the restoration of property damaged by Hurricane Hugo.

October 13

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President attended the Republican Eagles luncheon at the Grand Hyatt Hotel. He then returned to the White House, where he participated in a swearing-in ceremony for D. Allan Bromley as Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy.

Later, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

October 15

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

October 16

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Dr. T.D. Lee, physicist and Nobel Prize winner, to discuss educational and scientific cooperation between China and the United States;
—Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a dinner in the Residence for Adm. and Mrs. William J. Crowe, Jr.

October 17

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—members of the Cabinet;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, the President participated in a swearing-in ceremony in the Oval Office for Daphne W. Murray as Director of the Institute of Museum Services.

The President announced his intention to nominate Bernard W. Aronson to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for the remainder of the term expiring September 20, 1990. He would succeed Elliot Abrams. Currently Mr. Aronson serves as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

October 18

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, for a status report on the San Francisco Bay area earthquake;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Republican congressional leadership;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President attended a fundraising dinner for Senator Ted Stevens at the Madison Hotel.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in California as a result of the earthquake that struck October 17. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts. The President's action affected the city and county of San Francisco, and Alameda, Monterey, San Benito, San Mateo, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz Counties.

October 19

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President visited the "Witness to History—150 Years of Photo Journalism" exhibit at Union Station.

October 22

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

October 23

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

October 24

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss the budget and the capital gains tax;

—spouses of Cabinet members, for lunch;

—members of the House of Representatives Republican Research Committee's Project 101 group, which is concerned with environmental and conservation issues;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In a ceremony in the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Peter Varkonyi (Hungary), Stanislaus Garikai Chigwedere (Zimbabwe), Mohamed Sadiq Al-Mashat (Iraq), Guido Di Tella (Argentina), Paul J.F. Lusaka (Zambia), and Christos Zacharakis (Greece).

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Chairman and members of the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee:

Chairman:

Paul H. O'Neill, of Pennsylvania. Mr. O'Neill is chief executive officer of the Aluminum Company of America.

Members:

John F. Akers, of Connecticut. Mr. Akers is chairman of the board of the International Business Machines Corp.

Lamar Alexander, of Tennessee. Mr. Alexander is president of the University of Tennessee.

Carolyn R. Bacon, of Texas. Ms. Bacon is executive director of the O'Donnell Foundation.

Thomas E. Barton, Jr., of South Carolina. Mr. Barton is president of Greenville Technical College.

William E. Brock, of Tennessee. Mr. Brock is president of the Brock Group.

Juana Dainis, of New York. Ms. Dainis is deputy superintendent of schools, District 4, East Harlem, New York City.

James E. Duffy, of New York. Mr. Duffy is vice president of Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.

Jaime Escalante, of California. Mr. Escalante is an educator at Garfield High School in Los Angeles.

Marvin L. Esch, of Michigan. Mr. Esch is president of the Communications Group.

H. Dean Evans, of Indiana. Mr. Evans is superintendent of public instruction for the State of Indiana.

Chester E. Finn, Jr., of Maryland. Mr. Finn is director of the Educational Excellence Network.

Keith B. Geiger, of Michigan. Mr. Geiger is president of the National Education Association.

Wyatt T. Johnson, Jr., of California. Mr. Johnson is vice chairman of the Times-Mirror Co.

Thomas H. Kean, of New Jersey. Mr. Kean is Governor of New Jersey.

David T. Kearns, of Connecticut. Mr. Kearns is chief executive officer of Xerox Corp.

Ann Lynch, of Nevada. Ms. Lynch is president of the National Parents and Teachers Association.

Modesto Maidique, of Florida. Mr. Maidique is president of Florida International University.

Joe Nathan, of Minnesota. Mr. Nathan is senior fellow at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota.

James R. Oglesby, of Virginia. Mr. Oglesby is president of the National School Boards Association.

Frank H.T. Rhodes, of New York. Mr. Rhodes is president of Cornell University.

Albert Shanker, of Washington, DC. Mr. Shanker is president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Donald M. Stewart, of New York. Mr. Stewart is president of the College Board.

Robert M. Teeter, of Michigan. Mr. Teeter is president of the Coldwater Corp.

October 25

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the Presi-

dent for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —a group of Democratic Senators, to discuss the capital gains tax;
- —Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations for terms of 2 years:

Edwin L. Artzt, of Ohio. Mr. Artzt is vice chairman of the board and president of Procter and Gamble in Cincinnati, OH.

Curtis H. Barnette, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Barnette is senior vice president and director of Bethlehem Steel Corp. in Bethlehem, PA.

Lawrence A. Bossidy, of Connecticut. Mr. Bossidy is vice chairman of the board of General Electric in Fairfield, CT.

Donald Butler, of California. Mr. Butler is president of Shasta Foods International in Gonzales, CA.

Trammell Crow, of Texas. Mr. Crow is chairman of Trammell Crow Co. in Dallas, TX.

Dean R. Kleckner, of Iowa. Mr. Kleckner is president of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Park Ridge, IL.

N.J. Nicholas, Jr., of New York. Mr. Nicholas is president and chief executive officer of Time, Inc., in New York City.

John J. Phelan, Jr., of New York. Mr. Phelan is chairman and chief executive officer of the New York Stock Exchange in New York City.

Lawrence R. Pugh, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Pugh is chairman and chief executive officer of VF Corp. in Wyomissing, PA.

James D. Robinson III, of Connecticut. Mr. Robinson is chairman, chief executive officer, and president of the American Express Co. in New York City.

George A. Schaefer, of Illinois. Mr. Schaefer is chairman and chief executive officer of Caterpillar, Inc., in Peoria, IL.

Frank A. Shrontz, of Washington. Mr. Shrontz is chairman and chief executive officer of the Boeing Co. in Seattle, WA.

Linda J. Wachner, of California. Ms. Wachner is president and chief executive officer of Warnaco, Inc., in New York City.

Marina v. N. Whitman, of Michigan. Dr. Whitman is vice president and a group executive of the General Motors Corp. in Detroit, MI.

October 26

The President met at the White House with:
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —the Vice President, for lunch;
- —Members of Congress and the Cabinet, to discuss new food safety proposals;
- —Yevgeniy Primakov, head of a delegation of Members of the Soviet Parliament;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

October 27

In the morning, the President traveled to San José, Costa Rica, to attend the centennial celebration of Costa Rican democracy. Upon arrival, the President met with President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica at the Hotel Cariari. He then attended the welcoming session for regional leaders at the Cariari Club Convention Hall. Following the session, the President went to his suite, his residence during his stay in Costa Rica.

In the afternoon, the President attended a luncheon for regional leaders in the Salon Corcori at the hotel. Following the luncheon, he went to the Cariari Club Conference Room for a working session with regional leaders.

In the evening, the President attended a reception and dinner for regional leaders at the National Theater. Following the dinner, the President returned to the Hotel Cariari.

October 28

In the morning, the President attended a coffee for regional leaders at the Salon Corcori. Later, he toured the National Museum with Secretary of State James A. Baker III and participated in the dedication ceremony of Democracy Plaza.

In the afternoon, the President left San José and returned to Washington, DC.

October 29

The President received a telephone call from former President Ronald Reagan on the status of Japan-U.S. relations following Mr. Reagan's trip to Japan.

October 30

The President met at the White House with:
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President transmitted to the Congress the report on Federal energy conservation programs for fiscal year 1988.

October 31

The President met at the White House with:
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —the congressional leadership;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

November 1

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The White House announced that in accordance with an agreement with Maltese authorities the informal meeting between President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev will take place December 2 and 3 on U.S. and Soviet naval vessels in the waters off Malta.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House for members of Team 101, a national volunteer service group.

November 2

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—officers of the National Association of Home Builders;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President hosted a reception on the State Floor at the White House for members of the Media Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America.

November 3

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

Following his visits to Richmond and Norfolk, VA, and Bloomfield, NJ, the President went to Camp David, MD, for a weekend stay.

November 4

In the morning, the President met with advisers at Camp David, MD, to discuss his upcoming meeting with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union.

November 5

In the evening, President Bush had dinner with former President Richard M. Nixon in the Residence to discuss Mr. Nixon's trip to China.

November 6

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—Prime Minister Kamisese Mara of Fiji;

—former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, for lunch, to discuss current developments in the Soviet Union;

—Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, Secretary of State of the Vatican;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the afternoon, the President attended a reception in the Residence for members of GOPAC, an organization which provides instruction and information on promoting Republican candidates on the local level.

November 7

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—leaders of the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, an organization which provides relief and welfare services to Jewish communities in 34 countries;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President attended a fundraising reception for Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon at the National Republican Senatorial Committee headquarters.

November 8

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President;

—the Republican congressional leadership;

—members of the Heritage Foundation's President's Club.

The White House announced the members of the Presidential delegation to observe the Constituent Assembly election in Namibia, November 9–15:

Delegation Chairman

The Honorable Edmund Muskie

Congressional Delegates

The Honorable Dan Burton (R-IN)
The Honorable Robert Dornan (R-CA)

The Honorable Donald M. Payne (D-NJ)

Public Delegate

The Honorable John Bolton, Assistant Secretary of State

Private Delegates

Fred Bush (MD)
Hodding Carter (VA)
Maurice Dawkins (VA)
Jeanne Ferst (GA)
Jack Stein (NY)
Dr. Alvin Thomas (TX)

November 9

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in Buchanan County, Virginia as a result of severe storms, flooding, and mudslides that occurred October 16–17. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement local recovery efforts.

The White House announced that the President will meet with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir on Wednesday, November 15. The Prime Minister will be in Washington for a private visit. The President is taking advantage of this opportunity to meet with Prime Minister Shamir to discuss how to advance the Middle East peace process.

In the evening, the President hosted a state dinner for President Corazon C. Aquino of the Philippines in the State Dining Room at the White House.

November 10

In the morning, the President traveled to Dallas, TX.

November 11

The White House announced that Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev sent an informal message to President Bush on Friday, November 10, to express his support for the decisions being taken by the new East German leadership. He underscored the importance of the changes taking place there and expressed the hope that the situation will remain calm and peaceful. The informal message was sent by cable and delivered to President Bush Friday afternoon in Dallas, TX.

November 13

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, the President participated in a swearing-in ceremony in the Oval Office for John Frohnmayer as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.

November 14

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Kiichi Miyazawa, senior leader of the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan;
—President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia;
—members of the Presidential Election Monitoring Commission on Nicaragua;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President received the official 1989 Christmas Seals of the American Lung Association from the honorary chairmen, Tom and Dick Smothers.

In the evening, the President hosted a dinner in the Residence for Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

November 15

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Vice President, for lunch.

In the morning, the President participated in a swearing-in ceremony for Jane Kenny as Director of ACTION in the Oval Office at the White House.

November 16

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, the President attended the funeral of C. Fred Chambers in Houston, TX. He returned to the White House in the afternoon.

The White House announced President Bush sent a message to Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev expressing support for the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

November 17

The President met at the White House with:

- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —black leaders, to discuss the Commission on Civil Rights and other issues;
- —space shuttle *Atlantis* crewmembers;
- —Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
- —former U.S. Ambassadors to the Soviet Union, including George F. Kennan, Malcolm Toon, Thomas J. Watson, and Arthur A. Hartman, to discuss the upcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Malta;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual report on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System for calendar year 1987.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

November 18

President Bush met at Camp David with private sector specialists and scholars to discuss the Soviet Union and East-West relations, in preparation for his upcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Malta.

November 19

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

November 20

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the morning, the President traveled to Chicago, IL.

November 21

The President met at the White House with:

- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick and former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, to discuss the upcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Malta;
- —members of the congressional leadership;
- —conservative evangelical leaders;
- —the Education Policy Advisory Committee;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, the President signed the National Family Week proclamation in an Oval Office ceremony.

In the afternoon, the President participated in a swearing-in ceremony for Martin L. Allday as Chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

November 22

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

The President met at the Memphis Baptist Medical Center in Memphis, TN, with Roy Lee "Chucky" Mullins, a 20-year-old University of Mississippi football player who was seriously injured in the football game with Vanderbilt University on October 28th.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the Louisiana Parishes of Jefferson, Orleans, and St. Charles as a result of heavy rains and flooding that occurred November 7–9. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement local recovery efforts.

November 26

In the morning, the President met with advisers at Camp David, MD, to discuss his upcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Malta. In the afternoon, he returned to the White House.

November 27

The President met at the White House with:

- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, to discuss the Chairman's recent trip to the Soviet Union and Soviet economic policy;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

November 28

The President met at the White House with:

- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —advisers and staff, for a series of briefings on his upcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Malta;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

November 29

The President met at the White House with:

- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President;
- —advisers and staff, for a briefing on his upcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

November 30

The President met at the White House with:

- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —the Cabinet;
- —the Vice President, for lunch;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, the President telephoned Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy and President François Mitterrand of France to discuss his upcoming meeting with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union.

The President recess-appointed the following persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation:

John N. Erlenborn, of Virginia. He will succeed Pepe J. Mendez, resigned. Mr. Erlenborn is a partner with the law firm of Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather & Geraldson, of Washington, DC.

J. Blakeley Hall, of Texas. He will succeed Leaanne Bernstein, term expired. Mr. Hall is an attorney with the Law Offices of Ralph M. Hall, of Rockwall, TX.

The White House announced that the President has invited Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva of Portugal to make an official working visit to the United States. Prime Minister Cavaco has accepted the invitation and will meet with the President at the White House on January 11.

The President transmitted to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate the Aggregate Report on Personnel for fiscal year 1989.

December 1

In the morning, the President arrived at Luga Airport in Valletta, Malta, for his meetings with Chairman Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union. At the airport, the President was greeted by Maltese and American officials. The President then went to l'Auberge de Castille, where he met with Prime Minister Eddie Fenech Adami of Malta.

In the afternoon, the President went to the U.S.S. *Belknap,* his residence during the meetings with Chairman Gorbachev.

In the evening, the President attended a dinner aboard the U.S.S. *Belknap,* where he was joined by Sally Novetzke, U.S. Ambassador to Malta, and her husband, Dick Novetzke; Vice Adm. James D. Williams, commander of the 6th Fleet, and his wife, Dorothy Williams; Capt. John F. Sigler, commanding officer of the U.S.S. *Belknap;* and Dr. Burton Lee, Physician to the President.

December 2

In the afternoon and evening, the President met with his advisers to discuss that day's meetings with Soviet Chairman Gorbachev.

December 3

In the afternoon, the President left Malta and flew to Zaventem Airport in Brussels, Belgium.

December 4

In the morning, the President went to Laeken Palace, where he met with King Baudouin of Belgium.

Later that morning, the President traveled to North Atlantic Treaty Organization Headquarters, where he met with Secretary General Manfred Woerner and participated in morning and afternoon working sessions and a luncheon with NATO heads of state and foreign ministers. Following the working sessions, he met at NATO Headquarters with members of the U.S. missions to Belgium, NATO, and the European Communities.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC. Later, he called President Corazon Aquino to discuss the military coup attempt which was taking place in the Philippines.

December 5

The President met at the White House with:

- —the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- —Richard G. Darman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, to discuss the budget process;
- —members of the Cabinet;
- —John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, the President called Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom to discuss European political and economic integration.

December 6

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Bettino Craxi, secretary of the Italian Socialist Party;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

December 7

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the congressional leadership.

In the morning, the President traveled to Houston, TX.

December 8

In the morning, the President traveled to Denver, CO.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Des Moines, IA, and participated in a live interview at radio station WHO.

December 10

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the Christmas in Washington show at the Pension Building.

December 11

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, for lunch;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a congressional ball on the State Floor at the White House.

December 12

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney;
—business leaders;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor at the White House.

December 13

The President met at the White House with:
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan;
—Director of the Office of Management and Budget Richard G. Darman, to discuss the budget;
—Sheikh Gad al-Haq of Egypt;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Commission of Fine Arts for a term of 4 years:

Adele Chatfield-Taylor, of New York. She would succeed Roy M. Goodman. Currently Mrs. Chatfield-Taylor serves as president of the American Academy in Rome, NY. Mrs. Chatfield-Taylor graduated from Manhattanville College (B.A., 1966) and Columbia University (M.S., 1973). She was born January 29, 1945, in Washington, DC. Mrs. Chatfield-Taylor is married and resides in New York.

George E. Hartman, of Maryland. He would succeed Frederick Elliot Hart. Currently Mr. Hartman serves as a partner with Hartman-Cox Architects in Washington, DC. Mr. Hartman graduated from Princeton University (B.A., 1957; M.F.A., 1960). He was born May 7, 1936, in Fort Hancock, NJ. Mr. Hartman is married, has two children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships:

Frederick S. Benson III, of Virginia. He would succeed Rita Moreno. Since 1983 Mr. Benson has served as vice president of the Weyerhaeuser Co. in Washington, DC. In addition, Mr. Benson was a White House fellow, 1973–1974. Mr. Benson graduated from Lafayette College (B.A., 1959); Auburn University (M.A., 1969); and Harvard Business School (A.M.P., 1986). He was born April 28, 1938, in Syracuse, NY. Mr. Benson is married, has one child, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Steven R. Hill, of Washington. He would succeed Teresa Moran Schwartz. Currently Mr. Hill serves as vice president of employee relations for the Weyerhaeuser Co. in Tacoma, WA. In addition, Mr. Hill was a White House fellow, 1975, and has served as a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. Mr. Hill graduated from the University of California (B.S., 1969) and the University of California at Los Angeles (M.B.A., 1971). He was born May 17, 1947, in Oakland, CA. Mr. Hill is married, has two children, and resides in Tacoma, WA.

December 14

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—members of the Conservative Group.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor at the White House.

The President recess-appointed the following individuals:

Dennis M. Devaney, of Maryland, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years expiring December 16, 1994, effective December 17, 1989.

Clifford R. Oviatt, Jr., of Virginia, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring August 27, 1993.

December 15

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

December 17

In the afternoon, the President met at the White House with national security advisers, to discuss the situation in Panama.

December 18

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—Senators Robert Dole of Kansas, Larry Pressler of South Dakota, and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and several of their constituents;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the morning, the President participated in an interview with wire service reporters.

In the early afternoon, the President participated in a taping session for various public service announcements.

Later, in a ceremony in the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Julien Kavakure (Burundi), Jean-Pierre Sohahong-Kombet (Central African Republic), Zhu Qizhen (China), Wilfred I. Kendall (Marshall Islands), Abdikarim Ali Omar (Somalia), and Fili Tuaopepe Wendt (Western Samoa).

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas party in the Residence for members of the White House staff.

December 19

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor at the White House.

Throughout the evening, the President was in contact with the congressional leadership and world leaders, to discuss the U.S. military action in Panama.

December 20

Throughout the day, the President received updated reports on the U.S. military action in Panama.

In a ceremony in the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Jorge Crespo-Velasco (Bolivia), Carlos Morales Troncoso (Dominican Republic), Jacques Andreani (France), Ryohei Murata (Japan), Pierrot Jocelyn Rajaonarivelo (Madagascar), and Dzevad Mujezinovic (Yugoslavia).

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission for a term of 1 year:

William J. Bennett. He would succeed Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr. Currently, William Bennett serves as Director of National Drug Control Policy.

Lauro Cavazos. He would succeed Lawrence F. Davenport. Currently, Secretary Cavazos serves as the Secretary of Education.

Jack Kemp. He would succeed Richard E. Lyng. Currently, Secretary Kemp serves as the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Constance B. Newman. She would succeed Charles Z. Wick. Currently, Ms. Newman serves as Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

The White House announced that President Bush has invited President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih of the Yemen Arab Republic to make a state visit to the United States. President Salih has accepted the invitation and will meet with President Bush at the White House on January 24.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor at the White House.

December 21

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan;
—Andre Ware, 1989 Heisman Trophy winner;
—leaders of the Presidential Economic Delegation to Poland;
—Richard G. Darman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas party for White House Residence staff on the State Floor at the White House.

The President announced the members of the Presidential delegation to the funeral services of the Prime Minister of Grenada, December 22:

Delegation Chairman
The Honorable John F. Lehman, Jr., of New York;

Congressional Delegate
The Honorable Bob Livingston, of Louisiana;

Private Delegate
Maurice Turner, of the District of Columbia;

Government Delegates
Dr. Timothy F. Ashby, of Virginia; and
Nancy P. Dorn, of Virginia.

December 22

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the morning, the President called Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney, to discuss the situation in Panama.

The President also called Gen. Carl E. Vuono, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, to discuss visiting the military personnel wounded in Panama.

In the afternoon, the President went to Camp David, MD, for the Christmas holiday.

December 24

In the morning, the President placed telephone calls from Camp David, MD, to U.S. military personnel through the Armed Forces Radio Network. He then went to the Pentagon, where he recorded his Christmas message for the U.S. Armed Forces and met with his national security advisers to discuss the situation in Panama. Afterwards, he returned to Camp David to spend Christmas with his family.

December 26

The President met with his national security advisers to discuss the situations in Panama and Romania.

December 27

In the morning, the President traveled to Corpus Christi, TX.

December 28

In the morning, the President received a written intelligence briefing.

The White House announced that the President sent a message to Prime Minister Robert Hawke of Australia expressing his condolences at the loss of life and destruction of property as a result of the earthquake in Newcastle.

December 29

In the morning, the President traveled to Houston, TX.

Appendix B—Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted July 11

Arthur W. Fort,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, vice Sheldon J. Krys, resigned.

Raymond Charles Ewing,
of Virginia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Ghana.

Eric M. Javits,
of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Venezuela.

Jerry Alexander Moore, Jr.,
of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Lesotho.

Edward Joseph Perkins,
of Oregon, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Director General of the Foreign Service, vice George Southall Vest, resigned.

Michael G. Sotirhos,
of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Greece.

Joy A. Silverman,
of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Barbados, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Commonwealth of Dominica, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Saint Lucia, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

Thomas F. Stroock,
of Wyoming, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Guatemala.

Evelyn Irene Hoopes Teegen,
of Minnesota, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Fiji, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Tonga, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Tuvalu, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Kiribati.

Alexander Fletcher Watson,
of Massachusetts, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be the Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

Milton James Wilkinson,
of New Hampshire, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Deputy Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador.

Linda M. Combs,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice Jill E. Kent, resigned.

Martin C. Faga,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, vice Tidal W. McCoy, resigned.

Gilbert E. Carmichael,
of Mississippi, to be Administrator of the Federal Railroad Administration, vice John H. Riley, resigned.

Michelle Easton,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Under Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs, Department of Education, vice Peter R. Greer, resigned, to which position she was appointed during the recess of the Senate from October 22, 1988, to January 3, 1989.

Harry M. Snyder,
of Kentucky, to be Director of the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, vice Robert H. Gentile, resigned.

Jane A. Kenny,
of Virginia, to be Director of ACTION, vice Donna M. Alvarado, resigned.

Alfred C. Sikes,
of Missouri, to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for a term of 5 years from July 1, 1988, vice Mary Ann Weyforth Dawson, resigned.

Jean McKee,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years expiring July 1, 1994 (reappointment).

Kathleen Day Koch,
of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years, vice Dennis M. Devaney, to which position she was appointed during the recess of the Senate from October 22, 1988, to January 3, 1989.

Janet Dempsey Steiger,
of the District of Columbia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of 7 years from September 26, 1988, vice Daniel Oliver, term expired.

Daphne Wood Murray,
of Texas, to be Director of the Institute of Museum Services, vice Lois Burke Shepard, resigned.

Eugene P. Kopp,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Director of the United States Information Agency, vice Marvin L. Stone, resigned.

Withdrawn July 11

Robert H. Gentile,
of Ohio, to be Director of the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, vice Jed Dean Christensen, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Michelle Easton,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Under Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs, Department of Education, vice Peter R. Greer, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Jane A. Kenny,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Director of ACTION, vice Henry M. Ventura, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Kathleen Day Koch,
of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years, vice Dennis M. Devaney, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted July 14

Richard Anthony Moore,
of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Ireland.

Dennis Edward Kloske,
of Virginia, to be Under Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration, vice Paul Freedenberg, resigned.

Michael R. Deland,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Council on Environmental Quality, vice A. Alan Hill, resigned.

Submitted July 17

William Lacy Swing,
of North Carolina, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of South Africa.

Johnny Young,
of Pennsylvania, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Sierra Leone.

Thomas C. Dawson II,
of the District of Columbia, to be United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 2 years, vice Charles H. Dallara, resigned.

John W. Shannon,
of Maryland, to be Under Secretary of the Army, vice Michael P.W. Stone, resigned.

Anne Newman Foreman,
of Maryland, to be Under Secretary of the Air Force, vice James F. McGovern, resigned.

Gwendolyn S. King,
of the District of Columbia, to be Commissioner of Social Security, vice Dorcas R. Hardy, resigned.

Allen B. Clark, Jr.,
of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Veterans Liaison and Program Coordination) (new position—Public Law 100–527).

Linda J. Fisher,
of Ohio, to be Assistant Administrator for Toxic Substances of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice John Arthur Moore, resigned.

Herbert D. Kleber,
of Connecticut, to be Deputy Director for Demand Reduction, Office of National Drug Control Policy (new position).

Submitted July 18

Howard K. Walker,
of New Jersey, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Federal Islamic Republic of Comoros.

Lannon Walker,
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Glen A. Holden,
of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Jamaica.

John A. Betti,
of Michigan, to be Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, vice Robert B. Costello, resigned.

Submitted July 20

Sheldon J. Krys,
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security, vice Robert E. Lamb, resigned.

Sally J. Novetzke,
of Iowa, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Malta.

Loret Miller Ruppe,
of Maryland, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Norway.

Nicolas Miklos Salgo,
of Florida, for the rank of Ambassador in his capacity as the Special Negotiator for Property Issues.

John A. Knauss,
of Rhode Island, to be Under Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere, vice William Evans, resigned.

Richard Schmalensee,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers, vice Thomas Gale Moore, resigned.

Clifford R. Oviatt, Jr.,
of Virginia, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring August 27, 1993, vice Wilford W. Johansen, resigned.

Donald F. Rodgers,
of Maryland, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring December 16, 1992, vice John E. Higgins, Jr.

Withdrawn July 20

John E. Higgins, Jr.,
of Maryland, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for a term of 5 years expiring December 16, 1992, vice Donald L. Dotson, term expired, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Wilford W. Johansen,
of California, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for a term of 5 years expiring August 27, 1993, reappointment, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted July 24

Mark Gregory Hambley,
of Idaho, a Foreign Service officer of Class One, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Qatar.

Charles Warren Hostler,
of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Bahrain.

Gordon K. Durnil,
of Indiana, to be a Commissioner on the part of the United States on the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada, vice Robert C. McEwen, resigned.

Wayne A. Budd,
of Massachusetts, to be United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts for the term of 4 years, vice Frank L. McNamara, Jr.

Victor Stello, Jr.,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Defense Programs), vice Sylvester R. Foley, Jr., resigned.

J. Clarence Davies,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice Linda J. Fisher, resigned.

David C. Williams,
of Illinois, to be Inspector General, Nuclear Regulatory Commission (new position).

Submitted July 25

Raymond G.H. Seitz,
of Texas, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, vice Rozanne L. Ridgway, resigned.

Michael P.W. Stone,
of California, to be Secretary of the Army, vice John O. Marsh, Jr., resigned.

John T. Martino,
of Pennsylvania, to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, vice Anthony H. Murray, Jr., resigned.

John M. Sayre,
of Colorado, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, vice James W. Ziglar, resigned.

Stanley E. Morris,
of the District of Columbia, to be Deputy Director for Supply Reduction, Office of National Drug Control Policy (new position).

Submitted July 26

Barbara E. McTurk,
of Colorado, to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at Denver, vice Cynthia Jeanne Grassby Baker, resigned.

JoAnn Krukar Webb,
of Virginia, to be Director of the National Cemetery System, Department of Veterans Affairs (new position).

Robert R. Randlett,
of New Jersey, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice W. Antoinette Ford, resigned.

Submitted July 31

Stephen J. Markman,
of Michigan, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan for the term of 4 years, vice Roy C. Hayes, resigned.

Pamela Talkin,
of California, to be a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years expiring July 1, 1990, vice Henry Bowen Frazier III, resigned.

Submitted August 1

Paul Matthews Cleveland,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Malaysia.

J. Daniel Howard,
of Tennessee, to be Under Secretary of the Navy, vice H. Lawrence Garrett III, resigned.

Terrence O'Donnell,
of the District of Columbia, to be General Counsel of the Department of Defense, vice Kathleen A. Buck, resigned.

Jonathan Moore,
of Massachusetts, to be the Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador.

William P. Albrecht,
of Iowa, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for the term expiring April 13, 1993, vice William E. Seale, resigned, to which position he was appointed during the recess of the Senate from October 22, 1988, to January 3, 1989.

Withdrawn August 1

William P. Albrecht,
of Iowa, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for the term expiring April 13, 1993, vice William E. Seale, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted August 2

James Richard Cheek,
of Arkansas, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Sudan.

Ronald J. Sorini,
of the District of Columbia, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as the United States Negotiator on Textile Matters.

Submitted August 3

Stephen Read Hanmer, Jr.,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, vice George F. Murphy, Jr., resigned.

Submitted August 4

Christopher H. Phillips,
of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Brunei Darussalam.

William Ludwig Jacobsen, Jr.,
of Washington, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Penne Percy Korth,
of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Mauritius.

Elizabeth M. Tamposi,
of New Hampshire, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs, vice Joan M. Clark, resigned.

Sidney L. Jones,
of Utah, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice Michael R. Darby, resigned.

Robert Clifton Duncan,
of the District of Columbia, to be Director of Operational Test and Evaluation, Department of Defense, vice John E. Krings, resigned.

Conrad K. Cyr,
of Maine, to be United States Circuit Judge for the First Circuit, vice Frank M. Coffin, retired.

Marvin J. Garbis,
of Maryland, to be United States District Judge for the District of Maryland, vice Joseph H. Young, retired.

Rebecca Beach Smith,
of Virginia, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia, vice D. Dortch Warriner, deceased.

Stuart M. Gerson,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Attorney General, vice John R. Bolton, resigned.

Gene McNary,
of Missouri, to be Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, vice Alan C. Nelson, resigned.

Michael Paul Galvin,
of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce, vice Michael E. Zacharia, resigned.

Warren G. Leback,
of New Jersey, to be Administrator of the Maritime Administration, vice John A. Gaughan, resigned.

James M. Strock,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice Thomas Lynch Adams, Jr., resigned.

Harold B. Steele,
of Illinois, to be a member of the Farm Credit Administration Board, Farm Credit Administration, for the remainder of the term expiring May 21, 1992, vice Frank W. Naylor, Jr., resigned.

Reginald J. Brown,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice Richard E. Bissell, resigned.

John Warren McGarry,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Federal Election Commission for a term expiring April 30, 1995 (reappointment).

Joan D. Aikens,
of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the Federal Election Commission for a term expiring April 30, 1995 (reappointment).

James David Berg,
of Kentucky, to be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, vice L. Ebersole Gaines, resigned.

Forrest J. Remick,
of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 30, 1994, vice Lando W. Zech, Jr., term expired.

The following-named persons to be members of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board for the terms indicated (new positions):

For a term of 1 year:
Edson G. Case, of Maryland.

For a term of 2 years:
John W. Crawford, Jr., of Maryland.

For a term of 3 years:
Herbert Kouts, of New York.

For a term of 4 years:
A.J. Eggenberger, of Montana.

For a term of 5 years:
John T. Conway, of New York.

Submitted September 6

Kenneth L. Brown,
of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire.

Charles E. Cobb, Jr.,
of Florida, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Iceland.

John G. Weinmann,
of Louisiana, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Finland.

Christopher Jehn,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Grant S. Green, Jr., resigned.

Craig S. King,
of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Department of the Navy, vice Lawrence L. Lamade, resigned.

James R. Locher III,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Charles S. Whitehouse, resigned.

Barbara S. Pope,
of Mississippi, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice Kenneth P. Bergquist, resigned.

Dennis B. Underwood,
of California, to be Commissioner of Reclamation, vice C. Dale Duvall, resigned.

Jerry R. Curry,
of Virginia, to be Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, vice Diane K. Steed, resigned.

Melva G. Wray,
of Connecticut, to be Director of the Office of Minority Economic Impact, vice Raymond G. Massie, resigned.

Ronald E. Ray,
of Florida, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Human Resources and Administration) (new position).

Jacqueline L. Phillips,
of Maryland, to be Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission, vice Winifred Ann Pizzano, resigned.

Cindy S. Daub,
of Nebraska, to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal for a term of 7 years from September 27, 1989, vice Edward W. Ray, term expiring.

Tony Armendariz,
of Texas, to be a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for the remainder of the term expiring July 29, 1992, vice Jerry Lee Calhoun, resigned.

Carroll A. Campbell, Jr.,
of South Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation for a term of 4 years (new position).

Frank B. Sollars,
of Ohio, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank for a term of 3 years (reappointment).

John E. Frohnmayer,
of Oregon, to be Chairperson of the National Endowment for the Arts for a term of 4 years, vice Francis S.M. Hodsoll, resigned.

Bill R. Phillips,
of Texas, to be Deputy Director of the Office of Personnel Management, vice Hugh Hewitt, resigned.

John J. Farley III,
of Maryland, to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Veterans Appeals for the term of 15 years (new position).

Withdrawn September 6

Lawrence L. Lamade,
of Maryland, to be General Counsel of the Department of the Navy (new position), which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted September 7

Vaughn R. Walker,
of California, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of California, vice Spencer M. Williams, retired.

Otto G. Obermaier,
of New York, to be United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York for the term of 4 years, vice Rudolph W. Giuliani, resigned.

Richard C. Breeden,
of Virginia, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1993, vice Charles C. Cox, term expired.

Submitted September 8

Duane P. Andrews,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Gordon A. Smith, resigned.

David C. O'Neal,
of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, vice J. Steven Griles, resigned.

Jennifer J. Wilson,
of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere, vice B. Kent Burton, resigned.

Margot E. Machol,
of the District of Columbia, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for the term expiring April 13, 1994, vice Robert R. Davis, term expired.

LaJuana S. Wilcher,
of Kentucky, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice Lawrence J. Jensen, resigned.

Withdrawn September 8

David C. O'Neal,
of Illinois, to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety and Health, vice David A. Zeeger, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted September 12

Marion V. Creekmore, Jr.,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Maldives.

Henry Allen Holmes,
of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador at Large for Burdensharing.

Alan Green, Jr.,
of Oregon, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

S. Jay Plager,
of Indiana, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Federal Circuit, vice Shiro Kashiwa, retired.

Jeffrey R. Howard,
of New Hampshire, to be United States Attorney for the District of New Hampshire for the term of 4 years, vice Richard V. Wiebusch, resigned.

Michael D. McKay,
of Washington, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Washington for the term of 4 years, vice Gene S. Anderson, resigned.

Leonard L. Haynes III,
of Louisiana, to be Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education, Department of Education, vice Kenneth D. Whitehead, resigned.

Curtis Virgil McVee,
of Alaska, to be Federal Cochairman of the Alaska Land Use Council, vice Vernon R. Wiggins, resigned.

George W. Haley,
of Maryland, to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission for the remainder of the term expiring October 14, 1992, vice Janet Dempsey Steiger, resigned.

Withdrawn September 12

Kenneth D. Whitehead,
of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education, Department of Education, vice C. Ronald Kimberling, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted September 13

Edwin L. Nelson,
of Alabama, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama, vice J. Foy Guin, Jr., retired.

G. Thomas Van Bebber,
of Kansas, to be United States District Judge for the District of Kansas, vice Richard D. Rogers, retired.

Donald Belton Ayer,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Attorney General, vice Harold G. Christensen, resigned.

Mary Sterling,
of Missouri, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor, vice Salvatore R. Martoche, resigned.

William James Tattersall,
of Pennsylvania, to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety and Health, vice David Courtland O'Neal.

Barbara Zartman,
of New York, to be Deputy Director of the Peace Corps, vice Edward A. Curran, resigned.

Submitted September 14

Adis Maria Vila,
of Florida, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, vice John J. Franke, Jr., resigned.

Dennis M. Devaney,
of Maryland, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring December 16, 1989, vice Marshall B. Babson, resigned, to which position he was appointed during the recess of the Senate from October 22, 1988, to January 3, 1989.

William P. Glade,
of Texas, to be an Associate Director of the United States Information Agency, vice Mark N. Blitz, resigned.

Withdrawn September 14

Dennis M. Devaney,
of Maryland, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the remainder of the term expiring December 16, 1989, vice Marshall B. Babson, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted September 15

Robert W. Genzman,
of Florida, to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Florida for the term of 4 years, vice Robert W. Merkle, Jr., resigned.

Michael J. Norton,
of Colorado, to be United States Attorney for the District of Colorado for the term of 4 years, vice Robert N. Miller, resigned.

Ronald G. Hein,
of the District of Columbia, to be United States Marshal for the Superior Court of the District of Columbia for the term of 4 years (new position—Public Law 100–690).

Herbert M. Rutherford III,
of the District of Columbia, to be United States Marshal for the District of Columbia for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

Submitted September 18

Alvin P. Adams, Jr.,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Haiti.

Edward G. Lewis,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Information Resources Management) (new position).

K. Michael Moore,
of Florida, to be Director of the United States Marshals Service (new position).

Submitted September 20

Catherine Ann Bertini,
of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, vice John William Bode, resigned.

Christopher T. Cross,
of Maryland, to be Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement, Department of Education, vice Patricia Mayes Hines, resigned.

Thomas E. Anfinson,
of California, to be Deputy Under Secretary for Management, Department of Education, vice Patrick Pizzella, resigned.

Richard Huntington Melton,
of Virginia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Federative Republic of Brazil.

James D. Watkins,
of California, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the 33d Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Withdrawn September 20

Patricia Mayes Hines,
of South Carolina, to be Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement, Department of Education, vice Chester Evans Finn, Jr., resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Patrick Pizzella,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Under Secretary for Management, Department of Education, vice Mary McNally Rose, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted September 21

John M. Walker, Jr.,
of New York, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit, vice Irving R. Kaufman, retired.

George W. Lindberg,
of Illinois, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois, vice Prentice H. Marshall, retired.

Susan Webber Wright,
of Arkansas, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern and Western Districts of Arkansas, vice Elsijane Trimble Roy, retired.

Submitted September 22

David Jameison Smith,
of Virginia, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Chief Negotiator for Defense and Space.

Submitted September 26

Pearl Bailey,
of Arizona, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Catalina Vasquez Villalpando,
of Texas, to be Treasurer of the United States, vice Katherine D. Ortega, resigned.

Edwin G. Foulke, Jr.,
of South Carolina, to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for the term expiring April 27, 1995, vice Elliot Ross Buckley, term expired.

Submitted September 27

Bruce L. Gardner,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, vice Ewen M. Wilson, resigned.

E. Donald Elliott,
of Connecticut, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice Lawrence J. Jensen, resigned.

Bernard E. DeLury,
of New Jersey, to be Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director, vice Kay McMurray, resigned.

Submitted September 29

William Clark, Jr.,
of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to India.

Hart T. Mankin,
of Delaware, to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Veterans Appeals for the term of 15 years (new position—Public Law 100-687).

Zinora M. Mitchell,
of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia for the term of 15 years, vice Reggie Barnett Walton, resigned.

William H. Young,
of New Jersey, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Nuclear Energy), vice Theodore J. Garrish, resigned.

Dennis M. Devaney,
of Maryland, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years, expiring December 16, 1994 (reappointment).

Patrick J. Cleary,
of Virginia, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1991, vice Helen M. Witt, resigned.

Joshua M. Javits,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1992 (reappointment).

Withdrawn September 29

John Randolph Hubbard,
of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to India, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted October 3

Smith Hempstone, Jr.,
of Maryland, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Kenya.

Keith Leveret Wauchope,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Gabonese Republic and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

Ann Christine Petersen,
of Illinois, to be General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force (new position—Public Law 100-456).

Leon Snead,
of Maryland, to be Inspector General of the Department of Agriculture, vice Robert W. Beuley, resigned.

Gordon H. Mansfield,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, vice Judith Y. Brachman, resigned.

J. Thomas Ratchford,
of Virginia, to be an Associate Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy, vice John P. McTague, resigned.

James B. Wyngaarden,
of North Carolina, to be an Associate Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy, vice Thomas P. Rona, resigned.

Submitted October 4

Barry M. Goldwater, Sr.,
of Arizona, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1992, vice E. Pendleton James.

Hilda Gay Legg,
of Kentucky, to be Alternate Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission, vice Jacqueline L. Phillips, resigned.

Submitted October 6

Barbara Everitt Bryant,
of Michigan, to be Director of the Census, vice John G. Keane, resigned.

Cresencio S. Arcos, Jr.,
of Texas, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Honduras.

Francis Terry McNamara,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cape Verde.

The following-named persons to be Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Barbara Hackman Franklin, of Pennsylvania.
Gary Edward MacDougal, of Illinois.

Michael Bruce Donley,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (new position).

Jean Paul Bradshaw,
of Missouri, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Missouri for the term of 4 years, vice Robert G. Ulrich, resigned.

Joyce J. George,
of Ohio, to be United States Attorney for the Northern District of Ohio for the term of 4 years, vice Patrick M. McLaughlin, resigned.

Robert R. McMillan,
of New York, to be a member of the Board of the Panama Canal Commission, vice Richard N. Holwill, resigned.

Philip Lawrence Christenson,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice Julia Chang Bloch, resigned, to which position he was appointed during the recess of the Senate from October 22, 1988, to January 3, 1989.

Withdrawn October 6

Philip Lawrence Christenson,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice Julia Chang Bloch, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted October 10

R. James Woolsey,
of Maryland, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United States Representative to the Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE).

Submitted October 11

Ruth V. Washington,
of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of The Gambia.

Robert C. McCormack,
of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice Robert H. Conn, resigned.

Betsy Brand,
of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education, Department of Education, vice Bonnie Guiton, resigned.

Richard G. Austin,
of Illinois, to be Administrator of General Services, vice Terence C. Golden, resigned.

Submitted October 12

Harry F. Manbeck, Jr.,
of Connecticut, to be Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks, vice Donald J. Quigg, resigned.

David E. Lewis,
of Florida, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Acquisition and Facilities) (new position).

Jacqueline Jones-Smith,
of Maryland, to be Chairman of the Consumer Product Safety Commission, vice Terrence M. Scanlon, resigned.

Jacqueline Jones-Smith,
of Maryland, to be a Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission for a term of 7 years from October 27, 1989, vice Terrence M. Scanlon, resigned.

Submitted October 13

Robert W. Sweet, Jr.,
of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice, vice Verne L. Speirs, resigned.

Submitted October 17

Daniel Howard Simpson,
of Ohio, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Central African Republic.

The following-named career members of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, for the personal rank of Career Ambassador in recognition of especially distinguished service over a sustained period:

Morton I. Abramowitz, of the District of Columbia.
Terence A. Todman, of the Virgin Islands.

The following-named persons to be Representatives of the United States of America to the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Sam Gejdenson, of Connecticut.
Christopher H. Smith, of New Jersey.

Martin Lewis Allday,
of Texas, to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for a term expiring October 20, 1993, vice Charles G. Stalon, term expiring.

Bernard William Aronson,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for the remainder of the term expiring September 20, 1990, vice Elliott Abrams.

Don R. Clay,
of Maryland, to be Assistant Administrator, Office of Solid Waste, of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice J. Winston Porter, resigned.

Submitted October 20

Edward S. Walker, Jr.,
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Arab Emirates.

Edward W. Nottingham,
of Colorado, to be United States District Judge for the District of Colorado (new position).

Donald E. Kirkendall,
of Maryland, to be Inspector General, Department of the Treasury (new position).

Submitted October 25

Frances D. Cook,
of Florida, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cameroon.

Richard T. Kennedy,
of the District of Columbia, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 33d Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Arthur D. Spatt,
of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York, vice Henry Bramwell, retired.

Timothy D. Leonard,
of Oklahoma, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma for the term of 4 years, vice William S. Price, resigned.

Allan V. Burman,
of Virginia, to be Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy, vice Robert P. Bedell, resigned.

Submitted October 30

Edmund DeJarnette, Jr.,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Republic of Tanzania.

Clarence Thomas,
of Virginia, to be United States Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit, vice Robert H. Bork, resigned.

Edward J. Lodge,
of Idaho, to be United States District Judge for the District of Idaho, vice Marion J. Callister, retired.

Michael H. Newlin,
of Maryland, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 33d Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Larry K. Mellinger,
of California, to be United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of 3 years, vice Jose Manuel Casanova, resigned, to which position he was appointed during the recess of the Senate from October 22, 1988, to January 3, 1989.

Albert W. Angulo,
of Texas, to be United States Alternate Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, vice Larry K. Mellinger, resigned.

Withdrawn October 30

Larry K. Mellinger,
of California, to be United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of 3 years, vice Jose Manuel Casanova, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted November 1

Hilary P. Cleveland,
of New Hampshire, to be a United States Commissioner on the International Joint Commission—United States and Canada, vice L. Keith Bulen, resigned.

Submitted November 2

Susan M. Livingstone,
of Montana, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, vice John W. Shannon.

Abraham N.M. Shashy, Jr.,
of Texas, to be an Assistant General Counsel in the Department of the Treasury (Chief Counsel for the Internal Revenue Service), vice William F. Nelson, resigned.

Submitted November 6

Anthony C.E. Quainton,
of Washington, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Peru.

Bradley P. Holmes,
of Virginia, to be United States Coordinator for International Communications and Information Policy, with the rank of Ambassador, vice Sonia Landau, resigned.

G. Kim Wincup,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, vice Delbert L. Spurlock, Jr., resigned.

Gene W. Shepard,
of Iowa, to be United States Attorney for the Southern District of Iowa for the term of 4 years, vice Richard C. Turner, deceased.

Withdrawn November 6

Sonia Landau,
of New York, to be Coordinator for International Communications and Information Policy, with the rank of Ambassador, vice Diana Lady Dougan, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Submitted November 7

Barry L. Harris,
of Maine, to be Deputy Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, vice Barbara McConnell Barrett, resigned.

Robert W. Houk,
of Ohio, to be Public Printer, vice Ralph E. Kennickell, Jr., resigned.

Submitted November 8

Cynthia S. Perry,
of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Burundi.

Robert G. Joseph,
of Virginia, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United States Commissioner on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Standing Consultative Commission.

Scott A. Sewell,
of Maryland, to be United States Marshal for the District of Maryland for the term of 4 years, vice John W. Spurrier, term expired.

Douglas B. Comer,
of Virginia, to be Deputy Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks, vice Donald W. Peterson, resigned.

Mary L. Schapiro,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 5, 1994 (reappointment).

Submitted November 9

Stephen J. Ledogar,
of Connecticut, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as U.S. Representative to the Conference on Disarmament.

Gerald E. Rosen,
of Michigan, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan, vice Philip Pratt, deceased.

Donald J. Lee,
of Pennsylvania, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Pennsylvania, vice Hubert I. Teitelbaum, retired.

Edward J. Philbin,
of California, to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission for a term expiring December 3, 1993, vice Heather J. Gradison, term expired.

Submitted November 13

Susan J. Crawford,
of Maryland, to be Inspector General, Department of Defense, vice June Gibbs Brown, resigned.

Walter J. Bamberg,
of Alabama, to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of Alabama for the term of 4 years, vice Melvin E Jones, retired.

Donald E. Crowl,
of Oklahoma, to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of Oklahoma for the term of 4 years, vice Harry Connolly, retired.

Charles E. Healey,
of New York, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of New York for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

Craig L. Meecham,
of California, to be United States Marshal for the Central District of California for the term of 4 years, vice Julio Gonzales, resigned.

James Y. Stewart,
of Michigan, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Michigan for the term of 4 years, vice Anthony Bertoni, term expired.

Martin H. Gerry,
of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services, vice Robert B. Helms, resigned.

H. Douglas Barclay,
of New York, to be a member of the Board of Directors for the Overseas Private Investment Corporation for the term expiring December 17, 1991, vice Thomas A. Bolan, resigned.

Submitted November 14

La Verne G. Ausman,
of Wisconsin, to be Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, vice Vance L. Clark, resigned.

Submitted November 15

Harriet Winsar Isom,
of Oregon, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the People's Republic of Benin.

The following-named persons to be Representatives and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Representatives:

Thomas R. Pickering, of New Jersey.
Alexander Fletcher Watson, of Massachusetts.

Alternate Representatives:

Jonathan Moore, of Massachusetts.
Milton James Wilkinson, of New Hampshire.

Ronald Frank Ederer,
of Texas, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Texas for the term of 4 years, vice Helen M. Eversberg, term expired.

John T. MacDonald,
of New Hampshire, to be Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, Department of Education, vice Beryl Dorsett, resigned.

Submitted November 17

Robert William Farrand,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Papua New Guinea, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Solomon Islands, and Ambassador

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Vanuatu.

J. Steven Rhodes,
of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Zimbabwe.

John J. Maresca,
of Connecticut, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Head of the United States Delegation to the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBM).

Carol Mayer Marshall,
of California, to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at San Francisco, California (new position).

Jerome G. Cooper,
of Alabama, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, vice Karen R. Keesling, resigned.

Rhesa H. Barksdale,
of Mississippi, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Fifth Circuit, vice Alvin B. Rubin, retired.

Jacques L. Wiener, Jr.,
of Louisiana, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Fifth Circuit, vice Robert M. Hill, deceased.

Ronald L. Buckwalter,
of Pennsylvania, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vice Charles R. Weiner, retired.

Robert F. Gilbert
of New Hampshire, to be United States Marshal for the District of New Hampshire for the term of 4 years, vice Ronald D. Daniels, Jr., resigned.

John W. Lyons,
of Maryland, to be Director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, vice Ernest Ambler, resigned.

Gail Roggin Wilensky,
of the District of Columbia, to be Administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration, vice William L. Roper, resigned.

James B. Edwards,
of South Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1992, vice Michael A. McManus, Jr.

Submitted November 20

David C. Fields,
of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Director of the Office of Foreign Missions, with the rank of Ambassador.

Henrietta H. Holsman,
of California, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice Mae Neal Peden, resigned.

James B. Edwards,
of South Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1990, vice Michael A. McManus, Jr., term expired.

Peter K. Nunez,
of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice Salvatore R. Martoche, resigned.

William D. Hathaway,
of Maine, to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner for the term expiring June 30, 1993, vice Thomas F. Moakley, resigned.

Withdrawn November 20

James B. Edwards,
of South Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1992, vice Michael A. McManus, Jr., which was sent to the Senate on November 17, 1989.

Submitted November 21

Tony E. Gallegos,
of California, to be a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for the term expiring July 1, 1994 (reappointment).

Arthur J. Hill,
of Florida, to be President, Government National Mortgage Association, vice Mark E. Buchman, resigned.

Donald G. Wiseman,
of North Carolina, to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for the remainder of the term expiring April 27, 1993, vice Linda Lugenia Arey.

William J. Haynes II,
of North Carolina, to be General Counsel of the Department of the Army (new position—P.L. 100–456).

Stephen K. Conver,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, vice Jay Raymond Sculley, resigned.

Withdrawn November 21

Linda L. Arey,
of Virginia, to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for the term expiring April 27, 1993, vice John R. Wall, term expired, which was sent to the Senate on January 3, 1989.

Appendix C—Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary which are not included in this book.

Released July 3

Transcript:
Press briefing on the U.S. Supreme Court decision on abortion and potential amendments to the Constitution—by John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President

Released July 5

Transcript:
Press briefing on environmental issues to be discussed at the upcoming Paris economic summit—by William K. Reilly, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

Released July 6

Fact sheet:
Presidential Medal of Freedom

Fact sheet:
1989 Presidential Medal of Freedom recipients

Transcript:
Press briefing on the upcoming Paris economic summit—by Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady

Released July 7

Announcement:
Transmittal to the Congress of the Senior Executives Salary Act of 1989 and Honoraria Reform Act of 1989

Released July 10

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's trip to Poland—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

Transcript:
Interview of Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, by Frank Sesno of CNN

Fact sheet:
Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program for Poland

Transcript:
Interview of Secretary of State James A. Baker III by Harry Smith of CBS' "This Morning"

Fact sheet:
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) program for Poland

Transcript:
Interview of John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, by Jim Miklaszewski of NBC

Advance text:
Remarks at the state dinner in Warsaw

Advance text:
Remarks to Little League baseball players in Warsaw

Fact sheet:
U.S.-Polish private business agreement

Released July 11

Announcement:
Nomination of Clarence Thomas to be United States Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit

Announcement:
Nomination of Marvin J. Garbis to be United States District Judge for the District of Maryland

Announcement:
Nomination of S. Jay Plager to be United States Circuit Judge for the Federal Circuit

Announcement:
Nomination of Rebecca Beach Smith to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia

Advance text:
Toast at the state dinner in Budapest

Released July 12

Fact sheet:
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) program for Hungary

Fact sheet:
Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program for Hungary

Transcript:
Interview of Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, by Bryant Gumbel of NBC's "Today"

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's trip to Poland and Hungary—by John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's trip to Poland and Hungary—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

Advance text:
Remarks to students and faculty at Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest

Transcript:
Interview of John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, by CNN

Released July 13

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's trip to Poland and Hungary—by Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Transcript:
Interview of Mrs. Bush by members of the White House press corps

Released July 14

Transcript:
Interview of Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady by Charles Gibson of ABC's "Good Morning America"

Transcript:
Press briefing on President Bush's meeting with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico and the Paris economic summit—by John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President

Transcript:
Interview of Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, by Harry Smith of CBS' "This Morning"

Released July 15

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom and the Paris economic summit—by John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President

Transcript:
Press briefing on the Paris economic summit—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

Transcript:
Interview of Secretary of State James A. Baker III by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak of CNN

Released July 16

Transcript:
Interview of Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, by Lesley Stahl of CBS' "Face the Nation"

Transcript:
Interview of Secretary of State James A. Baker III by David Brinkley of ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley"

Transcript:
Interview of Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady by CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday"

Transcript:
Interview of John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, by NBC's "Meet the Press"

Released July 17

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's trip to The Netherlands—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek

Advance text:
Remarks to residents of Leiden, The Netherlands

Released July 19

Transcript:
Press briefing on the U.S. economy and foreign affairs—by Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President, and Michael Boskin, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers

Released July 20

Transcript:
Press briefing on the U.S. space program—by Richard H. Truly, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Released July 26

Announcement:
Nomination of Stephen J. Markman to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan

Transcript:
Press briefing on the development of a comprehensive national energy strategy—by Secretary of Energy James Watkins and Deputy Secretary of Energy Henson Moore

Released July 28

Advance text:
Remarks on signing the National POW/MIA Recognition Day proclamation

Released July 31

Advance text:
Remarks at a meeting of the National Governors' Association in Chicago, IL

Released August 4

Announcement:
Nomination of Conrad K. Cyr to be United States Circuit Judge for the First Circuit

Released August 8

Advance text:
Remarks to the National Urban League Conference

Released August 9

Fact sheet:
Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989

Released August 14

Fact sheet:
Disaster Assistance Act of 1989

Released August 16

Advance text:
Remarks at a fundraising luncheon for congressional candidate Ileana Ros-Lehtinen in Miami, FL

Released August 21

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's upcoming address to the Nation on the national drug control strategy—by John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President

Released August 29

Announcement:
Nomination of John J. Farley III to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Veterans Appeals

Transcript:
Press briefing on the national drug control strategy and assistance for Colombia—by Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Released September 5

Transcript:
Press briefing on the national drug control strategy—by William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy, and Richard G. Darman, Director of Office of Management and Budget

Advance text:
Address to the Nation on the national drug control strategy

Released September 6

Announcement:
Nomination of Otto G. Obermaier to be United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York

Released September 11

Announcement:
Nomination of Jeffrey R. Howard to be United States Attorney for the District of New Hampshire

Announcement:
Nomination of Michael D. McKay to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Washington

Released September 12

Announcement:
Nomination of Edwin L. Nelson to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama

Announcement:
Nomination of G. Thomas Van Bebber to be United States District Judge for the District of Kansas

Advance text:
Address to students on drug abuse

Released September 13

Fact sheet:
Special-needs adoption legislative proposals

Released September 14

Announcement:
Nomination of Herbert M. Rutherford III to be United States Marshal for the District of Columbia

Announcement:
Nomination of Ronald G. Hein to be United States Marshal for the Superior Court for the District of Columbia

Announcement:
Nomination of Robert W. Genzman to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Florida

Announcement:
Nomination of Michael J. Norton to be United States Attorney for the District of Colorado

Released September 15

Announcement:
Nomination of K. Michael Moore to be Director of the United States Marshals Service

Released September 18

Advance text:
Remarks at the South Dakota centennial celebration in Sioux Falls

Advance text:
Remarks at the Montana centennial celebration in Helena

Advance text:
Remarks to the five-State legislators conference in Helena, MT

Released September 19

Advance text:
Remarks at the Washington centennial celebration in Spokane

Released September 20

Announcement:
Nomination of George W. Lindberg to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois

Announcement:
Nomination of Susan Webber Wright to be United States District Judge for the Eastern and Western Districts of Arkansas

Announcement:
Nomination of John M. Walker, Jr., to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit

Released September 21

Transcript:
Press briefing on the national drug control strategy and the upcoming education summit in Charlottesville, VA—by William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy, and Roger B. Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

Released September 22

Advance text:
Remarks at a Republican fundraising luncheon in East Brunswick, NJ

Fact sheet:
Capital gains tax cut

Released September 25

Advance text:
Address before the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, NY

Fact sheet:
President's chemical weapons initiative

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's chemical weapons initiative—by Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Advance text:
Remarks at the United Nations heads of state dinner in New York, NY

Released September 27

Advance text:
Remarks at the annual meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group

Transcript:
Press briefing on the education summit—by Governors Gerald Baliles, Terry Branstad, Bill Clinton, and Carroll Campbell; Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos; and Summit Director David Frederickson

Advance text:
Remarks at the education summit welcoming ceremony at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville

Transcript:
Remarks at the education summit by Governors Terry Branstad, Carroll Campbell, and Bill Clinton in Charlottesville, VA

Advance text:
Toasts of the President and Gov. Terry Branstad of Iowa at the education summit dinner in Charlottesville, VA

Released September 28

Advance text:
Remarks at the University of Virginia convocation in Charlottesville

Announcement:
Nomination of Hart T. Mankin to be Associate Judge of the United States Court of Veterans Appeals

Released September 29

Announcement:
Nomination of Zinora M. Mitchell to be Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia

Released October 4

Advance text:
Remarks at the Challenger Center for Space Education gala dinner

Released October 5

Announcement:
Nomination of Joyce J. George to be United States Attorney for the Northern District of Ohio

Announcement:
Nomination of Jean Paul Bradshaw to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Missouri

Released October 8

Advance text:
Remarks at the conference of the National Federation of Republican Women in Baltimore, MD

Released October 11

Transcript:
Press briefing on the visit of President Francesco Cossiga of Italy—by Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Raymond G.H. Seitz

Announcement:
Ninth annual President's Volunteer Action Awards program

Released October 12

Advance text:
Remarks at a fundraiser for congressional candidate Tom Anderson in Gulfport, MS

Advance text:
Remarks at a fundraising dinner for mayoral candidate Rudolph W. Giuliani in New York, NY

Released October 17

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's meeting with President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea—by Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Advance text:
Remarks at the Republican Governors Association annual dinner

Released October 20

Announcement:
Nomination of Edward W. Nottingham to be United States District Judge for the District of Colorado

Released October 24

Announcement:
Nomination of Arthur D. Spatt to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York

Released October 25

Announcement:
Nomination of Timothy D. Leonard to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's trip to San José to attend the centennial celebration of Costa Rican democracy and to meet with Western Hemisphere leaders—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

Released October 26

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's food safety plan—by Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan, and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly

Released October 27

Announcement:
Nomination of Edward J. Lodge to be United States District Judge for the District of Idaho

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's attendance of the centennial celebration of Costa Rican democracy and his meeting with Western Hemisphere leaders in San José—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

Released November 2

Announcement:
Nomination of Gene W. Shepard to be the United States Attorney for the Southern District of Iowa

Released November 3

Advance text:
Remarks at a fundraising reception for J. Marshall Coleman in Norfolk, VA

Released November 7

Announcement:
Nomination of Scott A. Sewell to be United States Marshal for the District of Maryland

Released November 9

Announcement:
Nomination of Gerald E. Rosen to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan

Announcement:
Nomination of Donald J. Lee to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Pennsylvania

Transcript:
Press briefing on the state visit of President Corazon C. Aquino of the Philippines—by Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Released November 10

Transcript:
Press briefing on the HOPE Initiative: Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere—by Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp

Released November 13

Advance text:
Remarks on presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Lech Walesa

Announcement:
Nomination of Donald E. Crowl to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of Oklahoma

Announcement:
Nomination of Charles E. Healey to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of New York

Announcement:
Nomination of Walter J. Bamberg to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of Alabama

Announcement:
Nomination of Craig L. Meacham to be United States Marshal for the Central District of California

Announcement:
Nomination of James Y. Stewart to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Michigan

Released November 14

Announcement:
Presentation of the National Medal of Arts

Released November 15

Announcement:
Nomination of Ronald F. Ederer to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Texas

Advance text:
Remarks at the biannual convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Released November 17

Transcript:
Excerpt of an interview of the President—by Peter Mayer, Mutual and NBC Radio

Announcement:
Nomination of Robert F. Gilbert to be United States Marshal for the District of New Hampshire

Announcement:
Nomination of Jacques L. Wiener, Jr., to be United States Circuit Judge for the Fifth Circuit

Announcement:
Nomination of Rhesa H. Barksdale to be United States Circuit Judge for the Fifth Circuit

Announcement:
Nomination of Ronald L. Buckwalter to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Released November 20

Advance text:
Remarks at a fundraising luncheon for senatorial candidate Lynn Martin in Chicago, IL

Released November 21

Advance text:
Remarks at the annual meeting of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges

Released November 22

Advance text:
Remarks at the Commercial Appeal's Thanksgiving celebration in Memphis, TN

Fact sheet:
President's visit to the Memphis Baptist Medical Center, TN

Advance text:
Thanksgiving Address to the Nation

Released November 28

Transcript:
Press briefing on the Presidential economic delegation to Poland—by Secretary of Agriculture Clayton K. Yeutter, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, and Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher

Advance text:
Remarks to the Presidential economic delegation to Poland

Released November 29

Transcript:
Press briefing on the upcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Malta—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

Released December 3

Advance text:
Remarks at the arrival ceremony in Brussels

Released December 4

Transcript:
Interview of Secretary of State James A. Baker III by Ralph Begleiter of CNN's "Headline News"

Transcript:
Interview of Secretary of State James A. Baker III by Bryant Gumbel of NBC's "Today"

Transcript:
Interview of John Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, by Kathleen Sullivan of the "CBS Morning News"

Transcript:
Interview of Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, by Charles Gibson of ABC's "Good Morning America"

Released December 5

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's meeting with Soviet Chairman Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Malta—by Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Advance text:
Remarks at the National Republican Congressional Committee dinner honoring Representative Robert H. Michel

Released December 7

Advance text:
Remarks at the Acres Homes War on Drugs rally in Houston, TX

Advance text:
Remarks at a fundraising dinner for Senator Phil Gramm in Houston, TX

Released December 8

Advance text:
Remarks at a fundraising luncheon for senatorial candidate Hank Brown in Denver, CO

Advance text:
Remarks at an antidrug rally at John F. Kennedy High School in Denver, CO

Released December 11

Announcement:
Nomination of Annice M. Wagner to be an Associate Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals

Released December 12

Announcement:
Nomination of Ronald M. Holdaway to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Veterans Appeals

Transcript:
Remarks at the Catholic University of America anniversary dinner

Released December 20

Announcement:
Nomination of Thomas W. Corbett, Jr., to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania

Statement:
Upcoming visit of President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih of the Yemen Arab Republic—by Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President

Released December 27

Fact sheet:
Federal Chancellor Scholarship for Future A
ican Leaders

Appendix D—Acts Approved by the President

Approved July 6

H.R. 923 / Public Law 101–51
To redesignate the Federal hydropower generating facilities located at Dam B on the Neches River at Town Bluff, Texas, as the "Robert Douglas Willis Hydropower Project"

H.J. Res. 132 / Public Law 101–52
To designate the second Sunday in October of 1989 as "National Children's Day"

H.R. 2119 / Public Law 101–53
To authorize the exchange of certain Federal public land in Madison County, Illinois

Approved July 7

H.J. Res. 276 / Public Law 101–54
Designating September 14, 1989, as "National D.A.R.E. Day"

H.J. Res. 298 / Public Law 101–55
Designating July 14, 1989, as "National Day To Commemorate the Bastille Day Bicentennial"

Approved July 19

H.R. 2848 / Public Law 101–56
Computer Matching and Privacy Protection Act Amendments of 1989

Approved July 21

S.J. Res. 95 / Public Law 101–57
To designate the week of September 10, 1989, through September 16, 1989, as "National Check-Up Week"

Approved July 25

H.J. Res. 174 / Public Law 101–58
To designate the decade beginning January 1, 1990, as the "Decade of the Brain"

S.J. Res. 137 / Public Law 101–59
Designating January 7, 1990, through January 13, 1990, as "National Law Enforcement Training Week"

Approved July 26

H.R. 1722 / Public Law 101–60
Natural Gas Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989

S.J. Res. 85 / Public Law 101–61
To designate the week of July 24 to July 30, 1989, as the "National Week of Recognition and Remembrance for Those Who Served in the Korean War"

H.R. 2214 / Public Law 101–62
To ratify certain agreements relating to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations

Approved July 27

S.J. Res. 110 / Public Law 101–63
Designating October 5, 1989, as "Raoul Wallenberg Day"

S.J. Res. 93 / Public Law 101–64
To designate October 1989 as "Polish American Heritage Month"

Approved July 28

S.J. Res. 129 / Public Law 101–65
To provide for the designation of September 15, 1989, as "National POW/MIA Recognition Day"

S.J. Res. 142 / Public Law 101–66
Designating the week beginning July 23, 1989, as "Lyme Disease Awareness Week"

Approved July 31

H.R. 1485 / Public Law 101–67
Apex Project, Nevada Land Transfer and Authorization Act of 1989

Approved August 1

H.R. 310 / Public Law 101–68
To remove a restriction from a parcel of land in Roanoke, VA, in order for that land to be conveyed to the State of Virginia for use as a veterans nursing home

Approved August 2

S.J. Res. 150 / Public Law 101–69
To designate August 1, 1989, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day"

Approved August 3

H.R. 999 / Public Law 101–70
To reauthorize the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

Approved August 4

H.R. 968 / Public Law 101–71
Noise Reduction Reimbursement Act of 1989

Approved August 7

H.R. 3024 / Public Law 101–72
To increase the statutory limit on the public debt, and for other purposes

Approved August 9

H.R. 1278 / Public Law 101–73
Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989

H.J. Res. 281 / Public Law 101–74
To approve the designation of the Cordell Bank National Marine Sanctuary, to disapprove a term of that designation, to prohibit the exploration for, or the development or production of, oil, gas, or minerals in any area of that sanctuary, and for other purposes

Approved August 10

S.J. Res. 136 / Public Law 101–75
Designating August 8, 1989, as "National Neighborhood Crime Watch Day"

Approved August 11

H.R. 2705 / Public Law 101–76
Relating to the method by which Government contributions to the Federal employees health benefits program shall be computed for 1990 or 1991 if no Government-wide indemnity benefit plan participates in that year

H.J. Res. 363 / Public Law 101–77
To designate 1989 as "United States Customs Service 200th Anniversary Year"

S.J. Res 78 / Public Law 101–78
To designate the month of November 1989 and 1990 as "National Hospice Month"

S.J. Res. 126 / Public Law 101–79
Commemorating the bicentennial of the United States Coast Guard

S.J. Res. 127 / Public Law 101–80
Designating Labor Day weekend, September 2 through 4, 1989, as "National Drive for Life Weekend"

Approved August 14

H.R. 2799 / Public Law 101–81
To amend the Agricultural Act of 1949 for the 1990 crops to allow the planting of alternative crops on permitted acreage and to amend the provisions regarding the designation of farm acreage base as acreage base established for oats

H.R. 2467 / Public Law 101–82
Disaster Assistance Act of 1989

H.J. Res. 221 / Public Law 101–83
To designate the week beginning September 1, 1989, as "World War II Remembrance Week"

S.J. Res. 55 / Public Law 101–84
To designate the week of October 1, 1989, through October 7, 1989, as "Mental Illness Awareness Week"

S.J. Res. 67 / Public Law 101–85
To commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Wilderness Act of 1964 which established the National Wilderness Preservation System

Approved August 16

H.R. 1860 / Public Law 101–86
To provide that a Federal annuitant or former member of a uniformed service who returns to Government service, under a temporary appointment, to assist in carrying out the 1990 decennial census of population shall be exempt from certain provisions of title 5, United States Code, relating to offsets from pay and other benefits

H.R. 2847 / Public Law 101–87
To extend by 1 year a program under which the Government is allowed to accept the voluntary services of private-sector executives

H.J. Res. 225 / Public Law 101–88
To authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation designating the third Sunday of August of 1989 as "National Senior Citizens Day"

H.J. Res. 231 / Public Law 101–89
Designating September 1989 as "National Library Card Sign-Up Month"

H.J. Res. 253 / Public Law 101–90
Designating September 8, 1989, as "National Pledge of Allegiance Day"

H.J. Res. 379 / Public Law 101–91
Commending the citizens of the Sioux City, Iowa, tri-State area for their heroism and spirit of volunteerism in selflessly providing assistance and life-saving services to the passengers and crew of United Airlines Flight 232

H.R. 840 / Public Law 101–92
To authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1990 for the Federal Maritime Commission, and for other purposes

H.R. 1426 / Public Law 101–93
Drug Abuse Treatment Technical Corrections Act of 1989

H.R. 2727 / Public Law 101–94
Court of Veterans Appeals Judges Retirement Act

Approved September 13

S.J. Res. 109 / Public Law 101–95
To designate the period commencing September 11, 1989, and ending on September 15, 1989, as "National Historically Black Colleges Week"

Approved September 15

S.J. Res. 132 / Public Law 101–96
Designating September 1 through 30, 1989 as "National Alcohol and Drug Treatment Month"

Approved September 23

H.R. 2136 / Public Law 101–97
District of Columbia Civil Contempt Imprisonment Limitation Act of 1989

Approved September 26

H.J. Res. 133 / Public Law 101–98
Designating the week beginning September 17, 1989, as "Emergency Medical Services Week"

S. 1075 / Public Law 101–99
To authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1990, 1991, and 1992

Approved September 29

H.J. Res. 407 / Public Law 101–100
Making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1990, and for other purposes

H.R. 2696 / Public Law 101–101
Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1990

H.J. Res. 204 / Public Law 101–102
To designate October 1989, as "National Quality Month"

Approved September 30

H.R. 3282 / Public Law 101–103
Performance Management and Recognition System Reauthorization Act of 1989

Approved October 2

S.J. Res. 146 / Public Law 101–104
Designating the week of September 24, 1989, as "Religious Freedom Week"

H.R. 419 / Public Law 101–105
To provide for the addition of certain parcels to the Harry S Truman National Historic Site in the State of Missouri

H.R. 1529 / Public Law 101–106
To provide for the establishing of the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in the State of Missouri, and for other purposes

Approved October 3

S.J. Res. 118 / Public Law 101–107
Designating October 6, 1989, as "German-American Day"

Approved October 6

H.R. 2835 / Public Law 101–108
To provide for the relocation of certain facilities at the Gateway National Recreation Area, Sandy Hook, New Jersey, and for other purposes

S. 85 / Public Law 101–109
To authorize the acceptance of certain lands for addition to Harpers Ferry National Historic Park, West Virginia

S. 1709 / Public Law 101–110
To provide interim extensions of Department of Veterans Affairs programs of respite care for certain veterans, community-based residential care for homeless, chronically mentally ill veterans, State home construction grants, and leave transfers for certain health-care professionals, and of Department of Veterans Affairs home-loan fees

S.J. Res. 117 / Public Law 101–111
To designate the week of November 19, 1989, through November 25, 1989, and the week of November 18, 1990, through November 24, 1990, as "National Family Week"

S.J. Res. 133 / Public Law 101–112
Designating October 1989 as "National Domestic Violence Awareness Month"

S.J. Res. 138 / Public Law 101–113
Designating October 16, 1989, and October 16, 1990, as "World Food Day"

S.J. Res. 148 / Public Law 101–114
To designate the week of October 8, 1989, through October 14, 1989, as "National Job Skills Week"

Approved October 13

H.R. 1486 / Public Law 101–115
To authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1990 for the Maritime Administration, and for other purposes

S.J. Res. 81 / Public Law 101–116
To designate the week of October 1 through 7, 1989, as "National Health Care Food Service Week"

S.J. Res. 122 / Public Law 101–117
To designate October 1989 and 1990 as "National Down Syndrome Month"

Approved October 17

H.R. 2358 / Public Law 101–118
To authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1990 for the Civic Achievement Award Program in Honor of the Office of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes

Approved October 21

H.R. 3385 / Public Law 101–119
To provide assistance for free and fair elections in Nicaragua

Approved October 23

H.R. 1300 / Public Law 101–120
Head Start Supplemental Authorization Act of 1989

H.R. 2788 / Public Law 101–121
Making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1990, and for other purposes

H.J. Res. 400 / Public Law 101–122
Designating October 27, 1989, as "National Hostage Awareness Day"

S. 248 / Public Law 101–123
Major Fraud Act Amendments of 1989

Approved October 24

S.J. Res. 213 / Public Law 101–124
To designate October 22 through October 29, 1989, as "National Red Ribbon Week for a Drug-Free America"

H.R. 2987 / Public Law 101–125
To name the Department of Veterans Affairs medical center in Leavenworth, Kansas, as the "Dwight D. Eisenhower Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center"

Approved October 25

H.R. 2087 / Public Law 101–126
Child Abuse Prevention Challenge Grants Reauthorization Act of 1989

H.R. 2088 / Public Law 101–127
Children With Disabilities Temporary Care Reauthorization Act of 1989

H.J. Res. 392 / Public Law 101–128
Designating October 1989 as "Italian-American Heritage and Culture Month"

H.J. Res. 401 / Public Law 101–129
To designate the month of October 1989 as "Country Music Month"

Approved October 26

H.J. Res. 423 / Public Law 101–130
Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1990, and for other purposes

Approved October 28

H.R. 2978 / Public Law 101–131
Flag Protection Act of 1989

Approved October 30

H.R. 801 / Public Law 101–132
To designate the United States Court of Appeals Building at 56 Forsyth Street in Atlanta, Georgia, as the "Elbert P. Tuttle United States Court of Appeals Building"

H.J. Res. 380 / Public Law 101–133
Designating October 18, 1989, as "Patient Account Management Day"

S. 1792 / Public Law 101–134
To amend the Disaster Assistance Act of 1989 to avoid penalizing producers who planted a replacement crop on disaster-affected acreage, and for other purposes

S.J. Res. 177 / Public Law 101–135
To designate October 29, 1989, as "Fire Safety At Home—Change Your Clock, Change Your Battery Day"

Approved November 3

H.R. 2989 / Public Law 101–136
Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 3281 / Public Law 101–137
To reauthorize the National Flood Insurance Program, the Federal Crime Insurance Program, and the Defense Production Act of 1950, to extend certain housing programs, and for other purposes

S.J. Res. 86 / Public Law 101–138
Designating November 17, 1989, as "National Philanthropy Day"

S.J. Res. 120 / Public Law 101–139
To designate the period commencing November 12, 1989, and ending November 18, 1989, as "Geography Awareness Week"

Approved November 8

H.J. Res. 280 / Public Law 101–140
Increasing the statutory limit on the public debt

S.J. Res. 19 / Public Law 101–141
To designate November 8, 1989, as "Montana Centennial Day"

H.J. Res. 241 / Public Law 101–142
Designating October 25, 1989, as "National Arab-American Day"

H.J. Res. 131 / Public Law 101–143
To designate May 25, 1989, as "National Tap Dance Day"

Approved November 9

H.R. 2916 / Public Law 101–144
Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

S.J. Res. 131 / Public Law 101–145
To designate November 1989 as "National Diabetes Month"

S.J. Res. 209 / Public Law 101–146
To designate November 11, 1989 as "Washington Centennial Day"

Approved November 10

H.R. 24 / Public Law 101–147
Child Nutrition and WIC Reauthorization Act of 1989

H.R. 3012 / Public Law 101–148
Making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1990, and for other purposes

Approved November 13

S.J. Res. 73 / Public Law 101–149
To designate the week beginning October 29, 1989, as "Gaucher's Disease Awareness Week"

S.J. Res. 194 / Public Law 101–150
Designating November 12 through 18, 1989 as "National Glaucoma Awareness Week"

Approved November 14

S.J. Res. 198 / Public Law 101–151
Designating November 1989 as "An End to Hunger Education Month"

Approved November 15

H.R. 3318 / Public Law 101–152
To redesignate the Federal building in Houston, Texas, known as the Concorde Tower, as the "George Thomas 'Mickey' Leland Federal Building"

H.J. Res. 35 / Public Law 101–153
Designating November 5–11, 1989, as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week"

H.J. Res. 435 / Public Law 101–154
Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1990, and for other purposes

S. 750 / Public Law 101–155
To extend the deadlines under the Federal Power Act applicable to the construction of a hydroelectric project in the State of Washington

Approved November 16

S. 1827 / Public Law 101–156
To revise and clarify the authority of the Administrator of General Services relating to the acquisition and management of certain property in the city of New York

Approved November 17

H.R. 2710 / Public Law 101–157
Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1989

H.R. 3287 / Public Law 101–158
District of Columbia Revenue Bond Act of 1989

H.J. Res. 425 / Public Law 101–159
Designating November 12 through 18, 1989, as "Community Foundation Week"

S.J. Res. 251 / Public Law 101–160
Acknowledging the sacrifices that military families have made on behalf of the Nation and designating November 20, 1989, as "National Military Families Recognition Day"

Approved November 21

H.R. 2883 / Public Law 101–161
Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 2991 / Public Law 101–162
Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 3014 / Public Law 101–163
Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 3015 / Public Law 101–164
Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 3072 / Public Law 101–165
Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 3566 / Public Law 101–166
Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 3743 / Public Law 101–167
Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1990

H.R. 3746 / Public Law 101–168
District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1990

H.J. Res. 278 / Public Law 101–169
To designate the period commencing on November 20, 1989, and ending on November 26, 1989, as "National Adoption Week"

H.J. Res. 282 / Public Law 101–170
Designating November 19–25, 1989, as "National Family Caregivers Week"

Approved November 22

H.R. 2642 / Public Law 101–171
Southeast Interstate Low-Level Radioactive Waste Compact Amendments Consent Act of 1989

H.R. 3544 / Public Law 101–172
To authorize the transfer of a specified naval landing ship dock to the Government of Brazil under the leasing authority of chapter 6 of the Arms Export Control Act

Approved November 27

H.R. 215 / Public Law 101–173
To amend title 5, United States Code, with respect to the method by which premium pay is determined for irregular, unscheduled overtime duty performed by a Federal employee

H.J. Res. 291 / Public Law 101–174
Designating November 16, 1989, as "Interstitial Cystitis Awareness Day"

S. 931 / Public Law 101–175
Genesee River Protection Act of 1989

S.J. Res. 184 / Public Law 101–176
To designate the periods commencing on November 26, 1989, and ending on December 2, 1989, and commencing on November 25, 1990, and ending on December 1, 1990, as "National Home Care Week"

Approved November 28

H.R. 1310 / Public Law 101–177
To redesignate a certain portion of the George Washington Memorial Parkway as the "Clara Barton Parkway"

H.R. 2120 / Public Law 101–178
To amend the Deep Seabed Hard Mineral Resources Act to authorize appropriations to carry out the provisions of the Act for fiscal years 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1994

H.R. 3402 / Public Law 101–179
Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989

H.R. 3532 / Public Law 101–180
Civil Rights Commission Reauthorization Act of 1989

H.J. Res. 357 / Public Law 101–181
Providing for the reappointment of Samuel Curtis Johnson as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

H.J. Res. 358 / Public Law 101–182
Providing for the reappointment of Jeannine Smith Clark as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

H.J. Res. 393 / Public Law 101–183
To grant the consent of Congress to the boundary change compact between South Dakota and Nebraska

S. 818 / Public Law 101–184
To commemorate the contributions of Senator Clinton P. Anderson to the establishment of the National Wilderness Preservation System, and for other purposes

S. 978 / Public Law 101–185
National Museum of the American Indian Act

S.J. Res. 159 / Public Law 101–186
To designate April 22, 1990, as Earth Day, and to set aside the day for public activities promoting preservation of the global environment

S.J. Res. 207 / Public Law 101–187
Approving the location of the memorial to the women who served in Vietnam

S.J. Res. 218 / Public Law 101–188
To designate the week of December 3, 1989, through December 9, 1989, as "National American Indian Heritage Week"

H.R. 569 / Private Law 101–1
For the relief of Maurice C. Hardy

H.R. 1020 / Private Law 101–2
To permit reimbursement of relocation expenses of William D. Morger

Approved November 29

H.R. 2461 / Public Law 101–189
National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991

S. 1390 / Public Law 101–190
To provide for the construction of biomedical facilities in order to ensure a continued supply of specialized strains of mice essential to biomedical research in the United States, and for other purposes

S. 338 / Public Law 101–191
To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the development of a trails interpretation center in the city of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and for other purposes

S. 737 / Public Law 101–192
To adjust the boundary of Rocky Mountain National Park

Approved November 30

H.R. 2748 / Public Law 101–193
Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1990

H.R. 3660 / Public Law 101–194
Ethics Reform Act of 1989

Approved December 5

S. 974 / Public Law 101–195
Nevada Wilderness Protection Act of 1989

S.J. Res. 16 / Public Law 101–196
Designating November 1989 and November 1990 as "National Alzheimer's Disease Month"

S.J. Res. 205 / Public Law 101–197
Designating December 3 through 9, 1989, as "National Cities Fight Back Against Drugs Week"

Approved December 6

H.J. Res. 448 / Public Law 101–198
Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1990, and for other purposes

H.R. 481 / Public Law 101–199
To designate the building located at 2562 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York, as the "Walter Edward Grady United States Post Office Building"

H.R. 3294 / Public Law 101–200
To authorize distribution within the United States of the United States Information Agency film entitled "A Tribute to Mickey Leland"

S. 892 / Public Law 101–201
To exclude Agent Orange settlement payments from countable income and resources under Federal means-tested programs

S. 1960 / Public Law 101–202
To authorize the food stamp portion of the Minnesota Family Investment Plan

Approved December 7

H.R. 972 / Public Law 101–203
To amend section 3724 of title 31, United States Code, to increase the authority of the Attorney General to settle claims for damages resulting from law enforcement activities of the Department of Justice

H.R. 1312 / Public Law 101–204
Domestic Volunteer Service Act Amendments of 1989

H.R. 2134 / Public Law 101–205
To amend the Federal Meat Inspection Act and the Poultry Products Inspection Act to authorize the distribution of wholesome meat and poultry products for human consumption that are not in compliance with the Acts to charity and public agencies

H.R. 3720 / Public Law 101–206
National Consumer Cooperative Bank Amendments of 1989

S. 1164 / Public Law 101–207
To authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1990 for the Office of the United States Trade Representative, the United States International Trade Commission, and the United States Customs Service

S. 1877 / Public Law 101–208
To improve the operational efficiency of the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation, and for other purposes

S.J. Res. 164 / Public Law 101–209
Designating 1990 as the "International Year of Bible Reading"

S.J. Res. 203 / Public Law 101–210
Providing for the appointment of Homer Alfred Neal as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

S.J. Res. 202 / Public Law 101–211
Providing for the appointment of Robert James Woolsey, Jr., as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

Approved December 11

H.J. Res. 429 / Public Law 101–212
To designate the week of December 10, 1989, through December 16, 1989, as "National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week"

H.R. 422 / Public Law 101–213
Local Rail Service Reauthorizing Act

H.R. 875 / Public Law 101–214
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park Expansion Act of 1989

H.R. 3696 / Public Law 101–215
To provide survival assistance to victims of civil strife in Central America

H.R. 1495 / Public Law 101–216
Arms Control and Disarmament Amendments Act of 1989

H.R. 3620 / Public Law 101–217
To clarify the Food Security Act of 1985

S. 488 / Public Law 101–218
Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Technology Competitiveness Act of 1989

Approved December 12

H.J. Res. 175 / Public Law 101–219
To authorize entry into force of the Compact of Free Association between the United States and the Government of Palau, and for other purposes

S. 1793 / Public Law 101–220
To make technical and correcting changes in agriculture programs

H.R. 3275 / Public Law 101–221
Steel Trade Liberalization Program Implementation Act

H.R. 91 / Public Law 101–222
Anti-Terrorism and Arms Export Amendments Act of 1989

H.R. 1502 / Public Law 101–223
District of Columbia Police Authorization and Expansion Act of 1989

H.R. 1668 / Public Law 101–224
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Ocean and Coastal Programs Authorization Act of 1989

H.R. 2459 / Public Law 101–225
Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1989

H.R. 3614 / Public Law 101–226
Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act Amendments of 1989

H.R. 3629 / Public Law 101–227
Extending the authority of the Secretary of Commerce to conduct the quarterly financial report program under section 91 of title 13, United States Code, through September 30, 1993

H.J. Res. 449 / Public Law 101–228
Providing for the convening of the second session of the One Hundred First Congress

Approved December 13

H.R. 1727 / Public Law 101–229
Everglades National Park Protection and Expansion Act of 1989

H.R. 2178 / Public Law 101–230
To designate lock and dam numbered 4 on the Arkansas River, Arkansas, as the "Emmett Sanders Lock and Dam"

H.R. 3611 / Public Law 101–231
International Narcotics Control Act of 1989

H.R. 3670 / Public Law 101–232
To authorize the expansion of the membership of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia from 50 associate judges to 58 associate judges

S. 804 / Public Law 101–233
North American Wetlands Conservation Act

H.R. 3607 / Public Law 101–234
Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Repeal Act of 1989

Approved December 15

H.R. 1 / Public Law 101–235
Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989

H.R. 3671 / Public Law 101–236
To amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to extend the civil penalty assessment demonstration program

Approved December 18

H.R. 901 / Public Law 101–237
Veterans' Benefits Amendments of 1989

H.R. 3259 / Public Law 101–238
Immigration Nursing Relief Act of 1989

Approved December 19

H.R. 3299 / Public Law 101–239
Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989

H.R. 2494 / Public Law 101–240
International Development and Finance Act of 1989

Appendix E—Proclamations and Executive Orders

NOTE: *The texts of the proclamations and Executive orders are printed in the Federal Register (F.R.) at the citations listed below. The documents are also printed in title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations and in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.*

PROCLAMATIONS

Proc. No.	*Date 1989*	*Subject*	*54 F.R. page*
5996	July 6	Captive Nations Week, 1989	28993
5997	July 6	To Amend the Generalized System of Preferences	28999
5998	July 7	National Day to Commemorate the Bicentennial of Bastille Day, the French Revolution, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen	29313
5999	July 20	Space Exploration Day, 1989	30873
6000	July 26	Lyme Disease Awareness Week, 1989	31489
6001	July 26	National Week of Recognition and Remembrance for Those Who Served in the Korean War, 1989	31491
6002	July 28	National POW/MIA Recognition Day, 1989	31794
6003	July 31	Extending United States Copyright Protections to the Works of the Republic of Indonesia	31931
6004	July 31	United States Customs Service 200th Anniversary Year, 1989	31933
6005	Aug. 1	Helsinki Human Rights Day, 1989	32033
6006	Aug. 7	National Neighborhood Crime Watch Day, 1989	32783
6007	Aug. 14	National Senior Citizens Day, 1989	33853
6008	Aug. 14	National Library Card Sign-Up Month, 1989	33855
6009	Aug. 14	National Wilderness Week, 1989	33857
6010	Aug. 15	Women's Equality Day, 1989	34119
6011	Aug. 15	National Drive for Life Weekend, 1989	34121
6012	Aug. 15	National Pledge of Allegiance Day, 1989	34123
6013	Aug. 15	The Bicentennial Anniversary of the First U.S. Patent and Copyright Laws, 1990	34125
6014	Aug. 29	World War II Remembrance Week, 1989	36269
6015	Sept. 5	National Check-Up Week, 1989	37287
6016	Sept. 5	Uncle Sam Day, 1989	37441
6017	Sept. 12	United States Coast Guard Bicentennial	37927
6018	Sept. 12	National Alcohol and Drug Treatment Month, 1989	38191
6019	Sept. 13	National Historically Black Colleges Week, 1989	38193

Proc. No.	*Date 1989*	*Subject*	*54 F.R. page*
6020	Sept. 13	National D.A.R.E. Day, 1989	38195
6021	Sept. 14	National Hispanic Heritage Month, 1989	38369
6022	Sept. 15	Citizenship Day and Constitution Week, 1989	38641
6023	Sept. 20	Law and Order in the Virgin Islands	39151
6024	Sept. 21	United States Marshals Bicentennial Day, 1989	39155
6025	Sept. 21	General Pulaski Memorial Day, 1989	39157
6026	Sept. 21	Emergency Medical Services Week, 1989	39331
6027	Sept. 22	Commendation of the Citizens of the Sioux City, Iowa, Tri-State Area	39333
6028	Sept. 22	Gold Star Mother's Day	39515
6029	Sept. 27	Religious Freedom Week, 1989	39975
6030	Sept. 28	To Provide for the Tariff Treatment of Goods From the Freely Associated States, To Implement Tariff Reductions on Certain Tropical Products, and for Other Purposes	40839
6031	Sept. 29	National Quality Month, 1989	40849
6032	Sept. 29	Mental Illness Awareness Week, 1989	40851
6033	Sept. 29	Child Health Day, 1989	40853
6034	Oct. 2	Minority Enterprise Development Week, 1989	41039
6035	Oct. 3	National Health Care Food Service Week, 1989	41041
6036	Oct. 4	Raoul Wallenberg Day, 1989	41429
6037	Oct. 5	German-American Day, 1989	41431
6038	Oct. 5	Veterans Day, 1989	41573
6039	Oct. 5	National Children's Day, 1989	41577
6040	Oct. 6	Columbus Day, 1989	41579
6041	Oct. 6	Leif Erikson Day, 1989	41581
6042	Oct. 10	National School Lunch Week, 1989	41817
6043	Oct. 11	National Domestic Violence Awareness Month, 1989	42281
6044	Oct. 11	National Job Skills Week, 1989	42283
6045	Oct. 12	Italian-American Heritage and Culture Month, 1989	42461
6046	Oct. 13	National Disability Employment Awareness Month, 1989	42463
6047	Oct. 13	White Cane Safety Day, 1989	42465
6048	Oct. 16	World Food Day, 1989 and 1990	42737
6049	Oct. 16	National Down Syndrome Month, 1989 and 1990	42943
6050	Oct. 18	National Awareness Week for Children With Cancer, 1989	43033

Proc. No.	*Date 1989*	*Subject*	*54 F.R. page*
6051	Oct. 19	National Forest Products Week, 1989	43265
6052	Oct. 19	United Nations Day, 1989	43267
6053	Oct. 24	National Red Ribbon Week for a Drug-Free America, 1989	43793
6054	Oct. 25	Polish American Heritage Month, 1989	43795
6055	Oct. 25	Country Music Month, 1989	43935
6056	Oct. 25	National Arab-American Day, 1989	43937
6057	Oct. 27	Fire Safety at Home Day, 1989	46041
6058	Oct. 31	To Amend the Generalized System of Preferences	46348
6059	Nov. 1	Gaucher's Disease Awareness Week, 1989	46355
6060	Nov. 1	To Amend the Generalized System of Preferences	46357
6061	Nov. 7	National Hospice Month, 1989 and 1990	47187
6062	Nov. 7	National Glaucoma Awareness Week, 1989	47189
6063	Nov. 8	Montana Centennial Day, 1989	47191
6064	Nov. 9	National Women Veterans Recognition Week, 1989	47339
6065	Nov. 9	Washington Centennial Day, 1989	47503
6066	Nov. 9	Geography Awareness Week, 1989	47505
6067	Nov. 14	American Education Week, 1989	47667
6068	Nov. 15	National Diabetes Month, 1989	47949
6069	Nov. 15	Community Foundation Week, 1989	47951
6070	Nov. 15	National Farm-City Week, 1989	47953
6071	Nov. 15	National Philanthropy Day, 1989	47955
6072	Nov. 16	Hunger Education Month, 1989	48065
6073	Nov. 17	Thanksgiving Day, 1989	48225
6074	Nov. 20	National Military Families Recognition Day, 1989	48565
6075	Nov. 21	National Family Week, 1989 and 1990	48567
6076	Nov. 21	National Adoption Week, 1989	48731
6077	Nov. 22	National Family Caregivers Week, 1989	48733
6078	Nov. 27	National Alzheimer's Disease Month, 1989 and 1990	49071
6079	Nov. 27	National Home Care Week, 1989 and 1990	49073
6080	Dec. 5	National American Indian Heritage Week, 1989	50599
6081	Dec. 5	National Cities Fight Back Against Drugs Week, 1989	50601
6082	Dec. 10	Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, 1989	51185

Proc. No.	Date 1989	Subject	54 F.R. page
6083	Dec. 11	National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week, 1989	51187
6084	Dec. 14	Wright Brothers Day, 1989	51865

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

E.O. No.	Date 1989	Subject	54 F.R. page
12680	July 5	Administration of Foreign Assistance and Related Functions and Arms Export Controls	28995
12681	July 6	Exclusions From the Federal Labor-Management Relations Program	28997
12682	July 7	Commission on Alternative Utilization of Military Facilities	29315
12683	July 21	Prescribing Regulations Relating to Certain Travel Time of Members of the Uniformed Services Called to Active Duty	31162
12684	July 27	Conforming the Central Intelligence Agency and Civil Service Retirement and Disability Systems	31643
12685	July 28	Noncompetitive Conversion of Personal Assistants to Employees With Disabilities	31796
12686	Aug. 4	President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism	32629
12687	Aug. 15	President's Education Policy Advisory Committee	34127
12688	Aug. 15	Transfer Authority Choctawhatchee National Forest, Florida	34129
12689	Aug. 16	Debarment and Suspension	34131
12690	Sept. 20	Providing for the Restoration of Law and Order in the Virgin Islands	39153
12691	Sept. 23	President's Advisory Committee on the Points of Light Initiative Foundation	39719
12692	Sept. 29	Continuance of Certain Federal Advisory Committees	40627
12693	Sept. 29	Exclusion of the Defense Mapping Agency Reston Center and Elements Under the Joint Special Operations Command From the Federal Labor-Management Relations Program	40629
12694	Oct. 11	Amending Executive Order No. 12345	42285
12695	Nov. 1	Delegation of Debt Relief Authority	46589
12696	Nov. 13	President's Drug Advisory Council	47507
12697	Dec. 22	Extending the National Commission on Superconductivity	53037
12698	Dec. 23	Adjustments of Certain Rates of Pay and Allowances	53473

Appendix F—Points of Light Recognition Program

The President named the following individuals and institutions as exemplars of his commitment to making community service central to the life and work of every American. The daily recognition program, which began on November 22, was a national tribute to voluntarism. The recipients are listed in chronological order.

The Commercial Appeal, of Memphis, TN

Dr. William and Mrs. Sandy Hale, of Oklahoma City, OK

Richard A. McDonough, of Phoenix, AZ

Helen V. Palit, of New York, NY

The Volunteer Project, of San Diego, CA

Shahid Samad Watson, of Trenton, NJ

"Drop-a-Dime" program, of Boston, MA

"Adopt-a-School" program, of Orange Park, FL

Edward Castor, of Tipton County, IN

REACH, Inc., of Detroit, MI

The Acres Homes War on Drugs, of Houston, TX

WWOR–TV, of Secaucus, NJ

Community Crime Prevention Council, of Seattle, WA

Carolyn Lantz Jackson, of Wilmington, DE

G.D. Searle & Co., of Chicago, IL

Ewing Marion Kauffman, of Kansas City, MO

Antonio Valle, Jr., of La Habra, CA

Lawrence Eagle-Tribune, of Lawrence, MA

Jack L. Powell, of Salisbury, MD

Aja Dyani Henderson, of Baton Rouge, LA

GlenCastle Project, of Atlanta, GA

Eugene Lang, of New York, NY

Tero Mauldin Coleman, of Washington, DC

Residents of Hope, NM

Anchorage Neighborhood Housing Services, of Anchorage, AK

Stephanie Ann Fox, of Milford, DE

Foster Care Youth Independence Project, of Syracuse, NY

Julius Glass, of Forest Hills, NY

Duke Power Co., of Charlotte, NC

Pioneer Human Services, of Seattle, WA

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